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ART. I. *Foreign relations with China: retrospect of the past; questions at issue; future prospects and desiderata.*

ANOTHER crisis is at hand. A trial for supremacy is coming on. The *ultima ratio* of nations is in requisition. With deep concern for the issue, we here pause, to survey the past and the present, and to cast a glance at the future. Never was there a time, when the eastern hemisphere exhibited such phenomena as at the present. Modern improvements, in sciences and arts, have greatly changed the relations of states and empires; new political codes have been formed and put in practice; and erelong are to be exhibited the consequences of these altered relations. 'There is a tide in the affairs of men;' which, if it be less regular in its motions, is no less strong and irresistible, than that of the deep ocean. How has Europe, since the commencement of the present century, been shaken by the collision of armed men! New principles were in action there, the same that had, a few years before, given rise to a new republic, now a strong nation. The tide rolled on; ancient landmarks were swept away, and the strongest barriers were demolished. In all this there was nothing unnatural. Waters will seek their level. The higher you build up the dam to obstruct the course of a great river, confined to its channel, the stronger the force of its accumulated waters will become, until they carry away the opposing obstacles, however high they may have been raised. The Central Flowery land can form, we suppose, no exception to these general laws. Bordered, as it is, by the two strongest and largest empires in the world, China must, we

apprehend, will alter her policy and accommodate herself, in some measure, to the wishes of her neighbors, and adopt with them rules for the maintenance of peace and friendly intercourse. She may continue, as long as she likes, to dictate to chieftains and rájás within her boundaries, and grant at pleasure investitures to tributary kings. But so it is not right to deal with independent powers. With these there ought to be, and there must be, treaties of peace and commerce. The time has come when CHINA MUST BEND OR BREAK.

A retrospect of the past warrants this conclusion. The last year's unprecedented occurrences have set at naught ancient usages, broken down old relations, destroyed all mutual confidence, and are drawing two great empires into hostile collision. We here purposely avoid noticing the action of the Chinese and English governments, regarding the traffic in opium prior to March 1839, because we have often already remarked on this subject, in some or other of its bearings. The occurrences since the arrival of the imperial commissioner are familiar to all our readers. Throughout they have been of a tendency calculated to widen the breach, and deepen the animosities, which at that time existed. Witness a few particulars. Was the detention, by armed men, of all the foreigners in Canton — not excepting consuls and those who were confessedly free from all implication in the contraband trade — just? Was the proffer, made by the representative of British interests, to fulfill the emperor's wishes, at all heeded? When, according to requisition, the opium in the Chinese waters was surrendered, and a written pledge given no more to traffic in it, were the promises — held out under the seals of the imperial commissioner, that the past should not be investigated, that rewards should be conferred, and 'commercial intercourse enjoyed as formerly'—kept or broken? Have not innocent men, without trial, and without any shadow of suspicion resting on them, been proscribed and expelled from the country? Did not the officers and soldiers, who boarded and set on fire the Bilbaino, even while they were doing those violent acts, know that she was a Spanish vessel, and free from all connection with any illegal trade? When the two unfortunate prisoners were led, in triumph, with chains around their necks, to the Bogue, and from thence conducted to Canton, and there confined in prison for six long months, did not the chief provincial officers know that they were innocent men? Were the families (including women and little children) resident at Macao, in any way, directly or indirectly, responsible for the homicide committed at Hongkong?

Abate, now, whatever we may please in favor of the Chinese, in consequence of the renewal of an obnoxious trade, still the acts above enumerated, all done under the immediate direction of his majesty's high officers, are such as ought not to be passed over in silence. They are on record. It will be said, perhaps by competent and impartial observers, that there were wrongs on both sides. This we admit; and hence argue that there ought to have been a willingness to make an amicable adjustment of difficulties by mutual concessions. To do this, a proffer seems to have been made on one side; while on the other it was rejected—or, at least, neglected. The British representative, we are sure, was prepared, at the commencement of the difficulties, to proceed in one and the same manner regarding the vessels outside and inside of the Bogue, engaged in the opium traffic on the Chinese waters. Of this, however, the commissioner may not have been aware—or, if he was, he doubted, or feigned to doubt, the sincerity of any such intention. Repeatedly, if we mistake not, there were put forth tenders, more or less plain and formal, for settling the existing difficulties. All were unheeded. And, moreover, demands were made, incompatible with the dignity and honor of independent states, destitute of justice, carrying on their front arbitrary claims of supremacy.

For detailed accounts of the proceedings, so far as it was in our power to collect them, our readers are referred to the successive numbers of the Repository, during the last year. The fullest or at least the most authentic, accounts must come, we suppose, from the foreign office, at the call of parliament.

Here we must say a few words respecting one of the chief actors in these remarkable scenes. The exclusive policy of the Chinese could hardly have had a more faithful representative than it has found in the present governor, late high imperial commissioner: and if it is now soon to be broken down, or infringed in any manner; it will be because of its own badness, rather than for want of spirit and integrity in one of its chief executors. So far as there have been sincerity of purpose, and energy of action, well directed for the removal of a great evil from the people, his excellency merits praise; and he has, we think, exhibited both sincerity and energy, in a degree seldom equaled, though often directed in a better manner. In his principal measures, there is reason to believe, he has been carrying out the plans of the present dominant party in Peking—plans which were formed for the purpose of suppressing opium and humbling foreigners. Watch, and mark the issue!

Regarding the present state of affairs we can say very little — because our information is so imperfect and partial as to preclude the possibility of giving a full portraiture. Machinery of state is usually composed of material too delicate to endure strong concussion without damage. The slightest contact, the mere grazing of its wheels in their rapid courses, is often enough to produce a flame. If war is once kindled here, its devastations may spread, uncontrolled and unchecked, until not only this empire, but all Asia is wrapped in one broad conflagration. In any country, and under any circumstances, war is an evil and bitter thing. Among the millions of China, if it were carried through the length and breadth of the land, its desolations would be most dreadful. Power to declare war is a high prerogative, involving the weightiest responsibilities with which mortal man can possibly be invested. It is a fearful thing to send forth the decree to capture and to kill our fellow-men. We hope, even though it may seem to be against hope, that from this country the scourge of war may be averted. We trust the leaders of the expedition will be especially careful how and where they strike, and how they disturb the foundations of society.

For the approaching struggle, whatever it may be, Peking and Calcutta are the respective seats of the directing powers. The resources of the governor-general are of vast extent in British India, supported by the strongest maritime power in the world. Land and naval forces of great strength may and will if requisite be called forth in the present emergency. Knowledge, too, is power. The world is not now so ignorant of the extent and resources of the Great Pure dynasty, as its rulers are regarding all the other nations of the earth. From Mantchouria to Tungking, the coast is well known and accessible, while great rivers open wide channels far into the interior. On the west and southwest only inconsiderable states separate the two countries. The numerical forces of the Chinese are indeed considerable; and a declaration of war once made against the empire, the struggle may be long continued. A speedy termination is however anticipated by many; but the race is not always to the swift, nor the battle to the strong.

Our remarks here are limited to a single foreign state, because only one seems disposed to stand forward to vindicate and maintain its rights. Still, if England seeks only for what is right and just, the issue of the struggle cannot be doubtful, and the honors achieved will be great in proportion as the work is arduous. The real grounds of dissatisfaction with the Chinese being common to all foreign nations,

it has ever seemed to us desirable that there should be a simultaneous and joint effort to open and establish new relations. Long have there been differences and difficulties calling for consideration, due attention to which would have resulted in general improvement and mutual benefit. The supremacy claimed, and the restrictions exercised, are as unjust as they are injurious; and had they been early and properly noticed by foreign governments, and international intercourse placed on the broad basis of equality and reciprocity, the present unfriendly attitude and hostile preparations would have been spared. Such consideration, however, even those cruel indignities heaped on the amiable and noble representative of the British crown in eighteen hundred and thirty-four, could not induce! So clearly was the gathering storm foreseen here by many — ourselves among the number — that call after call was sent forth, urging the necessity of national interference. Yet till now all signs of such interference have been delayed. This delay we especially regret, because in the meantime there have arisen new disturbing forces, which serve greatly to embarrass proceedings on the part of those who long ago had just and sufficient cause of complaint. Still in all this delay, and in the events of the last year, no doubt the hand of God is directing, and directing in such a manner as to make even the wrath of man work for good ends.

The great questions now directly at issue are few; and were there any power to mediate, they might be easily and equitably settled. But the so-styled son of heaven and his ministers disdainfully spurn all ideas of equality, as being derogatory to their honor and the dignity of the state. Supremacy they claim. Let them maintain it if they can. And they will, if able. Judging from the past and the present, it is certain that, until constrained by reason or force —

1. The Chinese will not correspond or communicate with any foreign officers, on terms of equality.

2. Any reparation for the opium confiscated, or for losses sustained by the removal from Canton, they will not make.

3. No apology will they offer for the detention of the subjects or representatives of foreign governments.

4. They will not yield the right of apprehending and executing those who are guilty of murder or homicide within their jurisdiction.

5. Nor will they desist from their efforts to prevent the introduction of opium and the exportation of sycee.

It is right, no doubt, that the Chinese should endeavor to prevent the introduction of opium into their country, and should also strive

to rescue those who are already under the influence of this deadly charm. But neither of these objects can they effect, to any great degree, by the *means* now employed To some others, therefore, they must have recourse, or else the evils they deprecate will remain. "After means have been tried and have failed, it is easy to say they are not good," argues an intelligent native, "but is it not easy to find out those which are truly good, and which will thoroughly eradicate this evil thing. Warnings upon warnings have been given to you foreigners; you all know that opium is strictly forbidden, because it is poisonous and hurts the lives and manners of the people. If then you wish to act according to reason, why do you not take it away, and cease to bring it? This would be according to the sage's words, *Ke so puh yuh, wuh she yu jin*, 'Do not to others, what you do not wish done to yourself.' Assuredly you have not done right in this matter." It was easy to reply to the native gentleman; "The foreigner does not wish to harm you, and if you will only cease to use the vile drug, which not even the brutes themselves will eat, then the evil you complain of will cease." But retorting does not mend the matter. The truth is, the Chinese do not know how to deal with this thing. They are evidently becoming sensible of the inefficiency of their present measures, and will be thrown into consternation by the reäction that is soon to take place. In this reäction, great care will be requisite in order to place the subject in its true light, so that the Chinese may see and understand that *foreign governments* have no wish to infringe their rights and their laws, or to force into their ports an article which they deem injurious. They must see and feel the necessity of having recourse to milder means, to moral suasion, to self-restraints, and to diplomatic negotiations.

Whether any reparation ought to be made for the opium confiscated, and for the losses sustained by the removal from Canton, are points on which there are differences of opinion. If any demands for reparation be made,—as we suppose there will be,—the reasons thereof should be set forth in the *clearest manner*.

On the other topics, the first, third, and fourth named above, there can be but one opinion. No one would deny the right of the Chinese to seize and judge and execute malefactors—provided assurance be had for fair trial and impartial justice. But as things have been, and now are, justice and fairness are not secured to the foreigner; he cannot, therefore, be given up to their demands. Let them first give to foreign governments the desired assurance, then no resistance will be made. Had the five seamen, condemned at Hongkong, been

given up to them, one of those men would have been executed — but would that have been the one who committed the homicide?

The British government, we are unwilling to believe, will seek for anything beyond what is just and right. Accordingly we conclude that, *simple redress* for injuries sustained, with *ample securities* for the future, will be the two grand objects aimed at. Its officers will remember the words of Holy Writ: "Vengeance is mine, I will repay, said the Lord." Only let the great principles of perfect equality and reciprocity be fully acknowledged and properly guaranteed, and the contest will be ended: but, "there's the rub."

The future prospects are, as we contemplate them, of mingled interest, where light and shade are blended. What forces are to comprise the coming expedition, and what are to be its operations, we are uninformed. We have supposed it will come to ask redress for the past, and securities for the future. But *how* ask? Nay, after all that has passed, will it deign to ask? Or, will simple demands be granted? If not, what then shall be done? Shall redress and securities be taken, *vi et armis?* It is easy to multiply these questions, easy to draw out plans for operations; but how the Chinese are to be brought into the family of nations, and be made willing to exercise free and friendly relations with all, is yet a problem — and it may be a difficult one to solve. However, we much prefer the present prospects to the dull monotony, the deceitful policy, and the half-and-half measures, of past times. Had intercourse hitherto been conducted on satisfactory terms, it might be feared that any change from the present would be for the worse. This is now hardly possible. The old system is rotten. Under existing circumstances, then, it is satisfactory to know that a resolution has passed to effect something new. "Attempt great things; expect great things;" only let the object and the means be good.

The coming crisis may be ushered in with great perplexity and distress. A blow from without may light the torch of civil war, and these fair provinces once more be deluged with the blood of slaughtered millions. We are not without fears of such an issue; still we hope, we confidently expect, better things. And we will here venture to specify some of those desiderata which seem most requisite in order to prevent distress and calamity, and secure the introduction of a new and better system of intercourse between the Chinese and all foreign nations. The reign of non-intercourse is near its end; it cannot much longer survive. What, then, are the things most desirable, most worthy to engross attention?

A kind and magnanimous spirit, pure philanthropy, strict integrity, and good faith, are prime virtues, the constant exercise of which is of great importance, and no less obligatory than salutary in peace or war, in commercial, political, or social life. Their opposites, hate, revenge, deceit, cruelty, and such like, should have no place in the good man's heart. The difference in the morality of the Christian and pagan codes is great, and should not be overlooked — since obligation is ever commensurate with that which creates it. True, there are some excellent maxims in the pagan code; but how unlike those golden rules, revealed from heaven! "Love your enemies," "do good to them that hate you;" . . . . . these, and precepts like these, are most sacred, and ever should be held dear as the words of a father's legacy. Nay such they are,— words bequeathed to us, by "the Father of our spirits." They should be the indwellers of the soul, and find utterance in cheerful action. Their observance is essential for the maintenance of that good conscience and that good character, which at all times and everywhere are so valuable to man. They are, too, in every way suited to his high capacities. Fashioned after the likeness of the Perfect One, how noble are his mental faculties! And if, in their exercise, they are unlovely, it is because of perversion; if deformed, it is because of indulgence in forbidden evil; and if groveling, it is because reason has lost its dominion, or virtue its ascendancy. Every one here — far from his native land and the friends of his youth, deprived of some of the greatest blessings of life, and exposed to all the ills that flesh is heir to,— needs the strong consolations of religion to make even life happy. If there only be correct principles, good conduct will come of course. Now the morality of our holy religion is so salutary, its promises of a future state so consolatory, its precepts so suited to the deductions of the most improved reason, that it must commend itself to the serious and thoughtful. It has always operated to the production of benevolence, self-government, piety, and the love of virtue among individuals. Only let it be everywhere received and properly understood, and it will free men from superstition, fanaticism, ambition, and all evil-doings. Were it received here, and had it its due influence with the people of this land, their high claim of supremacy and its accompaniments would cease.

We have prolonged our remarks on these cardinal virtues, in order as much as possible to persuade ourselves and others to act conformably to the "high calling" of our Maker. Thus to act is the sure way to promote his glory, our own good, and the well-being of our

fellow-men. The prime duties of life faithfully observed, will make the performance of minor ones easy, and render delightful and pleasant the labors and duties which would otherwise be dull and irksome. An idea has sometimes prevailed, that, when abroad in these pagan lands, religious duties may be temporarily suspended; and all the energies of the man be devoted to the acquisition of wealth. So ought it not to be with any one. Usefulness and happiness are generally combined; those who make themselves the most useful to others, by so doing secure to themselves the greatest amount of good. And so it is written, "It is more blessed to give than to receive."

On the political movements, now in progress, we do not suppose that aught we can say will have any influence. So also in commercial affairs. Still, the collection of statistics, the development of principles, the delineations of character, the record of passing events, &c., may furnish for the politician and the merchant valuable information. Commerce, when rightly conducted, ever has been, and no doubt ever will be, regarded as highly beneficial to mankind. It seems as if the great Author of nature, from the manner in which he has divided the earth and distributed his gifts, designed that there should be, among all nations, free and friendly intercourse. To plead for it, therefore, is no act of supererogation. With whatever ability we possess, we will continue to plead for it; and from month to month, will seek to provide information according to the extent of our means. We dare not promise to do more than we have hitherto done, in providing original materials. The fields for research are wide, abound with interesting objects; and the time is at hand, we trust, when they may be traversed with more freedom and wih greater advantages. B.

ART. II. *Remarks on some of the characteristics and conduct of the Chinese government.* By a Correspondent.

THAT science which teaches "how the advantages of government are to be secured with the least possible inconvenience to the governed," all will admit to be inferior to few in importance. An experiment in this social science, on a gigantic scale, is now under trial before our eyes, by a nation that has made but little progress in

scientific principles, whatever success she may appear practically to have met with.—Doubtless it is a most remarkable thing at first sight, to behold a nation of such proportions, and so teeming with living souls as that of China, ruled with such ease, and by means so simple as it is; and the fact must always remain a most interesting one in history. When we, however, begin to reflect, that circumstances have prevented the Chinese, during the time of this rule, from having any extensive intercourse with others, wonderment begins to subside; a slight extension of intercourse illustrates her position; and examination unravels the mystery.

After all, what is China but a large and strict school,—on an enormous scale, it is true,—where neither the youths are allowed to go out, nor other persons to come in? Thus have its inmates no opportunity to learn anything, either good or bad, that is prohibited by their master—the emperor. Frail mortals assuming the garb of truth, wormed themselves into this vast edifice. Time, the destroyer and discloser of all things, laid them bare in all their native nakedness. The master's jealousy was aroused. He trembled for his authority; expelled some, punished others, and forced the rest to betake themselves to the obscure corners and out-houses of his capacious mansion. The hives of western industry increased in numbers, and accumulated stores more than they could use. Enterprise sent forth her explorers. Eastern countries were discovered. This vast school was brought to light. Its inmates and its visitors have become mutually known. New wants and aims have grown up, taking deeper and deeper root. The master is now frightened.

The advancement of knowledge, and the application of that knowledge to a practical end, is fast changing those circumstances previously existing in relation to China. This school has been brought within the easy reach of those who belong not to it, nor much value all the empiric rules of its master. The desire of getting wealth, comfort, ease and pleasure, has induced men to bring various wares and goods for the use of this school. Some have been preferred to others; but of the whole of them, none seems to be sought after more than opium by the Chinese. And if we may be allowed to carry out our homely simile,—the boys have greedily rushed hither and thither to get some. Once partaking they are not satisfied, but desire more. The master is angry and wishes to restrain them. The boys have made themselves sick and have been whipt beside. They are now being further ill-treated. We crave forgiveness, for it is a tatter-worn expression, "boys will be boys, all the world over."

We must avow, that we feel ourselves the less concerned to observe so puerile and so perverted a taste indulged by those who, though, "in knowledge children," are yet "in passions men," from the hope we cannot help entertaining, that they will presently find some better object of pursuit. In the meanwhile, until such times as they do, they may make themselves very sick; but, if after-remorse and reflection do not induce them to abstain, whipping and ill-treatment, from those who are in reality their fellows, we may be assured will not, while at the same time they may produce evils of equal if not greater magnitude.

We do not write this in extenuation, either of those who embark in the introduction of opium into China, or of its cultivators (we should rather perhaps say, those who encourage its cultivation). Neither is it the province of man to condemn them. In a frail mortal, it would perhaps indicate a better state of mind, fervently to pray that he may never be led into the way of temptation, to induce others or himself to partake of a thing so seductive as this drug is said to be; and humbly should leave the rest to the all-seeing, all-wise, and omnipotent Creator, with a firm conviction that the ultimate good of his creatures can alone be the object of his works. We say it with the utmost deference and humility, conscious of our own clouded vision and liability to err, that in all that has taken and is taking place in China, may be seen dimly shadowed forth, one of those general laws, an illustration, perhaps, on a small scale of the decree and its result, "Let there be *light* and there was light," a result which is out of the control of man, and reserved by that unerring Intelligence, who at a glance perceives all, for his own peculiar and wise purposes.

In the same spirit do we utter it, that therein is to be seen one of those general laws, which the self-sufficient creature man is constantly ruffling, by his own crudities, prejudices, passions, and want of faith in Providence: though even this ignorant interference, may be part of the sublime scheme, so regulated for our good, even as the agitation of the ocean arising from wind, added to other natural causes, is the means of keeping it from stagnating. Speaking, still, in the same humble spirit, therein we think we discern one of those general laws, which though seen are not immediately perceived, perhaps from their very simplicity; but which when first perceived, leave one aghast and astounded, only to recover by subjecting them to the test of the light of truth, under the bland and hallowed influence of the atmosphere of toleration and charity to all men; whence, in this instance, we think, we cannot but come out reassured,

and adoring. May not this apparent scourge to China prove to be the deathblow to her exclusiveness; turn out to be the pioneer for liberalizing her; lead to the eventual dissipation of her errors and prejudices? May an opportunity of comparing themselves with others not teach the Chinese that they do not enjoy what others are in possession of; and induce them to try and follow in their footsteps? While those who have preceded them in the path to political freedom, feel that they will not and cannot stop there, that, "it is towards a higher freedom than mere liberty from oppression by his fellow-mortal, that man dimly aims. Of this higher, heavenly freedom, which is 'man's reasonable service,' all his noble institutions, his faithful endeavors, and loftiest attainments, are but the body, and more and more approximated emblem."

* * *

We will venture now to make a few remarks on this — as we at present see it — demoralizing drug, prefacing them, however, with the one reflection, "that men often show themselves not the best judges of that which is for their own benefit." Let us draw aside for a moment the but too transparent veil of morality the Chinese rulers have thrown over this question, and look at it in the financial light wherein they themselves view it. "Right is it that yellow gold should be common as the dust," exclaims that man who has shown himself to be so far in advance of the rest of his countrymen; and in whose memorial, we at times fancy we see lurking even much more enlightened ideas than he has ventured to propound, held back out of deference, as we imagine, to the time-honored prejudices of his countrymen.

When Columbus offered his services to Genoa, England, and Spain, providentially, for it did not proceed from any foresight of man, Henry the seventh did not accept them. What might the position of England now be, had her sovereign accepted these offers, and she become possessed of the gold mines of South America, in order (as it might very plausibly have been said) that yellow gold should be as common as the dust? May be that solid constitution, just then gaining strength, would have been undermined; and she herself now writhing in the mire of anarchy, as that country that accepted the offer of the great navigator a very short time ago was. Where would have been that young and vigorous nation, descended from England? May be stillborn. May be struggling under tyrants of her own choice, after casting off the authority of the poor, prematurely decrepid, and drivelling parent, ere consolidated and rational enough

to hold authority over herself; like the rickety but precocious offspring of that once powerful, now fallen, Spain. Having gold is not being rich, more than the absence of it should necessarily be poverty. Practically the Chinese act up to this principle. Theoretically their rulers seem to deny it.[1]

To revert to the matter of opium. It is a very extensive peculiarity of mankind, if not a ruling principle among very far the largest portion of them, that they will pay, and pay very extravagantly too, for what they like. It is likewise a variety of the same principle,[2] equally applicable in extent to the former, that men will do much for gain, even peril their lives for the means of subsistence.[3] This,—for it seems but a different way of stating one and the same principle, if principle we may call it,—may be termed, not, we think, improperly, the "life" of demand and supply. Now if in China the demand is not stifled, (and we think we can show there is more than a probability against its being so,) men will be found to supply that demand at the peril of their lives—of their all. Or, even if there are not at any one particular moment men ready so to do, the next will supply them, in our belief, and according to a now very extensively acknowledged law of population—that of numbers constantly *pressing* on the means of subsistence.

If any one thinks that the demand in China, or the liking of the Chinese, for opium, can be cured by the emperor—an earthly monarch—declaring the use of it illegal, and justifying himself for this act on the grounds of its being immoral, let him reflect for a moment on; and if possible profit by, the experience of by-gone ages.

We have heard it asserted, that the emperor of China can do what other sovereigns have not been able to accomplish. The emperor has such a power over his people, it has been said, that, by bringing the stringent system of mutual security to act in preventing the use and introduction of opium, he might meet with success unheard of before. This said system is certainly a powerful and wonderful instrument when used with the people of China: wonderful as it is unjust and unnatural, and certain to lead to evasion, subterfuge, and dishonesty. A cannon is a wonderful and powerful weapon of war. As long as it is properly charged and handled, it can be made to propel shot with much force and amazing precision. But overcharge it, and it recoils with violence, bursts its breechings, overturns its carriage, and lies prostrate, useless,—worse than useless, in the way. Let the emperor bring his security system into play, (he has done it with his viceroys,[4] and they may do it with their subordinates,) it

may work wonders; but press it too far, impoverish the people, stagnate their commercial enterprise, reduce them to below the means of subsistence,—then stand by! A recoil will come—a recoil of a nature that may prove fatal to him, and to the empire—nay, that might be felt to the uttermost parts of the world: for should the united wrath of three hundred millions of hungry people once find vent, the very earth might rock! Nature might throe! Praises be to Providence, this explosion is never likely to take place in its full and unmitigated force. Other things are at work to temper it. Kind nature always has her moral and physical safety-valves, her antagonist muscles, to stay all things of this appalling magnitude in their places. Duplicity in this instance will render this violation of nature's laws of non-effect.

None know the full power of a popular movement, better, and are more expert, perhaps, in dealing with it, than Chinese rulers. The first symptoms make them tremble, division is essayed, and if not found successful, the cause is palliated, without apparent acknowledgment, it is true, but *palliated.* We are not of the number who think there is no danger to be apprehended for the emperor's safety: on the contrary, it is our opinion that a danger is impending over him. He appears at present to be supported in *his* method of opposing the opium, (hitherto not an uncommon one with sensual appetites,) by a very influential body of Chinese bigots, that is, of persons desirous of keeping things as they are, in spite, not in right, of justice and truth. Should the emperor, not reflecting, be persuaded to be firm in the wrong—that is, obstinate—it is not unlikely he may be overturned; and the Tartar dynasty cease to reign: some wiser man stepping forward and keeping the wheel of government revolving. There remains, however, up to this time, from the plastic nature of the Chinese character, a possibility (and it is sincerely to be hoped for) that the emperor himself may at length countenance his degraded memorialist Heu Naetse, and bring him into power; adopting, though at the eleventh hour, his measures of temporary salvation.

The principle once laid down and established, which Heu Naetse has recommended for this branch of material commerce,—though it is but a house of call, as it were, a short way on the high road to the more liberal principles extant in some parts of the world,—is as applicable, as far as it goes, to a commerce in things intellectual, which we hope some day to see established. We are not of that class of persons who think that the Christian religion flourishes the better for persecution: rather that Christianity, and truth in general, flourish in

spite of it; and the more error that is refuted the more truth will be known, the more evil triumphed over the more good will there be. Our first parents have partaken of "the fruit of the tree of knowledge of good and evil," and our lot in this respect is fixed. Man cannot recover from his fallen state until good reigns triumphant over evil.

After the remarks we have already made, it is hardly necessary to add, we consider it a certainty that opium will continue to be introduced into China, until it is cultivated in the country itself, to a sufficient extent, to satisfy the demand whatever that demand be, small or large.

It has been said "the remedy, then, is not with them (the Chinese), and if neither the E. I. Company nor the British government interfere, the British public must be appealed to; the cry of 'no opium' raised, and be made as loud as the cry of 'no slavery,' until the voice of humanity prevail, and end in the abolition of the whole system." Should it be so! Were even English legislators to prohibit, on moral grounds, the growth of opium in their possessions, and its introduction by British subjects into the Chinese empire; and were they, moreover, to go to the extent of declaring the trade in it by British subjects a felony, we know from experience what the result would be. The experiment has been tried with the trade in slaves. It has been abolished by act of parliament for upwards of thirty years. It has been declared a felony since 1811, punishable by fourteen years' banishment or five years' imprisonment. And, we are now informed there is as much (if not more), trading in slaves, and that of a more distressing nature, as there was before all this was done. In the slave trade, as in the opium trade, the demand, it would seem, for slaves as for opium, attracts the supply; and in one, as in the other, until the demand ceases, the trade will not cease; but here the analogy between the two ends. In the slave trade an injustice, by the strong over the weak, and against their will, is perpetrated. The marketable commodity (we hesitate to use the term) is a fellow being, a man endowed with feeling, and the capacity for reasoning, the same as ourselves; whilst in the opium trade, it is unnecessary to say, no such injustice can obtain. That which may be laudable on the part of legislators in the one case, need not be in the other.

Whether mortal legislators are justified in prohibiting the use of anything for fear of the abuse, as long as the evil consequences of the abuse is confined to the abuser's self, is a matter admitting of much doubt. Certainly, judging from the active evil arising from legislation of this nature, to say nothing of the good obstructed, we are inclined

to think they are not. A man's own conduct, providing it hurts none but himself, is a business between himself and his Creator, not an affair for earthly legislation, or perhaps even censure from his fellow-men; however much it is to be lamented if it be to the injury of his eternal welfare.

What then, it may be asked, is to be done to suppress the use or abuse of opium? To which we answer, laconically, "Nothing as respects others, but persuasion and warning." Before long it may be that those who are the loudest to admire coercive measures in its suppression, may have enough to do to withstand the temptation themselves; and then they may begin to appreciate that simple truth "the only solid, though slow, reformation is what each begins and perfects on himself."

* * *

Our intercourse up to the period of the imperial commissioner's arrival at Canton may be said to have been founded on this general basis: we traded (and our intercourse with this vast empire was nothing but a commercial one) on certain terms not clearly defined, but implying in theory, total subjection to the emperor, a great despot; in reality, total subjection to the viceroy and his underlings, little despots, of a province fourteen hundred miles from the metropolis of China. The emperor arrogates unto himself sovereignty over all the world, recognising in the foreign commerce nothing of a reciprocal nature. He has nothing to gain from others, (at least such are his assertions,) and out of pure compassion, permits foreigners from afar to come and exchange their goods for the overflowing abundance of the central flowery nation. This commerce is vouchsafed by an earthly sovereign to his nominal subjects! To give such notions anything of the color of reciprocity, it would be necessary for him, or his subordinates, to acknowledge, by word or deed, that in China we should be treated as Chinese are treated in our country. Were we able to detect, after a close examination, anything indicative in the most trifling degree of such acknowledgment, it might be said to be as consistent, as in reality his conduct, with that of his subordinates, has been marked up to this hour for the direct contrary.

The seed of discord may be said to have been in this *system* of intercourse; and it required only to be germinated, by anything decidedly objectionable to the emperor. That intercourse has been in the commerce of things material that might be bought and sold. Had it extended to things intellectual or spiritual, the seed might alike have been germinated by them. The introduction of opium has, the intro-

duction of truth might have, germinated the seed. Other things as well as opium and truth were fited for this purpose; such as spirits and manufactures among things material; new opinions in religion, morals, or politics, among things spiritual or intellectual. Opium has only effected that in a short time which other things sooner or later must have effected. It has effected it, because it possessed a property which other things possessed in a less degree, or not at all. That property was the capacity of giving worldly advantages to those introducing it. Had the things we have enumerated the same property, to an equal extent, similar enterprise would have burst out in their introduction. Equally unscrupulous means would have been resorted to, to increase that introduction, perhaps under the additional plea of doing good. As much venality would have been displayed in its reception. The moral may not be acceptable to some persons, but we think the foregoing is true.

Had the collective zeal which has been displayed in some parts of the world, in propagating truth, found its way out hither, there is little doubt what the result would have been. The introduction of truth would have been succeeded, on the part of the emperor and his advisers, by as much dread and fear of its consequences, if not by greater, on account of its equalizing and liberal tendency. Hence we argue, it would have been attended with the same measures for its prevention and check; and, judging from the usual rancour conjoined to persecutions of this nature, with even more sanguinary ones: measures in proportion to the fears of the imperial person.

Had the Christian religion — we speak of the reformed religion — spread in the city, nay, in the imperial household, as opium has done, ought it to surprise one if the emperor had spoken in no less severe strains than the Romans were wont to do against the primitive Christians,— than the comparatively enlightened Tacitus thus did: "The infamy of that horrible transaction (setting fire to Rome) still adhered to him (Nero). In order, if possible, to remove the imputation, he determined to transfer the guilt to others. For this purpose he punished, with exquisite torture, a race of men detested for their evil practices, by vulgar appellation commonly called Christians. The name was derived from Christ, who in the reign of Tiberius suffered under Pontius Pilate, the procurator of Judea. By that event the sect, of which he was the founder received a blow, which for a time checked the growth of a dangerous superstition; but it revived soon after, and spread with recruited vigor, not only in Judea, the soil that gave it birth, but even in the city of Rome, the common sink into

which everything infamous and abominable flows like a torrent from all quarters of the world. Nero proceeded with his usual artifice. He found a set of profligate and abandoned wretches, who were induced to confess themselves guilty, and, on the evidence of such men, a number of Christians were convicted, not indeed, upon clear evidence of these having set the city on fire, but rather on account of their sullen hatred of the whole human race. They were put to death with exquisite cruelty, and to their sufferings Nero added mockery and derision. Some were covered with the skins of wild beasts and left to be devoured by dogs; others were nailed to the cross; numbers were burnt alive; and many, covered over with inflammable matter, were lighted up, when the day declined, to serve as torches during the night." Again says the same historian: "The manners of that people (the Christians) were, no doubt, of pernicious tendency, and their crimes called for the hand of justice: but it was evident, that they fell a sacrifice, not for the public good, but to glut the rage and cruelty of one man only."

Severe and stern as the above accounts of the Christians are, we do not mean to assert that the emperor of China is a second Nero, or could be guilty of all this cruelty; we think him incapable of it,—but, through the following accounts of transactions that actually have taken place in China with Christians of the Romish church, we can trace those incipient ideas, that might, by irritation, or dread of a popular tumult, have easily given rise to persecutions of that character that must have proved fatal to the system of foreign commerce, as it was carried on up to March 1839, if not to the lives of those Europeans and others existing at Canton, entirely at the mercy of the mandarins, as past experience has satisfactorily proved.

About the year 1665, a learned Chinese, named Yang Kwang-seën, published a book against the missionaries. "He accused them of forming a conspiracy to overturn the government, in order to which, he said, they had introduced a great number of strangers into the empire, and had secured to themselves whole hosts of adherents, who were prepared to aid them in their sinister designs;—'in teaching,' continued he, 'that all mankind descended from Adam, they wish to infer that our princes came originally from Europe, and their countrymen, as the elder born, have a right to our monarchy.' And then producing the sign of the cross, he exclaimed. 'Behold the God of the Europeans, nailed to a cross, for having attempted to make himself king of the Jews; and this is the God they invoke, to favor their design of making themselves *masters of China*.' These sage reason-

ings had the desired effect with the four regents, who ordered the missionaries to be loaded with chains, and dragged before the tribunals, A. D. 1665. The members of these tribunals declared, "Schaal and his associates merited the punishment of seducers, who announce to the people a false doctrine. After having been threatened with death, they were set at liberty; but the venerable Schaal sank under his trial, and died A. D. 1666, in the seventy-eighth year of his age." A persecution followed.

Again in 1815, the viceroy of Szechuen reported to the emperor, "That the religion of the west, denominated the Lord of Heaven's religion, was a depraved or irregular system, injurious to the manners and hearts of men." This he did, having first persecuted the Christians. After these instances, does it not come quite within the range of possibilities, that some zealot — either an emperor, a commissioner, or a viceroy — might have tried to appease heaven and the people at the time of a drought, or other national calamity, by massacring all foreigners within their grasp, as the originators of the affliction by introducing heresy? It is astonishing what cruelties fears will sometimes produce.

As long as the very preposterous notions of the emperor, that we have before alluded to, in regard to foreign commerce, were confined principally to theory, foreigners laughed, grumbled, and blustered, according to circumstances; *but continued to trade.* Thus strengthening the belief of the Chinese in their own assertions, that the trade was as necessary to us as air. When, however, these notions were found to assume the substantiality of practice; when the system of intercourse was developed beyond a doubt; when it stands out in all its extensive application, exemplifying its theory; then it becomes time to have the terms on which this intercourse is to be kept up specified, to settle on what exact conditions we are to trade and be friends, and to determine what shall be the latitude of mutual forbearance.

In 1833 the British government thought proper to throw the trade to China open to all British subjects, abolishing the exclusive right of the East India Company to carry it on after April 1834; and they passed an act of parliament to this effect. Before the trade could, however, be free, there were two parties whose consent was necessary, England and China. England did what she could, and, after passing the act of parliament, appointed superintendents to watch over the (popularly so called) free trade. More she could not do, after the treatment of her embassador many years before; and she was obliged to trust to time to accomplish the rest, with a nation so proud, arrogant, and impracticable, as the Chinese.

The prop from one side of the old top-heavy commercial pile being removed, five years has brought that originally unstable building to the ground. A little caution, and an edifice on better understood principles in building may be erected, to commemorate the day when light first burst upon a nation composed of nearly one third of the world's mankind. The principle to be kept in view is simple, viz., "to let the Chinese come to us to trade on our terms;" which we trust will be better defined, more reciprocal, and certainly not less just, than we have hitherto experienced when we went to trade with them on their terms. The emperor may then see, and in course of time perceive, that he has something to gain from others; that the fit basis of trade is not compassion, but mutual interest; and that he is not sovereign of the whole world. Under such circumstances a commerce intellectual may be established, as well as a commerce in things that are bought and sold for gold, in such quantities as the wants of some of those who carry it on may induce them to demand, and the others to supply. If things turn out, as in our humble opinion they will, one reflection of a serious cast cannot help occuring to most thinking men. Whence this, (may we say good?) but from him, that great First Cause of all, who has implanted in the nature of man that peculiarity we have elsewhere faintly tried to define; and this good will have been brought about whilst men aimed at the gratification of sordid, sensual, transitory desires.

"There is a something" says the great astronomer and philosopher of the day, "in the contemplation of general laws, which powerfully persuades us to merge individual feeling, and to commit ourselves unreservedly to their disposal; while the observation of the calm, energetic regularity of nature, the immense scale of her operations, and the certainty with which her ends are attained, tends, irresistibly, to tranquillize and reassure the mind, and render it less accessible to repining, selfish, and turbulent emotions. And this it does, not by debasing our nature into weak compliances, but by filling us, as from an inward spring, with a sense of nobleness and power which enables us to rise superior to them, by showing us our strength and innate dignity, and by calling upon us for the exercise of those powers and faculties by which we are susceptible of the comprehension of so much greatness, and which form, as it were, a link between ourselves and the best and noblest benefactors of our species, with whom we hold communion in thoughts and participate in discoveries which have raised them above their fellow-mortals, and brought them nearer to their Creator."

Notes.—1. Doubtless, those who have plenty of gold are rich *in gold*; but as we

cannot eat gold, cannot put on gold as clothing, cannot educate ourselves with gold, that is, with gold in itself, the gold is useless or next to it, unless we have the industry, energy, talent, and means, to make the major and superfluous part of it return us a profit, or something we desire. The misfortune of a country getting gold too easily, is that she trusts to exchanging that gold for food, clothing, and other things,—neglecting the arts (if she have any) of making these things herself,—and thus getting into indolent, unindustrious, and extravagant habits, which are followed by poverty—properly so called—and vice. Presently when the gold begins to fall in price, in consequence of its becoming more common and distributed among the industrious commercial and fabricating portions of the world, the country that had it in abundance finds herself on a level *in this respect* with others, unless indeed the stream of gold continues flowing into that nation exclusively, and in increasing quantities, whilst in other respects she is far beneath them,—being among nations a sloth: and she continues, on this account, to fall deeper and deeper into poverty, till disappointment, uneasiness, and discontent bring about anarchy and civil wars within herself; if even she should be fortunate enough to escape being preyed upon by her neighbors. Her crime is that of having trusted to a rotten reed. We can conceive nothing more unfortunate to China, than a sudden acquirement of gold, or commonness of it; if such a thing, in the present proportions of this metal in the world, were possible, with a population of 300,000,000 of souls, of perhaps as industrious, commercial, and fabricating a character as any in the world. This vast hive of industry under such circumstances would probably be destroyed in a remarkably short space of time. Famine and pestilence would stalk abroad among their dense masses with her train of concomitant evils. Were it easy to get the necessary data to institute a fair examination, in a financial light, it would not improbably be found, that an easy sufficiency of gold or bullion, if not a superabundance of it, actually gave activity to that very thing that is now considered, by some, 'China's scourge,' until the taste for it was acquired so strongly as to be kept up by certain dispositions in man. Burke considers the stock of materials by which any country is rendered prosperous and flourishing—in our idea rich or wealthy—to be, its industry, its knowledge or skill, its morals, its execution of justice, its courage, and the national union in directing those powers to one point, and making them all centre in the public benefit. By "gold," both in the text and in this note we must be understood to mean bullion in general.

2. We say, a variety of the same principle, because, a man paying extravagantly for what he likes, is but, in another sense, doing much for gain. One may pay in money, in kind, in services, in labor; and it is to be presumed, that, if a man gets what he likes for payment in any of these shapes, he gets what he considers a gain: it may be in opium, in silver or gold, or it may be in any thing else he is desirous of gaining.

3. Men in periling their lives for the means of subsistence, after all, peril only what is already in danger of being lost, for the want of the means of subsistence: they choose between living and dying, the former they prefer to the latter. Thus the whole thing seems to resolve itself down into the necessity of gaining one's bread, by toil, trouble, and the sweat of our brow.

4. "Let mandarins and their dependents, who buy and smoke opium, be punished one degree more severely than others; and let *governors of provinces be required to give security* that there are no opium smokers under their jurisdiction; and let joint memorials be sent in, representing the conduct of those officers, who have connived at the practice." The law, as amended in 1839.

5. "And by allowing the proposed importation and exchange of the drug for other commodities, more than ten millions of money will annually be prevented from flowing out of the central land. On which side then is the gain, on which the loss? It is evident at a glance. But if we still idly look back and delay to retrace our steps, foolishly paying regard to a matter of mere empty dignity, I humbly apprehend that when eventually it is proved impossible to stop the importation of opium, it will then be found that we have waited too long, that the people are *impoverished, and their wealth departed*. Should we then begin to turn round, we shall find that reform comes too late." Heu Naetse's memorial to the emperor.

6. "China, its state and prospect," by the Rev. W. H. Medhurst.

ART. III. *Hae Luh, or Notices of the Seas, by Yang Pingnán of Keäying in the province of Kwangtung.*

THE memoranda and reminiscences, which constituted the materials for this little work,—a single octavo of about one hundred pages, would, in the hands of modern book-makers of the west, easily have been expanded into a thick quarto, and in due form styled "Voyages round the world." The making of such voyages, the Chinese do not yet understand. Now and then, however, an individual has had the misfortune of getting beyond the boundaries of the central kingdom, and of being left to wander over sea and land among barbarous nations in the four extremities of the earth. After the Chinese shall have sent ministers plenipotentiary to St. James, St. Cloud, and to all the other principal courts and cabinets in Europe and America, then books of travels, &c., may be expected to germinate as numerously, and to grow as ponderous, under the fostering care of the erudite sons of Han, as they ever did on Dutch or British soil. Hitherto works of this description have been neither numerous nor popular among the Chinese. The Notices of the Seas, by Yang Pingnán, is the best we have ever seen. In the copy before us, the title page, containing the date of the work and the name of the place of its publication, is wanting, with a leaf or two also at the end. The author thus begins and recommends his book.

"My townsman Seay Tsingkaou, a youth of remarkable intelligence, was going to Hainan with merchants, when a wind happened to overset their bark. Being saved on board a foreign vessel, he continued his mercantile pursuits. Year after year he went successively to all the nations in the midst of the seas. At whatever place he arrived, he immediately acquired its language, and noted its islands, roads, boundaries, manners, customs, and productions; and after fourteen years he returned to Canton. From remote times, such a voyager there has not been! Subsequently he became blind in his eyes, and being unable again to engage in mercantile pursuits, he fixed his residence at Macao, where he procured a living by acting as interpreter. In the spring of 1820, in company with Mr. Tsewteen Le, I visited Macao, and by familiar conversations became most thoroughly acquainted with the affairs of the western and southern seas. The traditionary notices, heretofore received of persons from foreign nations, when compared with the things seen by Mr. Seay,

are found sometimes to be substantiated, and sometimes not. For the foreign seas being unfrequented and remote, personal observation has been wanting, and the descriptions given of them by literary men have been more flowery than real. The words of Mr. Seay are most faithful; and at his bidding I have reduced them to notices, in order that they may survive and on record be handed down to posterity. I would rather die than spoil a single word. Pleased and animated with his ideas, I have written them out in due form, and named the book, Notices of the Seas. The names of the countries mentioned have been given as they are pronounced in the west. When there have been no characters to express the sounds, those have been employed which seemed to come the nearest to the name. To the work I have not dared to make any additions, lest I should infringe the truth. Thus reads the preface of Yang Pingnán of Keäying."

The notices commence with the large islands off Macao — whence the voyager seems to have taken his departure, — and close with the Feejee and other islands of the Pacific. The reader is conducted down the Chinese sea, coastwise, to Cochinchina and Camboja, thence up to Siam, around the Malay peninsula to Calcutta, and again around southern India to Bombay and Surat, touching at and surveying all the principal intervening seaports. The most important marts of the Indian Archipelago are next visited. He then has a peep at America, the Cape, and the isles of the Pacific. Mr. Seay with his friend and amanuensis Mr. Yang, both seem to have been alike ignorant of the form of the earth, even of its great outlines as divided into continents and islands. However, for the most part, the names and descriptions of places are sufficiently accurate to enable the reader to recognize them. To the foreigner, the chief value of the book consists in its showing him how the "little things" of this "big orb" are looked on and described by a native of the celestial empire. — We have been told that the Hae Luh is one of the principal works from which the high imperial commissioner has gathered that knowledge concerning foreign countries of which he has so much boasted.

The capital of Siam and its inhabitants, with the surrounding scenery, are described with more fidelity than minuteness. The capital is not surrounded by walls, the people live in houses built of wood, and the king's is covered with tiles. The natives are exceedingly abject and cringing before their rulers. The Chinese are very numerous, and many of them are engaged in the manufacture of ardent

spirits, the sale of opium, and the management of gambling houses, which three pursuits yielded to the government large returns of duties. The great number of priests, the high respect paid to Chinese literatuare, productions of the soil, &c., &c., are rapidly noticed.

The inhabitants of Patani, and other towns on the Malay coast, were found to be, in most respects, like the Siamese; and among them were tribes of Malays. Calantan is described as a kingdom tributary to Siam. The royal residence is surrounded with a stockade of pointed bamboos: within this enclosure the rájá and chiefs dwell, and, without, the people have their abodes. The former dress like the common people, sit on the ground, and when going abroad they are guarded by a number of attendants armed with dirks or crises. The duties of government are light and easy. The rájá daily sits in open court, surrounded by his chiefs. "The litigant makes no statement in writing; but taking a candle in his hands, and, bending forward in a respectful manner, enters the court. The rájá, on seeing the candle, inquires for his suit, which he states verbally. The rájá then orders his attendants to bring forward both the accuser and the accused to plead their case; and in few words he gives sentence, from which none dares to deviate." In more difficult cases recourse is had to charms, and trial by fire and water. The two persons contending are ordered to go into the streets, and each to seize the first child he meets. The children are conducted to the side of the water, a priest then and there recites a prayer, and bids the children both to take hold of a bamboo pole and walk into the deep water. The child that first rises and floats on the surface, belongs to the guilty party, and the controversy is decided accordingly. At other times a piece of iron is thrown into burning oil, and the party who can take it out without feeling the effect of the heat is pronounced innocent. Gamblers are protected by the rájá's attendants; and the people are great consumers of opium. Their daughters are forbidden to marry the Chinese.

Singapore, mentioned as the residence of Chinese from Canton and Fuhkeën, was known by the name of *Salat.* Malacca and Pinang were places then of much greater importance, and much more numerously inhabited by Chinese, than Singapore.

In some of the Burman ports the voyager found great numbers of people from the province of Yunnan.

Several pages are occupied with notices of what was seen in Bengal. The writer first describes the manner in which the ships, on arriving at Kedgeree, obtain their pilots and proceed up the river;

mentions next the names of some of the prominent places, such as forts, &c.; and then gives a few particulars respecting the government, and various races of people in Calcutta. Madras, Pondicherry, Travancore, Goa, Bombay, and many other places on the Indian coasts, are in like manner briefly described.

About one third of the book is occupied with descriptions of the Indian Archipelago. He also mentions the Nicobars, and a tribe of men in their vicinity, who have faces like that of the horse. He says they are savages, and devour their own species. Perhaps he refers to the Andamans, by whose cruel hands we are sorry to hear that the late Dr. Helfer has been murdered.

Among the nations of Europe, our author first describes Portugal; and occupies as many pages with notices of its capital and inhabitants, as he allows to all the other parts of Europe. The climate of the country, he says, is colder than that of Canton or Fuhkeën. Ships on entering the Tagus are detained awhile in quarantine. Besides the capital, he mentions Coimbra, "from which place come most of those who enter China either to become imperial astronomers, or to reside at Macao as great priests." He gives the names of several of the royal family, and specifies the various ranks of officers, civil, military, and naval. The costumes of both sexes are described. The gentleman's coat is "short before, and long behind, like a bird's tail," and made very strait or close. No one, from the king to the common people, has more than one wife.—A full account is given of the religious rites and ceremonies, of burial of the dead, of mourning, domestic manners, &c. Spain, France, Holland, come next under review, and are dismissed with few words, as are also Austria, Prussia, &c. The account of England occupies two pages, and is by no means flattering. America is two month's sail distant from England, and the character of the people is quite like that of the English. Its steam vessels were regarded as most wonderful.

Mr. Seay's notices, as written out by his friend Yang, must leave an unfavorable impression on the mind of the native reader; while they lead us to desire, more earnestly than ever before, that full and faithful historical and geographical accounts of western nations may be prepared for the Chinese by competent writers. Well indeed would it be if their own learned men could go freely abroad, and see, and hear, and describe for themselves.

PE-PING CHAY.

ART. IV. *Wei-Tsang too sheih, or Tibet in a series of maps and descriptions: four volumes.* Reviewed by a Correspondent.

CONSIDERING that Klaproth, the indefatigable critic, has already passed his opinion upon the above work, and that moreover the voluminous priest Hyacinth, late of Peking, amongst his herculean labors, has translated the whole, a poor pigmy writer has very little chance of saying any thing new. A Transylvanian has ransacked the literary treasures of that secluded country, and a gigantic German has carried several camel-loads of manuscript to Russia and Prussia, so that the world has enough upon the subject of Tibet, even if the above production had never been written. As for ourselves, though little versed in the art of decrying the labors of others, we nevertheless really think, that there would no serious loss have been occasioned, if the present essay had been burnt, before it was printed. Being, however, *nolens volens*, put to the task, we shall try to enter the territory of the great lama with a light heart, and, with our guide in our hands, look a little about us, to cull here and there a flower, and say as much as our ignorance will permit. This is to be the preface to our review of the work in question.

Now we should on the very outset take the bull by the horns and begin to detail the topography, ethnology, and statistics, of the said country; unfortunately, however, all this has already been written, and we must hold ourselves responsible to say something new. We therefore commence with the most striking natural object that this country contains. It is, according to Buffon's and Cuvier's classification, a non-descript, there existing only one other of its species, at the city Miako, in Japan. It is a biped, the characteristics of which are sulky arrogance, sloth, sensuality, bigotry, deceit, craftiness, perverseness, stupidity in many respects, &c. We are fully aware that this description falls short of the original, and that it is by no means technical; but the reader must take this for want of a better one, our limited capacities not allowing further exploration. We do not know the name naturalists have given to it, but common people call it the dalai lama.

The first knowledge of this creature was, if we mistake not, conveyed by some Franciscan, during the middle ages, to Europe, and created there a great sensation, so that many began to believe that it was the identical Prester John, of glorious memory. On nearer

examination, however, it proved to be something particular in itself, and an after acquaintance with the language of Han gave us a clearer insight into the nature of this wonderful being, which is said never to die.

During the administration of the celebrated Hastings, the rájá of Bútan, from some whim or other, considered a tract of land, which separates his territory from that of the English company, as a just object of spoil, and therefore occupied a part of the same. Though this tract was of no use, being not only an unhealthy spot, but likewise very sterile, still the governor would not permit a dangerous precedent of encroachment to pass unnoticed, and therefore sent a small detachment of sipakhis to drive away the Bútanese borderers. In this attempt they completely succeeded, but their ranks were thinned by the pestilential climate of those regions, and they were glad to retreat. In the meanwhile the teshoo lama, the regent for the dalai lama, becoming alarmed for the safety of his territory, dispatched, in 1774, a letter to the governor. This is a document in which the oriental modes of expression are so little retained, that we much suspect the translator's having improved upon the original. Still we shall quote a few passages of this letter, to give the reader some idea of the sentiments that actuate the grand lama, whom we have thus unceremoniously introduced to his notice.

'The affairs of this quarter flourish in every respect. I am night and day employed in prayers for the increase of your happiness and prosperity. Having been informed, by travelers from your country, of your exalted fame and reputation, my heart, like the blossoms of spring, abounds with satisfaction, gladness, and joy. Neither to molest, nor persecute, is my aim; it is even the characteristic of our sect to deprive ourselves of the necessary refreshment of sleep, should an injury be done to a single individual; but in justice and humanity, I am informed you far surpass us. I have been repeatedly informed, that you have engaged in hostilities against the Deh Terria (the Bútan chief, who committed the outrages on the frontiers). It is as evident as the sun, that your army has been victorious; and that if you had been desirous of it, you might, in the space of two days, have entirely extirpated him, for he had no power to resist your efforts. But I now take upon me to be his mediator; therefore from a regard to our religion and customs, I request you will cease from all hostilities against him, and it will be necessary, that you treat him with compassion and clemency. As to my part, I am but a fakeer, and it is the custom of my sect, with the rosary in our hands,

to pray for the welfare of all mankind, and especially for the peace and happiness of the inhabitants of this country.'

The council, considering the contiguity of Tibet to China, hoped to open, by entering into an alliance with the former, a new outlet for trade to the celestial empire, by a route not obviously liable to the same suspicions as those with which Chinese policy had armed itself against all consequences of a foreign access by sea. The grand plan to be executed, therefore, was, to cross the Himálaya mountains, then traverse the inhospitable regions of Tibet, afterward to wend the way, according to circumstances, either through the mountainous districts of Kokonor, or the desert of Kobi, in order to reach the central empire, without suspicion! This is certainly one of the most magnificent, we may add *elevated* plans, ever conceived by any council, that sat to deliberate about commercial affairs.

An envoy was, therefore, immediately dispatched to Desheripgay and Teshoo Lomboo, to the said teshoo lama. The gentleman employed in this important mission was of great suavity of manners, and so ingratiated himself with that high personage, that he even trusted him with a considerable remittance in money, for the purpose of building a temple and dwelling-house, for the accomodation of the lama's votaries, on the banks of the Ganges; and a piece of ground was accordingly bought and appropriated for this purpose. The lama's letter to the governor remarked, that, although in the different periods of his reviviscense he had chosen many regions for the places of his birth, yet Bengal was the only country in which he had been born twice; for which reason he had a predilection for it beyond any other, and was desirous of making it a place of abode, apparently esteeming the sanctity of the Ganges, as a consideration of inferior importance. This being a very considerate request, gave rise to the most buoyant hopes, that the grand object of this correspondence might soon be realized. Mr. Bogle, the former envoy, finally obtained, 1779, a promise from the lama, that he would procure for him a passport from the great emperor, and that he might then go round by sea to Canton, and subsequently join him at Peking.

We must now talk of more important matters. Though the lama worship, or rather Shamanism, was never introduced into China as a peculiar creed, it still existed on the frontiers of Szechuen, and Budhism being a modification of the same, some relationship was kept up between Tibet and China. The Mantchous, on conquering the country, had no settled religious notions; but there appeared a leaning towards the superstition of the Mongols. This was a signal for the

lamas to revisit the court of Peking, and as future circumstances led to a political union between the two countries, they were the most favored priests. Even during the enlightened reign of Kanghe, they numbered many warm votaries amongst the highest personages of the court, and especially the females, who on that account showed great aversion towards the Jesuits. Perhaps it was also policy induced the government to favor these fanatics, in order to attach the Mongols by religious ties. Keënlung, renowned in Europe as a warrior and poet, something in the way of Frederic the Great of Prussia (though the latter fought the battles himself and gained his own laurels) had also his weak hours. Having heard of the great odour of sanctity in which the said teshoo lama stood, he invited him in the most pressing manner to come to his capital. This wonderful personage deferred, however, his journey, until the monarch assured him, that he looked upon him as the first and most holy being on earth, and that the only remaining wish he now felt was, to see him and to be ranked amongst his disciples. Preparation had also been made to receive him on his journey, and the letter that assured him of the most magnificent treatment, was also accompanied by a present of a string of pearls and one hunded pieces of silk. And thus flattered by the marked attention of the first prince in Asia, the lama set forth on his journey in 1779, with about 1500 troops and followers. He did not travel as a mere vassal, but as a sovereign prince. Wherever he halted on the road, a platform was erected, covered with a rich brocade, and a cushion on which he sat, whilst the people were admitted to the honor of touching his foot with their foreheads, as in Rome people kiss the pope's toe.

The Kalmucks, who belong to the most enthusiastic followers of the lama, came to the number of five thousand to escort him to the capital, bringing with them rich presents, and showing to their religious chief the most unbounded veneration. At all the principal stations, the imperial troops were drawn out, and the honors shown to this poor mortal would have set the strongest mind swimming with pride and conceit. The greatest favor the lama could bestow was to imprint with his hands, dipped in saffron, some paper, which his votaries brought to him for that purpose in great quantities. Part of the journey led him through the newly acquired territory of the Kalmucks, and his suffering on account of the severity of the climate seems to have been very great. But the lama was everywhere cheered by the most marked attention of the chiefs. Scarcely had the last commander of the Tartars left him, making him a present of

300 horses, 70 mules, and 100 camels, when the emperor's own brother, who held the rank of king, was commissioned to receive him on the frontiers of Kansuh province, and his entrance into the celestial empire was marked by the most magnificent presents. Keën-lung seems to have been exceedingly liberal, and a present of from 30,000 to 100,000 taels at the various stages was a mere trifle. His progress towards the capital was like that of a warrior, receiving the honors of a triumph from a grateful country. One of the princes of the blood met him, half way, and another conducted him to Peking. Now mark the difference of reception from that experienced by any other barbarian. Along the whole line leading to the pleasure gardens of Jeho, soldiers had been posted, between whom the lama passed accompanied by the princes. The emperor met him at a distance, and immediately, stretching forth his hand and taking hold of the lama's, led him towards the throne, where, after many salutations and expressions of affection and pleasure on both sides, the lama was seated by the emperor upon the uppermost cushion, with himself, and at his right hand. Much conversation ensued, and the emperor was profuse in his questions and inquiries, respecting the lama's health, the circumstances of his journey, and the entertainment he had met with upon the road. After he had been presented with 100,000 taels of silver, and many hundred pieces of curious silk, these high personages separated. On the next day many princes and nobles were assembled, and the monarch seated the priest on his right hand, to evince to the whole court the great consideration in which he held his illustrious visitor. After some indifferent conversation, the emperor then communicated his wishes more at large, with respect to the desire he felt of being instructed in some mysteries of the lama's religion. They accordingly withdrew, in company with one of the teachers, to another part of the palace, where three seats were prepared; the one in the centre was larger than either of the others in extent, and was considerably higher; upon this the lama seated himself, placing the emperor on the lower one, standing to the right, and the teacher on the left. The lama then bending his head towards the emperor, whispered in his ear, for about a quarter of an hour, and then seating himself upright, began to repeat aloud certain tenets, which the emperor and the teacher recited after him, and in this manner each sentence was spoken over and again, until both had caught the sound. This ceremony lasted about three hours, during which time all the attendants were kept at a distance in the outer apartments, whilst some devout men were occasionally called in at certain intervals, for the sake of performing ceremonies.

After four days, the lama waited on the emperor at his palace. The entertainment being over, he rose to ask a favor from the autocrat. The emperor then turning to the lama, desired he would speak without ceremony, when the lama proceeded thus to inform him: "In the country of Hindostan, which lies on the borders of my realm, there resides a great prince or ruler, for whom I have much friendship. I wish you should know and regard him also, and if you will write him a letter of friendship, and receive his in return, it will afford me great pleasure, as I wish you should be known to each other, and that a friendly communication should in future subsist between you."

The great emperor seems therefore to have been anxious to be instructed, and the manner in which this process was carried on is certainly deserving of our admiration. Behold this Keënlung, the sage and poet, a disciple of the lama! But whilst enraptured with this spiritual acquisition, the greatest political alliance is proposed to him. It had been agreed upon, that the former British envoy to the lama should proceed to Canton and wait there, until passports should be forwarded to him, by the interest of his patron. The emperor most readily granted all that had been asked, and also inquired about the country where the friendly governor was living, making at the same time several other pertinent questions.

The august personages now sped towards Peking, and there all the princes of the blood assembled to receive a blessing. On these occasions, the lama did not at all rise from his seat, but laying his hands upon the head of the votary he repeated a prayer. The noblemen, who likewise thronged to participate in this spiritual honor, were not so fortunate as to receive the immediate blessing from the priest, with his bare hand, but he carefully wrapped a piece of yellow silk around the same, and thus communicated his spiritual gifts. It had now become quite fashionable to receive the benediction of the great man, and even the ladies in the imperial palace were seized with the desire of going through this form. When therefore the lama happened to be on his visit to all the celebrated gardens of the imperial palaces, an intimation was sent to him, that it was the monarch's wish that he should meet the inmates of the harem. Being placed opposite a door of their apartments, upon an exalted seat, a screen of a yellow kind of gauze being dropt before the door, the ladies approached it one by one, and having just looked at the lama through the gauze, each according to her rank and abilities sent her offering by a female servant, who delivered it to one of the lama's religious companions, who were allowed to continue near him. The present being deliver-

ed, and the name announced, he repeated a prayer or form of the blessing for each, all the time bending his head forward, and turning his eyes directly towards the ground, to avoid all possibility of beholding the women. This ceremony took up four or five hours.

On this visit, he saw many extraordinary things. Amongst others, a throne which has the intrinsic virtue, that whosoever seats himself upon it, will always pronounce a just sentence. Then he saw the splendid temples erected in honor of his superstition, and in one of them he found a bell, which was said to weigh 20,000 maunds, and to require one hundred men to ring it. To do this, however, is never attempted, except in order to call the people to arms, in case of an invasion or insurrection, or at public thanksgivings for victory. Thus we may now expect that it will soon be put into requisition.

The time passed on most agreeably, being spent in pleasure excursions and in visits to the temples, where both these illustrious personages worshiped the idols, considering the adoration thus paid as the most splendid display of devotion. The lama had also an opportunity of seeing the empress, and again brought forward the earnest request of opening some communication with the governor of Bengal. Both agreed that a letter should be written for this purpose, which the lama himself should take with him. Day after day passed and the lama was still occupied in pronouncing his blessing upon thousands of the people, when all on a sudden he was seized with the small-pox. And the immortal, the wonder of the capital, the object of divine veneration to a whole metropolis, became a mere lump of putrid flesh. This certainly greatly staggered the belief of his followers, and no doubt convinced them that their great respect was misapplied. Still, the emperor was determined to show that his veneration was not on the wane, and spent four hours before the corpse in prayer. This ceremony was again repeated, and a present to the amount of 100,000 taels deposited before the coffin. At the same time, he charged a brother of the lama's to inform him immediately whenever the sacred being reappeared in the person of another, a subject in which the grand monarch took as much interest, as if his very existence had depended upon it. This could, however, not be effected at Peknig, because lama's are not born in those uncongenial regions, and therefore the whole train was dispatched towards the blessed region, three months after the decease. The most remarkable thing is, that the otherwise parsimonious Keënlung had a golden temple (gilded niche?) prepared, in which the coffin was set upright, and over this again a copper capsule. Orders were given, that

everywhere on the road one thousand men might be held in readiness to convey these precious relics, and one hundred horsemen were appointed as a convoy to the procession. Thus, after seven months, they reached the residence of the lama.

We have given this detail at full length, as one of the extraordinary events in a lama's life, a circumstance which has only once taken place, and a journey which may perhaps never be repeated, for fear of doubting the immortality of the wonderful incarnation. At the same time, this is one effort for carrying on a friendly intercourse between the Asiatic possessions of Great Britain, and the celestial empire, which is likewise unique in its kind, and therefore deserving of being recorded in the Chinese Repository. Had Mr. Bogle, the intended envoy, reached Canton and received passports to meet his friend the lama at Peking, what might not have been the consequences? Well, we believe, that the chargé d'affaires would have been permitted to perform nine prostrations and three genuflexions, and be sent out of the country with a few pieces of silk, and a letter to the said barbarian chief, enjoining upon him implicit obedience to the laws of the celestial empire, and making it his paramount duty to revere the lama. There is thus little lost by the miscarrying of this endeavor to open a more extensive intercourse. As however some Indian papers have lately advocated a plan of carrying fire and sword into the heart of Tibet, in order to strike terror into all the votaries, we suggest, in lieu of such an atrocious project, to get the present lama again fairly on his way to perform the office of embassador, and to settle all points in dispute.

However, we were speaking about the dalaï lama, and have been all this while discoursing about the gentleman who is living at Teshoo Lomboo, and moreover considered a heretic by the orthodox. But, worthy reader, thou art to consider that the said dignitary was the acting great lama, and had taken upon himself all the functions of his ward, so that in his doings thou beholdest his very prototype. And oh! that there were more such adventurous fanatics, that might not only go to Peking, but also to Moscow, London, and Paris, to astonish the world, and edit a journal like the Persian embassador.

From the contemplation of this great non-descript personage, we turn our attention to the soil and its produce, a subject upon which our author has not been pleased to expatiate. All that we have been able to learn is, that it is sterility personified, partly on account of its elevation, and partly on account of the furious tempests and the rigorous cold. The main staff of life is a kind of barley that grows

scantily in the valleys and along the ridges of hills, and is eaten with as hearty an appetite by the Tibetans, as rice is by the Chinese, sago by the Alfoors, and potatoes (that sweet root!) by the Irishman. But even this wretched spot abounds in mineral riches, and gold, the source of so much evil in this world, is found in large quantities. Towards the end of the last century, the soil burst on account of the long drought, and there appeared such a considerable treasure of the precious metal, that it fell immediately more than 30 per cent. in value. It is this commodity which attracts the Chinese in great numbers, and makes them brave the dangers of this inhospitable region. The animal kingdom is rich in fur-animals, curious birds, and cattle, amongst which the shawl goat holds the first place. The inhabitants are scantily scattered over a dreary waste, living in holes or in hovels built of stone, protected against the northerly tempests by mountains or rocks. They are an extraordinary set of beings. Unlike all mountaineers, they are peaceful, timid, and gentle; more oppressed by priests than any other nation on the wide face of the globe; trained to arms, they live a hardy life, being destitute frequently of the very necessaries for supporting existence, but notwithstanding are happy and cheerful. Polyandry, which seems to be general, is one of the uncommon phenomena of human folly and depravity, of which perhaps no parallel is found on so large a scale, anywhere else. They are a priest-ridden race, their lives are devoted to idolatry, to the worship of men, and the veneration of images. Where shall we find such an immense number of lazy lamas? It is the principal profession, embraced by all ranks, and the women are not behind in fanaticism, for they form large nunneries, where they live and die. It is really a nation of priests in the fullest sense of the word, who while away their days in absorption and contemplation of the excellencies of Budha. None of the redeeming qualities of an intelligent hierarchy are here met with, quietude is the grand object of their wishes; the study of the sacred language, the Pali, though written in a different character engages forever the most active; and a round of unmeaning prayers, which are also rattled off by a kind of machinery, is the most dignified occupation of all and every one.—We have taken most of the above details from Turner's account of an embassy to the court of the Teshoo lama; and though he is most favorably impressed with the piety of the gentle Tibetans, and even defends polyandry upon the plea of ancient usage, still he is rather checked with the mendicity that prevailed everywhere, and which he partly attributes to a large priesthood. But we had almost forgotten to speak of the work of our

Chinese author whose book parades at the commencement of this article.

Volume 1st. This has of course one preface that may be read, and the second is unintellegible. Of the first we shall give some specimens, and try also to spell some sentences of the last. It appears that a description cannot be given from mere hearsay, without degenerating into a digest of extraordinary tales, and one must either have seen matters, or have the testimonials of eye-witnesses before an account can be drawn up. The present delineation of Tibet is of course an authentic account, and the reader will have ample opportunity to test the veracity of this mendacious author. The work of course was manufactured in the large book establishment at Peking, in comparison to which Longman's, Murray's, Harper's and Lea's, mighty fabrications are mere playthings, notwithstanding the steam engine. As for the men themselves engaged there, they are the choice scholars selected from among 360 millions, and no doubt write all Chinese learning, some of them having been book-worms for no less than 50 years. A host of such men accordingly set to work upon the materials furnished them by successive writers, and including the maps of the country, reduced 1000 chapters, upon sundry matters to four volumes of the smallest octavo. If they do not know the art of abridgment, we are really at a loss to say who does. The crowning labor, however, was furnished by a new officer, who had been four years in the country, and, being appointed to the revenue department, had an excellent opportunity of observing the resources of the country. And, not satisfied with giving a detail of human affairs, productions, mountains, rivers, and notices about winds and soil, the diligent curtailers have also given a vocabulary of the 'language of the savages.' Here ends the legible preface, which is dated Keënlung the 57th year (1793). The unintelligible one seems to contain an eulogy upon the principal author mentioned above, who not only carefully examined everything about him, but also gained so many victories (we suppose over the Nipálese) that he obtained a triumph. As it has seldom been our lot to review a book partly composed by a hero, we shall give greater diligence, to read it carefully, than we should otherwise have been disposed to do.

To give an idea of the contents, we here translate the index, which is in itself so lucid, that by merely enumerating the subjects recorded, we might give a good view of its matters. First, there are a collection of maps, so perfect as to shame Arrowsmith's. The mountains are so ably delineated, that, judging from the scale of the said

drawings, they can be no less than 50 or 100 miles in height, in comparison with which, the Chimborazo and even the Dhawala Giri are mere mole hills. As for the rivers, some are at least one hundred miles in breadth at their very source, giving us thus an idea of something very gigantic, only met with on Chinese maps. Then follow general observations; maps of roads, stages of traveling, a description of the various races of foreigners; short outlines on fountains and rivers, maps of the frontier towns; about conferring titles of nobility; tribute sent to the court, age, festivals, military regulations, penal laws, taxes and forced labor, raising of imposts, principal men, dress, eating and drinking, ceremonials, marriages, burials, houses and cottages, medical art and drugs, divination, markets, artizans, rivers and mountains, temples, productions, excerpta, and savage languages. The reader will observe, that a good many subjects are treated of, and that they are all standing in their proper place.

The maps commence with that portion of Szechuen, which borders immediately upon Tsinghae, a romantic country, full of hill and mountain fortresses, the abode of wild Meaoutsze and still more savage tribes, who give the Chinese fully as much trouble as the Afghans on the western extremities do the English. The author marks carefully the stages which he himself traveled, but takes very good care not to describe the country through which he passed. At the celebrated place of Tatseën loo, lat. 30° 8′ 24″ N., through which all the intercourse between China and Koko-nor passes, there is one succession of mountains, and the grandeur of the scenery can scarcely be exceeded. But the howling deserts, in the regions of ice and snow fill the heart with fear and trembling. The traveler traversing equally horrible tracts, scarcely ever trod by the human foot, finally arrives at Sening, the great western emporium of China, where the traders of all the tribes of Koko-nor meet to barter their goods for Chinese manufactures. The mountains hereabout produce a great quantity of medical herbs, which are in demand throughout the Central Empire. Some of them are very injurious to the traveler, for as soon as horses eat thereof, they become drunk, and are unable to proceed on their way. Having arrived on the banks of the Yaluh keäng, the name borne by the Yangtsze keäng in its course through Koko-nor, the traces of Chinese cultivation cease, and we find a hardy set of mountaineers or an unruly set of nomades, something in the shape of the liberty-loving Swiss. But lamaism or shamanism flourishes here as much as in Tibet, and the temples and monasteries in possession of the priests are splendid and numerous. These tribes would other-

wise be ungovernable, but the curb of superstition is strong enough to keep them under the dominion of the Chinese, who exercise at least a nominal control over them. Our author describes them as obstinate, stupid, and uncivilized. Some cannot at all be tamed, and they are moreover crafty, a vice very common amongst barbarians, and especially conspicuous amongst the red-bristled races.

Our readers are aware that we have been all this time speaking of the intervening territory between China and Tibet. The southern part of this district is called Toofan or Sefan, and is divided by a river from the dominions of the lama. We are now fairly arrived on the frontier, and shall hasten to enter this famous country. The whole information given by our author may be condensed in a few sentences: viz. there are high mountains covered with eternal snow, the road often leading beyond the clouds, and thus affording to the traveler the pleasure of inhaling an ethereal air. There is no complaint about the wild inhabitants of these districts, a proof of the orderly habits of the Tibetans, who according to all accounts are a most orderly and quiet set of people. As for the names we find, we think, that even Klaproth would not have been able to pronounce them, though he had a great deal of practice, during his travels in the Caucasus. To make however a long story short, the tourist arrives by way of Tsiamdo and Tardsong at Lassa, or Hlassa, as some of the learned folks will have it.

Fairly on Tibetan ground, our author begins to philosophize in his travels, and the first thing he tells us, is, that the common people maintain the yellow religion (shamanism), and that they reverentially believe the dalaï lama, a personage, who has by successive migrations again and again been born in this world. Quietism is the principal doctrine of this creed, benevolence the principle by which the votaries are actuated, whlist they are absorbed in divine and deep contemplation. The benevolence is at all events negative, something of the imperial compassion towards distant foreigners, and the love of the Dominican friars. He has also prophetical gifts, but his greatest accomplishments consist in swallowing knives, and eating as well as emitting fire, two noble qualifications which we frequently meet with amongst jugglers, but on account of these things his disciples honor him greatly, and call him the living Budha. From this subject, the writer enters upon the most favorite topic for a Chinese topographist, viz. the offering of tribute by the said lama, which commenced prior to the accession of the Mantchou family. Under Shunche, however, about two centuries ago, the fifth lama, according

to our Chinese informant, had an interview with the great emperor, and received a patent, to be the monarch, or general ruler, of the Budhist religion in the west. The emperor of China, considering himself as the head of heathenism, thus thereby assumes a portentous title, of which the dragon is the emblem. Wars and bloodshed followed upon this peaceful settlement, in which some of the Mongol and Calmuck khans seem to have had a hand. Now it is a very remarkable circumstance, that, notwithstanding the great reverence these gentry profess to have for the holy shrines, they cannot occasionally resist the temptation of helping themselves to the treasures which have been hoarded up there by the faithful. The gold collected there exists in such immense quantities, that the most expensive campaigns have richly been repaid by the plunder of Lassa, and hence, this has always been the great point of attraction, which drew these unruly tribes from their dreary deserts to the place of holiness. Of course they have always some pretence or other, in the finding of which, they are as cunning as our best diplomatists, and even Metternich might occasionally take a lesson from a khan. In general, however, these expeditions arise from pious motives, such as for instance a pilgrimage to some temple or other, and then it unfortunately happens, that the devotees are so ravished with the glittering metal, of which they unfortunately have seen very little in Tartary, that they cannot avoid possessing themselves of the yellow dust. At other times some quarrel amongst the lamas calls forward their interposition, and they appear on the plateau of Tibet as pacificators, who merely for the sake of establishing peace wage war. Let the cause however what it may be, they never forget helping themselves to the good things that are found in abundance in the cloisters and niches, and having accomplished their object, they disappear as fast as they come. In one of their pious crusades, they were so much charmed with the whole system of hierarchy, that they in a fit of fervent devotion, packed the very lamas upon their horses and camels, and decamped with their precious burdens to Kobi. Their local knowledge is perfect, because the principal lamas of their own nation study at Lassa and the environs, and are also there invested with authority to sway the nomads. Towards the end of the last century an enemy, no other than the hardy Ghorkas, appeared in the south, who availing themselves of the absence of the teshoo lama, who was then at Peking, pounced upon the temples, and made a clear sweep of all the invaluables. For this outrage, however, the Chinese made them pay dearly, and they remember the lesson to this very day.

Though the lamas detest the Chinese as an unclean race, yet they have always found it for their advantage to claim the protection of the great emperor. This has also been freely granted, and it was owing to Chinese influence, that the power of the secular rulers was put down, and the lama made the supreme authority of the land. Still there was one condition to which this chief had to subscribe, viz. that his migration should only take place according to the sanction of the court, and moreover the transmigration having taken place in obedience to the imperial edict, the ta-chin or resident should always be consulted, and everything should be done by his direction. This is then a very proper way of managing matters. Whilst the Chinese emperor has all the credit of granting his paternal protection, it is a very cheap mode of doing things; 2000 soldiers are sufficient to keep the whole country in order, and the whole annual expenditure does not exceed 100,000 taels. What an example to Russia and England! But even this money is not to be lost; an imperial edict directs the officers to enjoin upon the Chinese merchants to reëxport all the precious sycee silver, so that the country may retain its treasures. What a pity that our celestial friends know nothing about bills of exchange.

But we had almost forgotten the subject of which we ought to speak. The reader must forgive us this deviation, because our guide has all at once forgotten his maps, and gotten into politics, which is an inexhaustible topic. And thus, being led astray, we imperceptibly finished the first volume, and are now in

Volume 2d. What strikes us most is the gorgeous description of the temples in and near Lassa. As however other writers have amply dwelt upon this subject, we must for this time skip it over. The grand principle that pervades all Tibet is, to live in poverty and wretchedness, in order to save money for building temples, and endowing monasteries. Hence all the national treasure is locked up in these abodes of laziness and vice. After pursuing the route towards the south, where our author regales his reader with many hard names, he finally arrives on the frontiers of Nipál, the inhabitants of which he honors with the honorable name of thievish Ghorkas. He very wisely remarks at the end, that under the bright heaven and the changes of the sun there are other wonderful things and extraordinary phenomena, but the roads through mountains, and canals being not yet made, the country remains a vast wilderness.

The next chapter is an itinerary, more uninteresting than any other part of the book, but perhaps of some use to the future traveler.

After this the book grows more interesting, and we all at once are introduced to ethnology; every description of the different tribes that inhabit the country is preceded by a picture of the male and female of the said nation, somewhat in Vandyke's style. The first race are the barbarians who live in the neighborhood of Tatseën loo. They dress magnificently in furs and silks, wear poniards, and are moreover very enterprizing. Trade cannot be carried on by anybody, except under the express sanction of a set of women. Addicted to shamanism, they do not bury their bodies, but expose them to the kites, thus performing, after their death, the most virtuous action, by feeding with their own substance the brute creation. This indeed is charity with a vengeance.

Next to these are the Letang tribe, a very orderly set, engaged in spinning and weaving, and moreover an inoffensive race. The Patang very much resemble the former. Our author does not inform us of their numbers, nor tell us whether they have a different language, and an alphabet of their own.

In describing the Setsang tribe, our author principally expatiates upon the marriage ceremonies, without giving any idea of the character of the people. If one of the lamas commits adultery, he is sewed up with the offending party in a skin, and exposed in the desert. Of the Alekŏ we learn nothing else, but that men as well as women wear a very curious headdress.

We leave out several tribes, because what is said about them is scarcely worth our notice, and merely advert to the Loqukeapa, who live to the south of Tibet. They are a set of savages, who besmear their body with all possible colors, are ignorant of the Budhist religion, and live in holes; during the winter they dress in skins, and in summer they make use of leaves for the same purpose. The Tibetans send the most desperate of their criminals amongst them, and they are sure of never seeing them return.

The Palihpoo are on the contrary far more civilized, excel in many arts, do also engage in trade, but have one radical vice, that of resisting the authority of the celestial empire. Some fifty years ago they sent a tribute-bearer to the Chinese resident at Lassa. He received the envoy very graciously, and bestowed upon the said barbarians commercial privileges. They commenced trading, but alas! their hankering after gain, a distinctive trait in the barbarian character, and nowhere more conspicuous than amongst red-bristled tribe, involved them in trouble; edicts were issued, which they would not obey, and their stubbornness obliged the celestial officers to march

forward with an army in order to destroy this unruly set. With what success the said general met, we are not told, but are led to believe, that the issue very much resembled that of all other Chinese campaigns, and that the refractory brood was exterminated without mercy, much in the same manner as were recently the barbarians in and about Macao.

Volume 3d. This book opens again with sundry prefaces and hints, of which we unfortunately cannot avail ourselves. The long and short of our author's declamation is, that the nearer Toofan tribes being a very warlike set of people, it was deemed expedient to form alliances with them, and these proving futile, the brave Chinese generals had to subdue them. Soon after this it was found expedient to extend the sway further, into Tibet; and this being obtained, it remains to be seen, whether or not sooner or later, Chinese influence will be felt in Bokhára as well as Afghánistan. The author accompanies his observation with a map, the most remarkable part of which is, that there is not the slightest hint given of their southern part coming in contact with the Company's dominions. All maps we have yet seen, represent their whole possessions as a very narrow strip of land, lying somewhat to the west of Malacca; of which the great monarch disdains to take notice. Their orthodox accounts are derived from the colonists of Manila, Batavia, and Singapore, and from them they learn, that a little island with a few merchants and soldiers constitute the whole European dominions in the east. Talk to them about provinces as large as their own, about a numerous population and a well-organized government, and such conversation will only produce a contemptuous smile. Whether it be from sheer contempt, or mere policy, the name of Bengal is never mentioned in the Peking gazette, which otherwise embraces such a multitude of subjects. And though the military commanding officer on the frontiers of Yunnan has been condescending enough, to send some gentle hints to the British authorities in Assám, that he was going to come down upon them and put the whole to the sword, like another taoutae, still these exploits on paper do never appear in the Chinese Moniteur. What magnanimity in the lion, who feigns to be asleep, that the little mouse may skip and frisk about without fear and trembling for the king of the beasts.

The article upon nobility is extremely short, and it appears, that his imperial majesty, prompted by the urgency of the case, had appointed noblemen either from amongst the Mantchous, or the gentry of the country, to defend the kingdom against all enemies.

The subject of tribute is treated with considerable accuracy. It does the heart of a Chinese man good to enter minutely into a list of gifts, which are humbly offered at the foot of the throne of the great emperor, in token of homage and fealty. Amongst the articles sent by the Tibetan dalaï lama, are gilded brass images of Budha, beads, rhinoceros' horns, flowered carpets, woolens, &c.

Our author next dwells upon the calendar of the country, which does not differ much from the Chinese. The year commences in spring, and is called according to a certain animal like the rat and mouse. The celebration of the new year is accompanied with equally noisy ceremonies as in China. The youth wear garlands and crowns, and show themselves about in the city, whilst others dance to the sound of drums, and perform a mockfight with battle-axes.

The Tibetan army is required to consist of 64,000 men, both horse and foot; the former buy their animals from the Tartars, or the Mongols themselves enlist in the cavalry. They wear a cuirass and helmet, with red tassels and peacock's feathers, and are armed with a sword, carbine, and large spear. Thus superbly mounted and splendidly accoutred, they inspire terror as much as the celestial cavalry, of which the benevolent reader may occasionally see a few traversing the steeets of Macao. The description of Virgil of the war horse is too faint when applied to these coursers, and the fierceness of the animal is such, that some man must go before it to lead it on, in order to prevent the rider from tumbling off! Thus it happens that no spurs are used, and that the stirrups, made after the model of the ancients, and described by the greatest sinologue as the metal by which a person mounts a 'horse,' perform all the service. The infantry stick in their caps the feathers of cocks, every soldier carries two swords, bow and arrows, and sometimes also a spear of considerable length. The whole army is reviewed during the second and third months of the year.

Of the penal laws we have the following account. They are very tyrannical; as soon as a criminal is seized, no matter what was his delinquency, he is bound hand and foot, and thrust into a dark room, until he be cited before the judge. The body of a person who is killed in quarrel is thrown into the water. He who kills anybody must pay a fine into the public treasury, and there must be prayer said for the murdered person. Whosoever has neither oxen nor sheep nor money to buy himself free, is bound and thrown into the water. Those who, whilst robbing, kill, shall all without making any difference between the principal or the abettor, be condemned to death, or be

tied to a pillar, and have arrows as well as matchlocks discharged at them. Those who die in consequence of hard drinking, shall have their heads cut off from the corpse, to be publicly exposed or sent to the Lŏya tribe to be eaten by them. This race seems to be endowed with a peculiar appetite, and the Tibetans are in the habit of transporting their convicts into their territory, to supply the said savages with a meal. A criminal may also be bound and thrown into a pit of scorpions to be stung to death. The family of the robber is to be imprisoned, and to pay the double of the stolen goods, whilst the robber has to lose his eyes, and to have his nose, hands, or feet cut off. Those who have committed great crimes are to be beaten with thongs, and then put into water. After some time they are again beaten, and thus three times. If they still deny their guilt, their chest is then besprinkled with boiling oil, whilst the flesh is cut open with a sharp poniard, and they have then again to undergo the ordeal of water. If no confession after all this can be extorted, and there exist no proofs, they are set at liberty. The bodies of those who die under torture are thrown into water. Ordinary cases, such as quarrels and adultery, are punishable by fines. The author remarks that he has never heard of more cruel tortures, and certainly some, if true, are execrable.

The taxes are levied upon all articles of natural produce, from the shaggy goat to the iron that is dug from the bowels of the earth. Moreover the conscription, according to which every male from 20 to 60 years is obliged to serve the state, furnishes a good revenue, for many of the inhabitantss prefer paying 50 cash per day, to be exempted from the service, whenever it is their turn. Otherwise the whole population is put under contribution by the convents.

In giving an account of the dress of the nation, the author is very prolix, so as to draw up a complete vade mecum for a tailor. The climate requires warm clothing, hence the Tibetans are very expert in manufacturing woolens, and like the Chinese put one dress over the other to keep themselves warm. With the poorer classes, sheepskins are used for the same purpose, whilst the men of distinction wear costly furs and silks. The headdress has a very grotesque appearance, and the boots worn by them have soles of immense thickness, to prevent the wearer from catching cold, and being tortured by rheumatism. Their daily food is barley and mutton, the latter often eaten raw, and kept ready in ice for daily consumption. All classes indulge in tea, which is however seasoned with salt and oil. Of their barley a variety of liquors are made, of which they partake very freely.

Their means of subsistence being very scanty, they are often reduced to the greatest straits, and hunger and misery joined to the small-pox, desolate towns and villages. To keep the population down, on the Malthusian plan, polyandry has been introduced, but the Chinese are so shocked with this preposterous custom, that they have actually, in several districts, put a stop to it. A country that brings forth the almond and grape, might likely be made to produce more nutritious food than mere barley; still national prejudices are in favor of this article, and therefore it is cultivated almost exclusively.

The marriage ceremonies, which are minutely detailed by the writer, contain nothing extraordinary. The alliances are concluded with the the perfect assent of the parents of both parties. The women are mere drudges, and neither beauty nor sweetness of temper are considered accomplishments; the only thing required is, that they shall possess the requisite qualifications for working hard. As soon as a person is dead, the body is bound with a number of ropes, and the lamas come repeatedly to say mass. A few days having thus elapsed, it is cut to pieces and given to the dogs, whilst the bones, pounded in a mortar to dust, are burnt, and then kneaded together like dough. Some persons prefer to give the deceased to the kites. We know of nothing so disgusting and revolting to nature; still it is the general custom of the country. The deceased lamas, however, are burnt, and the ashes deposited in urns, which are carefully put into hollow images to serve as objects of worship.

Their dwellings are poor hovels, made of stones, put rudely one upon another, without flooring, and always built on the sunny side of hills, so as to be sheltered against the fearful northern blasts. Many live in caverns, with far greater security. On account of the dryness of the soil, such quantities of sand is raised by tornadoes, as to cover whole districts, and hence the precaution of the natives to protect themselves against this evil.

In the medical art, they are, according to our author, well advanced, but they rely much upon spells and incantations in their cures. They are very well practiced in the art of divination and sorcery, and their women use all kinds of magical arts to portend future events.

The accounts of the trade are excessively meagre. Women appear to be the principal merchants, the men being too sluggish to engage in any laborious pursuits. The artisans of Tibet possess skill in working metals, and their manufactures are by no means contemptible.

Volume 4th. This part of the work opens with the names of all the mountains, that have fallen under our author's observation. It is

however our misfortune to know next to nothing of the same, and thus we must be satisfied merely to state, on his authority, that some resemble certain birds, whilst others are not unlike beasts. This chapter is followed by an enumeration of all the temples of note, a goodly number, some of which consist of remarkably fine buildings with a profusion of ornaments. The list of productions is imperfect, and ill put together. The miscellaneous notices contain somewhat of everything, and comprise an outline of several military stations.

And now we have come to the vocabulary. Possessing, however, ponderous dictionaries in our own language with full explanations of the Tibetan idiom, we refer the reader to them, as to more complete accounts.

Having thus safely reached the end of this review, we ought to add something not generally known. The Moravians, who have furnished missionaries to the most dismal regions of the world, also wished to enlighten the poor Tibetans with the gospel; the more so as they generally believed, that no other Christian denomination would ever take the trouble of making that remote country the field of its exertions. In this conjecture, however, they were wrong, for the Church Missionary Society, sent, at an early date, a German to the frontiers to acquire the language, and to commence an intercourse with the natives. He had compiled a small dictionary, when he was snatched away by death, but his posthumous work was published at Serampore. In the meanwhile, a few indefatigable Moravians joined themselves to some Calmuck hordes in southern Russia, and under much suffering and persecution gained the love of the people, and obtained firm hold upon their minds. With these nomads, they wished to pass on to others further to the east in their annual wanderings; and since the free hordes in Bokhára frequently go to Tibet on a pilgrimage, they thus hoped to enter with their parishioners the country. It is very remarkable, that in the very year, when this plan was to be put into execution, the Russian government forced them to leave their nomadic congregation, and to abandon forever the work of missions amongst this erratic race.

Since the Chinese have obtained possession of the country, the utmost vigilance has prevailed all along the line of the frontiers, and it would be much easier to penetrate into the interior of Canton province, than to cross the Himálaya range into Tibet. Some traders however, natives of Hindustan, have been in the habit of frequenting Lassa, and one amongst them, who if we are not mistaken was also a political agent, has given a very full and excellent description of all

he saw. The country, however, remains still in many respects a terra incognita, and we must look towards a less restrained intercourse, in order to ascertain its geography and know its people.

ART. V. *Pih Jin Ko, or an Ode on Patience, with a translation and explanatory notes.*

This little poem, by an unknown author, is found in a small volume that contains two others, also anonymous, on Filial Duty and the Good Man. A translation of the first may gratify some of our readers, especially those interested in the study of the Chinese literature and character. Its brevity can be offensive to no one, and it has certain other qualities that recommend it to notice.

It is poetry with measure but without rhyme, and abounds in that sort of correspondences, called parallelisms, which is a well-known characteristic of the Asiatic muse. This feature in the Chinese taste is the more worthy of notice, because not only does Pegasus amble back and forth with measured step in parallel tracks, but even the ass of the sage, and the dray-horse of every proser, ape his shuttle-like movements. It is not said that their writings, seen in their native dress, lose anything of force or beauty from this cause. On the contrary, however unsuitable it may be to the European relish for a freer motion, there is a degree of strength and vivacity in this studied correlation of terms in Chinese diction, that can be felt, but not described or translated. The parallels in this piece of composition, as is most common among Chinese writers, are of the synthetic or constructive order, there being a consimilitude and equality in the construction of the lines, 'such as noun answering to noun, verb to verb, member to member, negative to negative, &c.,' as described by Dr. Lowth, in his dissertation on Hebrew poetry. They are very noticeable in the proverbs of Solomon, and seem well adapted in a language that admits of them, to adages, aphorisms, and short didactic sentences. The ode before us runs in couplets, while in rhythm it varies from trimeters to pentameters, heptameters, and verses of ten syllables divided into hemistichs.

There seems also to be some irregularity in the position of the cæsural pause. It deserves remark, because a writer* on Chinese poetry

* Davis' Poeseos Sinensis Commentarii page 17.

has supposed it to be invariably fixed, according to the kind of verse written. It may be so in general, but we think not always. Instead of falling uniformly after the second word in a pentameter, of the six that occur in this piece, the two last appear to have it after the third, corresponding with the sentential pause. See the 5th couplet. Again, in lines of seven words it is occasionally at least, in other poems, after the third instead of the fourth. The rule respecting the cæsura would seem to be less rigid than was supposed by Mr. Davis. Whatever may have been the design of the author of this ode, in the variety of his metre, and the irregularity in the place of the pause, his European readers will thank him for the licenses he has taken; though it may perhaps be no relief to a Chinese, yet it is to a western ear.*

Another feature of the ode deserving notice from the philologist, is the use of the word *jin* which forms its theme. It occurs in every verse, always as a verb, except in the first, and a repetition of it in the middle of the piece. Sometimes it is transitive, and at others, intransitive. There is considerable diversity in its significations, as will appear in the translation. We have no exact equivalent to *jin*, and hence are obliged to render it by its nearest proximate, being guided in the selection by the usus loquendi of the work in hand. It here successively signifies fortitude, forbearance, self-command, patience, self-restraint, temperance, quiet endurance of oppression, curbing of ambition, government of the tongue, contentment, submission, and faithful application, as to study; in short we might add to what the author says in commendation of this single word, (*jin*) that his use of it lets us look into a new chamber of human thought more extended than any that we have seen filled by so small an occupant. Perhaps no nearer equivalent can be found in English than the good word *patience*, in its widest sense, as implying the control of the whole man. It is to recommend, and exhort to the exercise of this self-control, in all the circumstances of life, that our author writes. He proceeds therefore to describe it in the abstract, by figurative representations of its exalted rank among human virtues, by its effects, and by examples adduced from ancient history, the great fountains of instruction, examples alike illustrative of its happy results, and the sad consequences of the want of it.

* Few foreigners have attended much to the study of Chinese poetry, and there is in some cases a difficulty in distinguishing between the cæsural and sentential pause. But if these remarks should elicit from others the result of their observation and study, they will not be in vain, though they may be erroneous.

	1	2	3	4	5
	百歌	忍忍	能能	能能	富不
百	忍百	是是	忍忍	忍丨	不丨
忍	歌忍	修治	夏冬	貧壽	丨則
歌		齊平	不不	亦亦	則窘
		之之	炎冷	樂永	窘傾
		樞網			
		機領			

The Song of Patience.

1. The song of patience universal,
   Of universal patience sings.

2. Patience is the hinge and spring of self-rule and domestic control;
   Patience is the bond and regulator of good and peaceful government.

3. Can one be patient, summer is not hot;
   Can one be patient, winter is not cold.

4. Can one be patient, poverty is yet happy;
   Can one be patient, long life may be still protracted.

5. Honors without moderation will be lost;
   Riches without moderation will be wasted

N. B. Whenever a perpendicular stroke (丨) occurs in the text, it indicates an omission of the character *jin*

6		7		8		9		10	
不	不	父	兄	朋	夫	劉	陳	石	項
忍	1	子	弟	友	婦	伶	靈	崇	羽
小	善	不	不	不	不	敗	滅	破	喪
事	性	忍	1	1	1	其	其	其	其
變	終	失	失	多	多	名	國	家	元
爲	成	孝	愛	反	爭	乃	乃	乃	乃
大	狼	慈	敬	覆	競	爲	爲	爲	爲
						酒	色	財	氣
						不	不	不	不
						忍	1	1	1

6. With impatience, little matters change to great;
   With impatience, a good nature at length becomes wolfish.

7. Between father and son, impatience causes loss of filial devotion and love;
   Between brothers, impatience destroys affection and respect.

8. Between friends, impatience breeds frequent change and fickleness;
   Between husband and wife, impatience stirs up much strife and quarrel.

9. Lew Ling, spoiled a good name by not foregoing wine;
   Chin Ling destroyed a state, by not restraining his passions.

10. Sheïh Tsung ruined his family, by not resisting extravagance;
    Heäng Yu lost his possessions, by not controling his temper.

11	12	13	14	15	16
勾燕	師德	韓曹	張田	百歌	仁智
踐丹	德昭	信泳	良橫	忍百	者者
嘗不	唾不	胯不	圯不	歌	人人
膽能	面	下	上		入入
忍終	眞	空	徙		所所
復亡	自愚	成自	成自		難弗
仇殞	乾蠢	功剄	名刎		人人

11. Kow Tseën tasted gall, and patiently waited for revenge;
Tan of Yen, from want of moderation, in the end was lost and perished.

12. Sze Tih, when spit upon in the face, patiently let it dry;
Tih Chaou, for want of patience, was a very dunce.

13. Han Sin, under disgrace,[1] patiently performed a meritorious part;
Tsaou Yung, in his impatience, uselessly cut his throat.

14. Chang Leäng, by patience on the river's bank,[2] gained a reputation;
Teën Hwăng, for want of patience, vainly committed suicide.

15. The song of patience universal,
Of universal patience sings.

16. The benevolent endure what other men can hardly bear;
The wise submit to what others never yield to.

Notes.—1. The Chinese expression here is one implying the lowest contempt, like that of being trampled under foot. Women and boys derided this man, but he bore it without reply. It is difficult to obtain the historical facts alluded to in many of the instances here adduced. We must be content with a general idea, at present. Some of the stories alluded to have more than one version.

2. Chang Leäng, it is said, was bidden by an angel in disguise to stand upon the bank of a river, in order to try his patience. All who saw him, ridiculed him as a lazy beggar, but he heeded them not, and after a sufficient experiment of his endurance, the angel returned and presented him a book of heavenly origin on military tactics, as his reward. Hence he became a renowned warrior.

17		18		19		20		21		22	
懲	執	忍	丨	丨	丨	丨	丨	丨	丨	丨	丨
忿	雌	字	字	字	字	得	得	得	得	得	得
窒	守	可	可	可	可	淡	饑	勤	荒	骨	口
慾	下	以	以	以	以	泊	寒	苦	淫	肉	腹
丨	丨	作	作	行	制	可	可	有	無	存	全
之	之	聖	善	蠻	強	養	立	贏	疾	人	物
方	準	基	本	貊	梗	神	品	餘	病	倫	命

17. To repress anger and restrain the passions is the square of patience;
To keep the petticoat,[3] and hold the lower place, is the rule of patience.

18. Patience is the word to lay the foundation of perfection;
Patience is the word to form the root of virtue.

19. Patience is the word to succeed among barbarians and savages;
Patience is the word to rule the violent and obstinate.

20. Can one be content with slender means, he may nourish the divinity within;
Can one be patient in hunger and cold, he will establish a character.

21. Can one bear toil and labor, he will have a superabundance;
Can one refrain from wild excess, he will be free from violent disease.

22. Can one bear with his bone and flesh (his kindred), he maintains the human relations;
Can one deny his mouth and belly, he preserves animal life.[4]

3. Literally, "hold fast the she-bird," &c. We have the opposite, in the vulgar expression, "wear the breeches."

4. This is probably said in allusion to the reputed wrong of killing animals for food.

23	24	25	26	27	28
忍	得	得	須	時	一
得	得	得	知	過	一
言	屈	忿	嫌	人	五
語	辱	戾	即	只	福
免	徵	祖	是	笑	皆
是	器	宗	心	痴	駢
非	量	安	中	呆	臻
爭	誦	刻	頭	人	萬
鬥	讀	薄	天	自	禍
消	增	兒	外	知	皆
仇	學	孫	有	修	灰
恨	問	蔭	外	省	燼

23. Can one forbear tattle, he will avoid slander;
Can one forbear strife and contention, he dissipates hatred and resentment.

24. Can one submit to abuse and raillery, he shows his caliber;
Can one bend to thorough study, he accumulates learning.

25. Can one repress anger and perverseness, his fathers rest in peace;
Can one refrain from selfishness and avarice, his posterity are overshadowed.

26. Be it known that patience is a measure of soul capacious as the heavens;
Be not averse to patience, because it is a sword[5] over the heart.

27. While in patient endurance, men will laugh at it as stupid folly;
But when the endurance is past, they will perceive your careful culture.

28. Once patient, all blessings come in company;
Once patient, every woe is burnt to ashes.

5. The reference here is to the form of the character (忍) *jin*.

To those acquainted with the Chinese character, there may be something here to remind them of one of its prominent features, a certain *imperturbability*, that seems very like a national peculiarity. It shows itself in the slow and measured gait of a native of the Inner Land, in his aversion to or incapacity for strong resistance, in the manikin-air of Chinese children, and among the higher ranks of society, in the prevailing penchant for the *otium cum dignitate*.

Here too there is something interesting in another point of view, to the scholar and philanthropist, who love to enter the sanctuary of human thought, within the vail of its outward expression. It may be regarded as a fair specimen of the moral tracts produced among an unevangelized people. In this class of writings is seen the mind of a pagan in its nobler aspirations after a knowledge of true virtue, and endeavoring to make its researches available to others. Though it stumbles upon many truths that lie in the open path of life, yet when it essays to treat of the higher duties of responsible beings, and of human destiny, it unconsciously shows itself to have entered a region of obscurity, where only here and there a ray from the outer sun thwarts the thick darkness. What but such a mind, could believe that the state of the dead depends upon the conduct and character of their surviving kindred? But this is the doctrine of our author. The best productions of the wisest heathens whether ancient or modern, are but so many proofs of the incompetency of human reason, alone and unenlightened by revelation, to discover the path to real happiness. S. R.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: petition of American merchants in Canton; limitation of Spanish vessels; new regulations for foreign shipping; fire; smokers of opium; gambling; British expedition.*

DESIROUS of furnishing our readers with a chronicle of events as complete as possible, we have determined to give somewhat more latitude and prominence to this part of the Repository. In the absense of public journals and mails — of which the Chinese possess neither — we shall feel specially obliged to our correspondents and friends for notices of any occurrences worthy of being put on record. From the Register and Press, and also from the Portuguese journals published in Macao, we shall extract whatever may serve to complete our journal of occurrences, and to convey to our readers a faithful account of passing events. In the present state of affairs — "big with expectation" — we would fain give "the very age and body of the time, its own form and pressure."

On the 25th ult., the following petition was addressed to his excellency, the governor of Canton.

"The American vice-consul, Delano, in behalf of the merchants of his country, whose names are hereto attached, respectfully presents their petition, as follows: 'Whereas it is the custom of western nations, always when one power blockades

the ports of another, to prohibit the ships of every nation from trading to the blockaded port; but of this previous notice must be given. Now intelligence has been received from England and America, speaking of England contemplating, on or about the 1st of June, to blockade the port of Canton. The said merchants belong to a neutral nation, and desire to preserve their neutrality. Now the time is short to bring our nation's ships into port; these ships pursue an honorable trade, we therefore earnestly solicit that they may come directly to Whampoa, and open their hatches. Heretofore many ships have been detained from ten to thirty days before they could discharge their cargoes. If the ships which are to come shall, as heretofore, be detained, the time will not suffice to discharge and take in their cargoes, and they cannot speedily complete their business. Besides the English men-of-war once arrived, they will prevent our ships from entering or leaving the port, and they cannot return to their country, and our losses will be immense. We therefore earnestly pray that our ships may come directly into port, and be permitted to commence their business, and the favor bestowed will not be trifling. Our petition is submitted to your excellency's consideration."

(Signed) Augustine Heard & Co., Gideon Nye, jun., A. A. Ritchie, James Ryan, Henry W. Hubbell, Olyphant & Co., Russell & Co., S. W. Lewis, Henry Fessenden, John Shillaber, Isaac M. Bull. Canton, April 25th, 1840.

The next day his excellency gave a reply, declaring "that all those nations who obediently uphold the laws of the land are allowed *free trade*; that the delay complained of was occasioned by a desire, on his part, to ascertain that *no* irregularity existed; &c. "It is an egregious mistake," he says, "analogous to an audacious falsehood, that the English contemplate putting on a blockade." He scorns the idea; and assures the petitioners, that he and his colleagues will not fail to uphold justice and equity. He returned the original petition, that it might not be put on record. The petitioners, however, seem to have gained their object, as a new impulse was immediately given to the business of the port.—For a translation of the reply, our readers are referred to the Canton Register of the 5th, from which we have quoted.

May 1st. 1840. The officers at the head of the financial, judicial, gabel, and commissariat departments, made a communication to their excellencies, the governor and lieutenant-governor, respecting the foreign shipping, proposing sundry new regulations. These originated with the sub-prefect of Macao. A long edict has been issued to the hong merchants, which we hope to be able to publish entire in our next number.

According to the new edict, the number of *Spanish ships* is henceforth to be limited to ten annually: this is done with the intention of preventing their becoming carriers for the English.

Another important regulation, established by this edict, is announced in the following document.—

Tseäng, the sub-prefect of Kwangchow, resident at Macao for the protection of the seacoast, issues this mandatory edict. On the 13th May, 1840, I received from his excellency Lin, the governor of the two Kwang, &c., a communication, wherein he says: 'hereafter whenever the merchant ships of any foreign country arrive, no matter from what nation they may come, they must all alike be commanded to anchor off Macao, and deliver up to the local sub-prefect both the ship's port-clearance and manifest, to be by him transmitted to me for examination; and they must wait till the examination has been clearly made, and a reply given approving or disapproving, and in accordance therewith they must faithfully act.' Having received this, it is incumbent on me immediately to issue an edict for information. On its reaching the pliots * * let them act in obedience to his excellency's instructions, without opposition. A special edict. Taoukwang, 20th year, 4th month, 13th day. (May 14th, 1840.)

Monday 18th. About 10 o'clock P. M. a fire broke out in the eastern suburbs of Canton, and raged till one o'clock next morning. Some fifty or more dwelling houses were burnt, together with the lazar hospital.

The *smokers of opium* are receiving no inconsiderable attention from Lin and his zealous associates. A few are said to have been decapitated; and a large institution for the reformation of the living has been opened in the southern suburbs of the provincial city; it is a normal institution; and the governor has recommended the establishment of similar ones in all the departments of the province. The following is an explanation of this model.

"Yu acting Kwangchow foo hereby issues this clear and distinct proclamation that all may know and understand.

"Whereas, the law prohibiting the use of opium has already been published for two years, yet the evil is far from being eradicated; and though the district mandarins have seized numbers, and immediately after apprehension proceeded to try and punish them, yet the numbers thus taken are still very few, while the greater part of the evil-doers escape the net of the law altogether.

"In going back to the reason of this, I find that from the time of first trying and punishing for opium-smoking until now, most likely these smokers have cunningly used the drug in private, not daring to do so openly, and therefore it is, that at the time the said cheheën (or lesser district mandarins) make search of and apprehend, either because the result of their inquiries is not certain, or because they have no proof, such as finding the prohibited article in the accused party's possession, they proceed doubtfully between these two reasons, and accordingly a feeling of pity and compassion springs up within their breasts! But alas! these know not that if they permit such people to cling to their evil habits, they open a door for the entrance of the poison! There will be no need of invitation, for the opium will walk in of its own accord! Therefore it was that we received the emperor's approval and sanction of a set of laws and regulations as set forth in the commissioner's memorial: upon the principle therein specified, 'if we permit the people to continue smoking for a single day, then the sale of and traffic in opium must daily continue'—all of which regulations have been pointedly discussed. If, then, because people do not smoke opium openly—we do not in the slightest degree investigate the matter: then what is to-day a purling brook may at a future day become a rapid stream, and it is impossible to tell what evils this cancerous sore may not lead to!

"I find that from the 26th day of the 6th month of the previous year (6th July, 1839), when the term of grace began till the 25th day of the 12th month of this year (Jan. 17th, 1841) when it will be completed, the space of one year and a half will have elapsed! Time flies like an arrow! In the twinkling of an eye we shall be in the winter season! You will then be exposed to the dreadful punishment of having your heads hung out as a warning to the public; and who is there that will manifest the slightest compassion for you! When I think of what I am now saying—truly my heart is oppressed with grief and sorrow! If we do not therefore lay our heads together, and consult about some way of averting the evil before-hand, there will be no way of saving your lives, no possibility of delivering you from the net of the law!

"Reflecting that when we apprehend opium dealers and smokers it is of great importance to preserve the traces of the drug—beginning by seizing an opium apparatus, we must insist on further proof—if really upon inquiry it turns out to be that it is indeed an opium smoker who has been seized, and along with his apparatus brought before our tribunal—and if further he confesses it, we have only then to fix his doom according to statute. If he has really broken off the bad habit and been unjustly apprehended, he must immediately be examined and set at liberty in order that he may avoid all implication. But if he have not yet broken off his habit of opium-smoking, or if his case be at all doubtful, and if such a one be apprehended and brought before us, perhaps he may not be willing at once to confess, and in that case we must pay strict attention to his appearance and action, so as to distinguish and determine whether he continue his craving or not, hoping thereby to avoid all unjustly harsh and lax treatment.

"I, the said Kwwangchow foo, have in conjunction with the Nanhae heën and the Pwanyu heën, the complete control of the matter. We have just now settled that the great southern granary—outside the Yungtsing moon (or gate of eternal purity, the same gate that leads to the execution ground,) shall be the spot alloted for the trying to get rid of the evil of opium-smoking. Even now we have order-

ed workmen to fit the place up with little cells and windows, where every attention is to be paid to render it strict and secure; as soon as the work is finished we shall immediately take those accused of smoking opium, and who have not yet confessed, no matter whether they be rich or poor, or what they be, but we shall immediately put all such quietly into these cells; every man shall have a separate cell, two planks or stools, a table, a clay portable stove, a clay tea-pot, a clay frying pan, bowl and chopsticks, all complete: every day he shall have given him a catty of white rice, oil, vegetables, and fuel, sufficient for use, causing him at the same time to cook his own victuals; and we shall send a petty assistant mandarin of good and approved principles to dwell at and sleep within the place; and we shall cause all our people engaged in managing the matter to superintend every thing with the utmost attention; and we shall further appoint another mandarin to be on the watch outside, to keep a sharp lookout; and the watchmen, who are to let the water, vegetables, &c. pass into the accused parties cells, must take them and their carriers and search and scrutinize their persons and clothes with the most minute care, so much as a hair must not be clandestinely conveyed; the walls of the place must be planted all round with thorny or jagged palisades; and no relations of the accused can be permitted to hold conference with them The great door, except for letting in rice, water, &c., must never be opened; it must always be locked and padlocked, and no people whatever shall be permitted to come near prying and spying about outside. Thus, when the term of *renovation* comes on, the accused parties will find it hard to bear. To those who are willing to leave off, we shall give medicinal pills; those who are unwilling, or who cannot leave off, must just wait till they die of the disease they themselves have engendered; after one month we shall institute a general examination of all their appearances: if they really have left off the vicious habit, they may yet be good and happy people; they shall be immediately sent home to their relations, and the heads or responsible persons of every five families, and every ten families, shall be made to secure them, and look after them, and three months afterwards they must again be brought before us for examination. Those who have really reformed, shall be immediately set at liberty, those who are backsliders shall be examined and punished by law. Those who can be locked up five days and five nights without suffering any bad effects from it, are those who have been previously cured, and shall instantly be let go; we may not involve them in needless delay.

"We have already duly petitioned the high provincial authorities respecting this, and they have granted us every particular, as is duly recorded. Accordingly, therefore, we now unite the circumstances, and issue this our proclamation to you, oh! soldiers and people, that ye may thoroughly know and understand! Ye must know that this quiet and retired spot, into which we are going to put you, is a land of watchfulness and examination; *there* no attempt at concealment will avail you anything! Better it is, before the season of grace is fled, to leave off your vicious habit, than to wait till the said period is full, and lose your lives by the executioner. Better to dwell quietly in your own houses and tear up the malady by the roots, than run the risk of dying in that quiet secluded spot that we are preparing for you! Oh ye! wedded to your bad habits, can you listen to this without fear and trembling? I, the Kwangchow foo, wish to do away with the fearful malady and save your lives. Let every one then reform his previous sin. Do not oppose! A special proclamation." *From the Canton Register.*

Gambling, strictly forbidden by the laws of China, is extensively practiced, under the connivance of the police. The usual fees having been paid by a certain establishment near Macao, when additional ones were demanded by the soldiers quartered near the Barrier. Recourse was had to strength, and some scores of the armed soldiers sallied forth against the police. The magistrates' timely interference, however, speedily ended the row, without damage to any one. This occurred on the afternoon of the 22d.

The British expedition "to the east," yet excites but little interest among the Chinese. Some even seem to doubt its coming, though preparations are making to resist, they know not what. There have been, especially along the coast in Fuhkeën, occasional disturbances; still, up to the close of the month, the state of public affairs here and in the vicinity remains quiet. Commerce continues to suffer, but the prospects of the husbandman are fair. With deep anxiety we await the arrival of the expedition and its consequent events.

THE

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ART. I. *Chingtih hwang Yew Keängnan: The Rambles of the emperor Chingtih in Keängnan. Published in* 1832, *in* 7 *small vols.* Reviewed by a Correspondent.

WE once promised to review the newest book coming wet from the press. To atone for our having so long dwelt upon the most ancient of all volumes, the Shoo King, we now, having just fallen across the little work that stands named at the head of this article, will no longer hesitate to try our critical skill upon a performance that has never yet been reviewed.

When Hungwoo, the founder of the Ming dynasty, had ascended the throne, all the barbarians became submissive, and the people enjoyed an enviable tranquillity. Thus the government was transmitted from one emperor to another, until it finally devolved, in 1488, upon Hungche, to bear sway over the black-haired people. This was the remarkable period, when the western empires began to awake from a long torpor, and the art of printing, the discovery of America, and the reformation, changed the face of the globe. The scenes represented to us in these volumes refer to the contemporary period, and it is well worth while to view the state of China, at one of the most important junctures of the history of the human race.

Our author commences his history at the death of Hungche, in 1506, in the true Chinese style of beginning with the end. Feeling the approach of death, he called the six ministers before him; one of them was a man from the province of Kwangtung. He expatiated in a humble strain upon his government, and then recommended

his son, a youth of fifteen, to the sage counselors, and having arranged everything well, he took his departure from this world, in the 36th year of his age.

His son, known under the name of Chingtih, (his posthumous title in the ancestral hall being Wootsung,) spent three years, according to the prescribed custom, in mourning, and during all this time the six ministers acted as regents. Time, however, speeding on with eagle's wings, the last day of the period arrived, and on the next, a great council of state being convened, the young monarch appeared in all the attraction of imperial splendor, and was hailed with general acclamations from the assembled crowd of mandarins. The most happy omens of a fortunate reign had appeared, and the nation was in raptures when contemplating the future national prosperity.

No happiness, however, is unalloyed in this life. Whilst all Europe was throbbing with expectations of being soon delivered from spiritual thraldom, the master spirits in China, only endeavored to rivet the chains of their countrymen still faster, to perpetuate uniformity and a never changing course of life, which may be extremely agreeable to the rulers, but is blasting to the dearest interests of mankind. It was then that the decay commenced, which little more than a century afterwards rendered the empire a prey to the Mantchous.

But to return to our story. The youthful prince, though extremely lively and attractive in his manners, found the round of etiquette a very irksome task, and was above all tired when long and unmeaning papers were read before him, to make him more conversant with all the minutiæ of a court. Thus he sat down discontented in his apartments, and began to regret his having ascended a throne, when one of the principal eunuchs happily entered, whose name was Lew Kin. This man had dandled the emperor on his knee when a babe; had played with him when a little urchin, just beginning to walk; and thus the prince felt a warm attachment towards the friend of his youth. "Dispel your cares," he exclaimed, "I will procure for you better pastime;" and immediately he ordered four of the most accomplished young ladies to be his constant companions. Thus, amidst the sounds of harp and timbrel, he forgot the prosy lectures of his guardians, and for once he felt an interest in the life to which his superior station entitled him. The courtier added to his amusements a menagerie of dogs that could speak, of horses which would lie down and swing themselves in hammocks, of cows that would give regular calls, and of falcons able to transmit a conversation. To this wonderful collection of learned quadrupeds and bipeds, we find a

parallel in the ursine acadamy in Esthonia, as described by a French traveler of the 16th century. It would appear, that the ancient czars of Russia, much admiring the sagacity of bruin, considered him capable of receiving the highest education, and a public institution was therefore erected to give his kind all the advantages of the most polished society, which the country could at that time afford. Having accomplished this great end, he was in company with his keeper to traverse western Europe, and to amuse the world by dancing and comic performances. The tutors being moreover very shrewd men, received direction from their mighty prince, to make extensive inquiries about the state of the countries where they exhibited their art, and above all to spy out the secrets of courts. Having thus obtained sufficient information with which to regale the royal ears, they hastened back to their homes, generally selling their hopeful pupils; and then the first diplomatic intercourse was commenced between the mighty eastern empire and the civilized states of that part of the world. We introduce here this subject merely to show, what service the brute creation can perform, if properly trained, and to prove at the same time that the eunuch Lew Kin was not at all singular in his collection of speaking beasts. This afforded them an amazing deal of amusement, and for aught we know, this humble school for the instruction of brutes might have been raised to the rank of a university, if the ministers had not taken great umbrage at it.

It is the good old custom of the Chinese court, to hold an audience every day, at which the emperor presides. The mandarins, high and low, hastened as customary to the hall, but found it shut, and a tablet suspended on the door, signifying to them, that no audience would take place. This neglect greatly annoyed them, and it was soon discovered, that the emperor was all the time engaged in looking after his horses and cows. Thus the whole indignation of the council of state fell upon the brutes, and those who had procured and taught them. A severe remonstrance subscribed by all the functionaries of the capital was sent in to his majesty, who being a weak and humble man, immediately allowed that he was wrong. Being, however, unwilling to part with his pastime, he steered a middle course, and willingly agreed, that the principal author of so much mischief should be sent to the frontiers in command of a powerful army, to expiate his crime of frivolity. Shense province, with the important passes towards the district of Oroumutsi, has always been considered the key of the empire, and one of the first suggestions of the regency was to guard this post effectually. Now this advice

was followed up: a mountebank, assuming the imposing title of field-marshal, bent his steps towards the west, and both Calmucks as well as Turkomans had to respect the frontiers of the Central Kingdom, when such a doughty hero commanded. The ministry was as glad of having rid itself of such a dangerous character as the marshal, as our's is, when a violent radical takes office; but Lew Kin had more foresight, and when his friend took his departure, he made a covenant with him, that they should defend each other until death. To make such an agreement with a man who has 10,000 pikes at his command is worth the trouble it may cost.

The veterans, having become bold by success, now complained, that all the state-papers and petitions, of which wagon loads daily arrived at court, remained unopened, and directly accused the imperial minions as the cause of all this delay in hearing them. The emperor, good naturedly, took the reproof of Lew Kin, who offered instantly his services as president of the court of requests, and set immediately to work to break seals and dispatch business. A public audience was then given, but the old counselors could not brook the eunuch's exaltation, and therefore blamed their sovereign in open court. The patient monarch could not bear this, and sent them away in high dudgeon.

On his return to the palace, the eunuchs consulted what was to be done under such dangerous circumstances, for whatever might be their transitory authority, it could never suffer such rude shocks, and the monarch would finally be obliged to discard them from his presence. Their deliberation was carried on with great anxiety, when one amongst the number stepped forward, and said, that he had devised a plan, which would suit their purpose excellently. "We must make ourselves necessary; we ought to render services to our young master, such as can never be forgotten, and as will give us, in the sight of the whole nation, a claim upon his constant gratitude. But let me *act*." Having said thus, he set out incognito to one of the remote villages. There he happened to see an old woman, weeping before her door most bitterly. On inquiry he learned, that she had two sons, the eldest an excellent and virtuous man, the younger a vagabond, who on account of his disreputable conduct, had been denounced, and was to be seized by the police. The eunuch (for it was no other) considering him the best subject for the execution of his plan, immediately soothed the old dame; and promised to pay a handsome sum of money, if she would permit the youth to accompany him to the capital. Having joyfully received the money, the

rake set off with great speed with his new patron, and quickly arrived at Nanking, where he was dressed in the livery of a household servant, and gained a clandestine entrance into the palace. There he was concealed for some days, when his employer opened to him his mind, by saying, that he had told his fellow-officers, that he was a brave man; they would, however, not believe his assertion; he therefore wished to give a proof of his prowess. That I may effect this purpose, he added, dress yourself in the habit of a bandit, and hide yourself in the garden amongst the bushes: the young emperor will come and take a walk, and do you then pretend to stab him. We shall in the meanwhile pursue you, to show our loyal zeal, and enhance our worth in the eyes of the world; but will let you escape out of the gate. The besotted youth willingly agreed to act his part. Some foreign wild beasts had been sent as a present to the sovereign, and he went on that day, for the first time, to view them in the park, accompanied by eunuchs and some faithful guards following at a distance. Scarcely had he taken a few turns, with extreme delight, when the pretended assassin darted forward with his drawn dagger. The imperial youth was overpowered with fear and trembling, but the eunuchs who were all in the plot hastened forward with great speed, and pursuing the wretch some distance, he asked, when out of hearing from the emperor, where he should fly for an asylum. Suddenly turning around to look about him, he was stabbed by Lew Kin, and his head presented to the emperor. The latter overflowed with gratitude and kindness, and having issued a manifesto, in which he praised the deed of his minion in the highest strains, he made rich presents of gold and jewels to his deliverer, who, in his turn, divided the ill-gotten bounty amongst the fraternity.

The next day the whole court was assembled; hundreds of mandarins were lying prostrate before the great emperor. Heaven's son then stately ascended the throne, and pronounced in a distinct voice his pleasure, that Lew Kin should be commander-in-chief of all the military force, should have the disposal of all offices, and manage the foreign relations. General murmurs interrupted the solemnity of this scene, and all the courtiers immediately resolved to address a very strong remonstrance to their sovereign. The harsh language of the memorial remained unheeded; they then asked for their dismissal, which was instantly granted; and all the hoary headed and experienced men of the previous reign retired in haste; there only remained the minister of finance, an affable man, who troubled himself very little about affairs of state. This unexpected turn of affairs

at once set all the censors to work. They drew up a joint memorial in which they very unceremoniously upbraided the prince for his follies. The latter grew, at this time, really angry; he ordered 30 blows to be given to each of these faithful monitors; and several of the oldest expired under the punishment. One, however, was greatly dreaded for his valor and consummate prudence, and therefore ordered to assume the office of post-master in Chĕkeäng, that he might be constantly under the surveillance of the court. Assassins had also been hired to waylay him, but his cunning enabled him to discover the plot; he therefore feigned madness, wrote during the darkness of the night an ode in which he bade farewell to this world and all its glories, and then stole along the river, and having thrown his cap and shoes into the stream, and near the abode of his servants let drop a heavy stone, he was believed by all to have drowned himself from despair, and the funeral rites were actually celebrated by his family.

All the offices were now filled with the creatures of Lew Kin; nobody who possessed an honest heart in his bosom daring to hold a public station. The favorite became a terror to the whole crowd of mandarins, whilst the emperor gave himself up to pleasures, and would never more look at any public paper. Thus six years passed, and the very foundations of the empire were sapped in the meanwhile. The eunuch lived splendidly; from his immense treasures he built a superb palace; and there he gave himself up to debaucheries, inviting the most celebrated physicians, to restore by tonics his enfeebled constitution.

The surest sign of a weak government in China is, when numerous bands of robbers infest the land. In some districts, there reigned great famine, and a host of desperadoes united themselves under a brave leader to get with their sword, what the colter would not yield. Their numbers soon increasing, they were able to defeat the forces, which a district magistrate led against them. This victory increased their boldness to the highest pitch; and Tan, the captain, called upon all well-meaning persons to unite under his banners, to support the emperor against his villainous ministers. Having hewn out a large block of stone, representing a lion, he ordered all the men that wished to enlist under his banners to try to raise the same. If they succeeded, he considered them as able men, worthy to die in a patriotic cause.

The insurrection broke out in Shense province, where the greatest part of the available forces of the empire were stationed. The vene-

rable name of patriots, assumed by the robbers, rendered them very popular. When therefore several famous officers took the field with their divisions, they perceived, to their dismay, that the robbers had so increased, as to render a defeat unavoidable. Still they wished to try their fortunes, and having soundly abused the leaders, in front of their army, they began a tardy fight, in which they were finally totally worsted, and lost nearly the whole of their men. A city was taken by storm, and the unfortunate inhabitants, fearing the wrath of the marauders, either hung themselves on the rafters of their houses, or jumped into wells, or took poison, to put an end to their miserable existence. The remainder, if robust and young were forced to enter the ranks of the conquerors, whilst the females had to be redeemed for a stipulated sum of money, and if the ransom was not readily paid, they were put to death. This terrible example had the disired effect. When a lieutenant of Tan's came under the walls of the next city and declared that he came to uphold the privileges of the empire, the district magistrate very wisely stepped forward, saying that this entirely changed the matter. He therefore came out with his whole retinue, and paid his respects to the generous deliverer.

The fame of these exploits spread throughout all that region, and on the approach of the rebels before the gates of a third city, the commandant immediately intended to capitulate. His wife, however, a spirited young woman, scouted this unworthy idea, called her husband a traitor to his master, and exhorted him in the most energetic language, to defend the city to his last breath. All this speech, however, was lost upon her cowardly husband, the gates were thrown open, and the hostile host, like an irresistible torrent, broke through the streets and assembled at the market. When the loyal wife heard this, she committed suicide, at the very moment the whole treasury and public stores were seized; and Tan, having now something wherewithal to pay his soldiers, resolved to bid defiance to the field-marshal himself.

This unwelcome news soon reached the capital, where the Board of War immediately held a sitting. To concert his plans, the president himself hastened to the palace, but found it shut and guarded. Losing all patience with the sycophants, he broke through the guards, and hastened directly towards the imperial chamber. Before he could reach it, however, he was met by the formidable Lew Kin, who perceiving, that the venerable minister was not willing to comply with the request of retiring instantly, ordered him to have his teeth

beat out. The satellites immediately executed this behest, but whilst the blood gushed out of the mouth of the president, he was unable to vent his wrath, and fell down dead before the door of the harem. A servant who had witnessed the scene ran back with breathless haste to announce the dreadful news to his mistress, an elderly lady. She was sitting with her son and daughter, when the messenger arrived, and having heard the detail of her husband's death, she sunk down dead. Giving no signs of life, she was finally put on a bier, and her children knelt down before the corpse, pledging themselves by awful imprecations to rid the world of Lew Kin, the author of so much mischief, and recently the murderer of their father. They gave directions to complete their mother's burial, and the youthful maiden with her brother, having armed themselves with daggers, penetrated the confines of the harem,—the guards being completely confounded at seeing two such feeble beings boldly overcoming all difficulties, and facing dangers which the bravest amongst them would never have dared to encounter—for the palace is sacred ground, and every intrusion a capital crime. The frantic rage of the young intruders knowing no bounds, they burst into the emperor's private apartments, and there beholding some of the gang of eunuchs, they dealt out deadly blows. Having finished the work of slaughter, they ran down one of the staircases, and beheld on a balcony the dowager wearing a crown, and asking with very great anxiety what was the matter. The youthful hero and heroine then represented all the injuries they had suffered on account of Lew Kin, and the summary revenge they had taken. To all this the grand dame remarked, that they had done perfectly right, but warned them to withdraw instantly. Not yet, however, satisfied with the bloody work of the day, they commenced a scuffle with the guards when leaving the gates. In this they would have likely lost their lives, if an old minister had not earnestly exhorted them to fly for their safety. Orders were subsequently issued, to confiscate their house and kill every individual in it, but it was empty. As nobody knew whither the desperadoes had fled, their effigies were sent about into all cities and villages, and hung up in taverns and markets, with the promise, that whosoever took them dead or alive should receive 1000 taels reward.

The two adventurers bending their way towards Hookwang, met unexpectedly, whilst passing a mountain, a fierce looking personage, who declared, that he would not let them pass, unless they gave up all their property. To this Tehoun could by no means assent, and a duel immediately commenced, in which the robber would have been

killed, if his associates had not hastened to his relief. An explanation took place between the two parties, and as it appeared that the marauders had taken up arms in the general patriotic cause, of making a stand against the eunuchs, and to plunder for the sake of showing their zeal in such a noble undertaking, they all agreed, that it was the most advantageous plan, to unite their forces against the common enemy.

An army of 1000 men had been immediately dispatched in pursuit of the fugitives, which is a conclusive proof that their prowess was respected by the eunuchs. The said troops, after some fatiguing marches, encamped in a plain, and fired their guns to show the extraordinary vigilance of the soldiers. This noise, however, frightened some bullocks out of their pen, and the beasts became so unruly, that they ran amongst the encamped host, and actually threw the whole into confusion Though the herdman finally succeeded in catching his kine, the mischief was done, and he would have gotten a sound bambooing for routing the celestial army with his horned cattle, if he had not very considerately offered to enlist. He being a very short fellow, was considered a great acquisition. After this unsuccessful campaign, the army returned and communicated the news, that the two villains were nowhere to be found.

The king of Cochinchina, who is very honorably called a savage, had in the meanwhile heard of the misrule in Peking, and most sagaciously resolved to avail himself of this opportunity, and invade the territory of his imperial neighbor. Before he, however, could take this important step, he assembled a council of state, when the most experienced officers gave it as their opinion, that it would be best to use stratagems in order to spy out the land, and then act according to the information received. An embassy was in consequence immediately dispatched, and the presents, or rather tribute, destined for his imperial majesty, were of such a peculiar nature, that they deserve here some mention. There were two napkins; when the one was used, it enabled the wearer to ascend in the air and fly about without the aid of a balloon,—whilst the other gave power to its owner to create a very long river, which in the parched deserts of Tartary must have been of very great use. But the most extraordinary part was a pegasus, so wild and fierce, that none dared to approach him. He combined the qualities of the dragon, horse, and griffin, and was otherwise a very decent kind of animal. The emperor perceiving, that all his military officers trembled at the very sight of the monster, promulgated an edict, promising that whosoever could tame him,

should become general of the menagerie of wild beasts. The charger was accordingly let out of his cage, and behold! anon he pranced about with such overbearing fury, that every one fled. Finally, the above herdman made his appearance, and having by a dexterous movement hamstrung him, he seated himself upon his back, and capered about proudly. Then he took an iron whip and laid upon him therewith so tremendously, that the poor animal sunk hapless on the ground. Having achieved this exploit, he man walked proudly up to the palace to announce his success, when the wicked pegasus began again to bestir his fury, and was on the point of darting away. This was fortunately observed by the hero, who was again going to beat him unmercifully with the iron whip, when the animal most rationally fell on its knees and asked forgiveness, promising at the same time to prove perfectly obedient. This offer was accepted, the promising steed was led like a lamb to his stables, and the man by an imperial decree was exalted from a herdman to a general. Such are the vicissitudes in human life. Indignant, however, at the Cochiuchinese having mocked the majesty of the celestial empire with such a present, the emperor threatened to kill the embassadors, but in consideration of their being people from afar, he only ordered forty blows to be given to them with a broad bamboo, and directed that they should be sent out of the country, like a set of vagabonds; and there the story ended.

The herdman rose in a short time to such distinction, that he had free ingress and egress at the imperial palace, and feeling himself buoyed up with the most splendid expectations, he entered into a matrimonial alliance with a fair damsel, a relation of the famous Lew Kin. But he had already a wife, and she was anxiously looking forward for his return, or for some news about his success in the capital. Month after month elapsed; some years had passed, but neither her husband nor a letter came. She maintained herself in the meanwhile by spinning, but finally some dark rumors reached her, that her truant spouse was in high authority at court. She could then no longer contain herself, but forthwith hastened to the capital. Being very poor, she begged her way, and arrived before the imperial palace in tatters. When the new fangled general heard of her approach, he immediately took counsel with his most intimate friend, a courtier of some rank, how to avoid the visit of his loving partner, for should the secret of a previous marriage be betrayed, he would certainly lose all influence, and be repudiated by his new wife, a haughty woman of a noble family. When admitted to his presence,

his former companion in life showed a great deal of astonishment, in seeing so many splendid objects of costly curiosity around her. She was purposely made tipsy, and then carried to a private room. Midnight had been fixed upon as the most convenient time for dispatching the unfortunate woman. But before the fatal time arrived, a slave-girl, who had accidentally overheard the conversation between the unnatural husband and the assassin, warned her of her impending fate. When the murderer entered, the wife was prepared to resist him, and stabbed him very dexterously. She then took up the valuables, of which her husband had made her a present on her arrival, and hastened away with the faithful slave. In the morning, the whole villa of the general was in an uproar, and the bleeding and mangled corpse of the remorseless assassin, who was of some rank at the court, openly exhibited. Search having been made after the perpetrators of this bloody deed, these weak women were soon turned into real amazons, and with great valor defended themselves against the pursuing police. A hunter and some vagabonds taking their part, they were soon able to withstand the military forces, and to escape to a place of security.

The news of the revolt became every day more threatening, and the young emperor was finally forced to consult with the senior minister of state. He immediately appointed an active general for the frontiers of Shense, who marched with great display towards the place of his destination. Having united all the disposable corps, he successfully attacked the rebels, who in their turn showed great bravery and consummate skill in tactics. The war was carried on in the most approved fashion. The general, or some other great champion, rode before the ranks, and abused the hostile army in the grossest terms which he could command, and then demanded the surrender of the leaders, that they might be cut to pieces, for the sake of example. To such a proposal, the opposite party felt generally little inclination to accede, and returned the compliment with interest. Then there remained nothing else but to fight, and two or three of the respective bodies went forward to measure their lances, whilst both the armies waited with breathless anxiety for the issue. As soon as one or two of the champions had paid for their temerity with the loss of their lives, the suffering party, according to established rule, fled in great consternation to allow themselves to be killed in detail. Was the contest not decisive, and none of the heroes slain, both armies, days and months together, as carefully avoided a battle and fled each other presence, as if they had been so many spiders.

So far, then, this was an excellent mode of warfare, and certainly a saving of human life. The worst, however, was, that the whole brunt of the contest fell upon the peaceful citizens and peasants, who were plundered, their houses burnt down, themselves frequently put to death, in order to prove the valor of the assailants. The consequences of this protracted way of fighting were dreadful in the extreme, and whole provinces were changed into deserts; and the evil instead of being stayed or alleviated, increased from day to day. Thousands of families being rendered houseless, the wretched people were obliged to betake themselves to a predatory life, and increase the number of insurgents merely to keep themselves from starvation. Thus it happened after a hundred victories, which the imperialists gained, and after the most dreadful slaughter of the robbers, that new armies rose as by magic, and with the dogged indifference of desperadoes contested every inch of ground with the Chinese generals. The prudence of the officers did, however, more than their unconquerable valor; they promised the captains of the robbers places under government, and rich emoluments; with some they kept their word, with others they broke it. By dint of management, however, they embodied 30,400 men in their own army, obtained possession of Tan, the leader, with his brother, and then hastened to the capital to announce their victory.

The army that had constantly been beaten by the insurgents was the corps under the command of the eunuch's creature. The victory recently obtained, by a general chosen by a discarded minister, threw the weight of patronage into the opposite scale. The conquerors, before reaching the imperial city, previously held a consultation, and the commanders bound themselves with an oath to work out the ruin of the eunuchs. Crowned with laurels, the officers entered the imperial palace, where the young prince, ravished with the details of their glorious deeds, made them sit down to a rich banquet. When the wine had made them communicative, and all the restraints of rank were removed, the victorious chiefs loudly declaimed against the vile Lew Kin and his adherents. The emperor at first disbelieved their assertions. Upon this, the general rose and said, "If we cannot bring conclusive proofs in support of our accusations, your majesty may strike off our heads as base calumniators." This energetic speech had the desired effect, the warrant for the seizure of Lew Kin and his partisans was issued, and the matter kept so secret, that he knew nothing of the plot, before the soldiers entered his house. A thousand people were taken, the whole house ransacked from top to bot-

tom, and the treasures that were found accumulated appeared immense. Such a rich booty had never fallen into the hands of the heroic army, and the soldiers now indemnified themselves for the scanty plunder taken from the robbers.

All the young and unoffending females were sent back to their parents, but the remainder, whether guilty or guiltless were all condemned to death, lest one of the traitors might escape. The monarch was now as ready to annihilate his former servant, as he had been previously anxious to uphold him, and without obtaining an interview with his sovereign, the execrable Lew Kin, with one thousand of his satellites, was at once led to the place of execution. Thousands of people were assembled to witness the death of this minion, and of the bloodsuckers that had proved such a scourge to he country. At this juncture a number of his partisans, disguised as merchants, and sent thither by Tŏgaou, on a sudden appeared. The latter had received timely information of the seizure of his father-in-law, and being the commandant of a citadel near the capital, he dispatched soldiers in an assumed garb to his assistance. Nobody expecting it, the few military who were present, were of course unprepared for an assault; and when on a sudden attacked they fled in consternation, whilst all the culprits were immediately liberated. But the victorious generals were not asleep, and immediately dispatched a strong corps in pursuit. Having nearly come up with the fugitives, they were stopped by the commandant of a fortress who had waylaid them, and thus gave the malefactors time to make their escape. We had nearly forgotten to mention, that the celebrated pegasus remained in the house of the eunuch, and when the soldiers penetrated into the palace, he made the most desperate resistance, and was killed by one of the most determined warriors. The two celebrated napkins moreover fell into the hand of the posse, and were with great exultation presented to the generals.

Whilst the party headed by the eunuch was kept at bay, the whole country revived under the administration of the veteran ministers, who became in a very short time the most intimate companions of their sovereign. The provinces being tranquil, the two generals who had obtained victories over the rebels, asked now for leave of absence. Their home was Keängnan, which they described as a paradise to the emperor, when they took their leave. The monarch was so much charmed with the detail of the fertile plains and romantic scenery, that he dreamed the whole night about this celebrated spot, and even believed himself to have received a commission, from a di-

vine personage that appeared to him in sleep to proceed, thither, in order to choose worthy ministers and brave soldiers. On the following day, he communicated his plan to his most intimate domestics, wrote a paper addressed to his prime minister Leäng, in which he pretended sickness, and stated that a long time would elapse before he should be able to give audience. The rumor of his indisposition spread very soon, and as he had hitherto very seldom been visible, spending the greater part of his life in the harem, his non-appearance did not create any sensation. In the silence of the night, he put his plan into execution. Dressed in the garb of a scholar, and richly provided with gold and gems, he commenced his adventures. The two generals had not yet reached their homes, when the disguised emperor met them in a posthouse. Quite surprised at this unexpected meeting, they used their eloquence to dissuade him from entering upon so romantic an expedition, but all to no purpose; for he was resolved to perform the tour and laughed at their objections. Assuming the appellation of their nephew, he accompanied them, traveling on in harmony and comfort, until they arrived in Keängnan. Here the emperor found an opportunity of rescuing from prison a magistrate, who had been unjustly accused of embezzlement, and moreover performed privately many other generous actions, which the treasures he carried with him, and his great love of justice called him to do. How greatly astonished was he, when he observed the general system of corruption, that prevailed throughout the land, and perceived the indifference of most of the officers to redress the wrongs of the people! He therefore prided himself upon having taken this step, because he was thus better fitted to rule over a country, where fraud and lying were the order of the day.

In the meanwhile old Leäng, the prime minister, got uneasy about the constant absence of his young master, and being a straightforward man, penetrated to the innermost recess of the palace to obtain a sight of the imperial patient. The eunuch in waiting handed to him the paper in which his master's disease was circumstantially stated. To this, however, he would give no credence, and having by cross-examination ascertained the fact, that the emperor had proceeded incognito to Keängnan, he immediately set out in the same manner in search of him. Being of a very sturdy disposition, he got into many scrapes, and was once nearly seized, for having most unceremoniously at a large party, where many mandarins were present, told his host that he was a thief.

The monarch and his two generals were at the same time trudging on their way, and enjoying themselves to the best advantage. Often they were involved in very great difficulties on account of their daring, and in one instance almost were tried for murder. A pugilist of great renown had given public notice, that for a certain number of days, he would fight every one that came near him, and beat them all. One of the generals, himself a very athletic man, was nettled at their boast, and went immediately to the ring. Having given the champion two very severe blows, so as to throw him out of breath, he suddenly seized him round the waist, and having rendered him powerless, cut him in such a manner as to cause his death. Being therefore taken up as a murderer, the emperor was obliged to write a decree, he having brought with him the seal of state, to liberate his favorite from the punishment of the law.

In one of these excursions, they lost their way. For days together they could not find a single cottage in which to take shelter or to get a morsel to eat. In this dilemma, the youthful prince bitterly upbraided his minions for having misled him, and all the unpleasant feelings of having lost a throne by his untimely knight-errantry started up in his mind. Finally, however, they reached a poor woodman's hovel. This rude son of the forest received them with frank hospitality, refusing to take any compensation for the scanty fare with which he was able to furnish his guests. Having again refreshed themselves, the emperor took it into his head to marry, and for this purpose he made the unpolished woodman his go-between. The old fellow went straightforward to work, and so much frightened the poor lass that was intended to occupy China's throne, that she run away, and went into a nunnery to free herself from the importunities of her imperial admirer.

Whilst endeavoring to find a way out of the labyrinth, a well-accoutred band of robbers darted upon the travelers, who no doubt would have lost their lives, if they had not given in their names. After this, they conversed freely together, and the monarch learned, that the robbers were far from being exterminated throughout the land, and that moreover the consequences of the misrule of the eunuchs had extended to every hamlet and village of the empire. This was a very severe lesson for all three, and the emperor having obtained ocular demonstration, was by no means backward in figuring to himself the wretched condition of the nation in the darkest colors.

A closer examination of the code of the robbers convinced the emperor, that they wore a set of gentlemen, and carried on their unhal-

lowed trade out of sheer patriotism. He therefore declared an amnesty, and concluded a lasting friendship. In his future wanderings, he met a congenial partner with whom he formed a matrimonial alliance; and from the moment he joined himself to an adventurer, the brother of this damsel whom he had taken for his spouse. Having heard of the beauties of Soochow, he set out towards that place, to enjoy the delightful scenery and the gardens that surround the city. But the host in whose house he lived discovered the rank of his guest, and the news that the young emperor had honored the city with his presence flew about, a short time afterwards in every direction, and unfortunately also reached the ears of Lew Kin the eunuch. This traitor immediately called his generalissimo, Tŏgaou, and representing the facility with which they might be able to seize upon the sacred person, sallied forth with a considerable army to intercept him. Most of the cities were not prepared for resistance, and opened their gates to the rebel, so that his march through Keängnan resembled a continual triumph. Even Nanking surrendered, and the forces which had increased to more than 20,000 men, now boldly invested Soochow, and in very short time reduced the city to very great straits.

The minister, Leäng, was finally so fortunate as to meet with one of the generals, who had accompanied the emperor on his travels, and they immediately concerted a plan to relieve him. For this purpose he assembled a considerable army, but on his arrival at the camp of the besiegers he was defeated. The general, however, kept up his spirits, rallied his men, and was nearly obtaining a complete victory, when Tŏgaou, who by some means or other had taken possession of the wonderful napkin, created a stream by magic, in which the whole army of imperialists had nearly been drowned. The general was so annoyed at this misfortune, that he stole himself during the night into the camp, and just as a fire broke out, he was enabled dexterously to obtain possession of the piece of cloth, and subsequently used it with very great advantage against the enemy. Still the celestial soldiers made no progress, and it was even to be feared, that they must sooner or later retreat and leave their sovereign to his fate. In this emergency some of the ladies of the camp bestirred themselves; and amongst them the new imperial spouse managed, like another Catherine, to engage the enemy, and finally; to procure the aid of a Taou priest, who in conjunction with the genii managed by his sorceries to beat the rebels completely. On the day of the last battle, a tremendous tempest took place, and the disheartened

rebels fled in consternation. Lew Kin, with his immediate followers, hastened to receive the offer of amnesty, and to surrender of his own accord. When, however, he saw preparations at work to make him die a cruel death, he rallied his last strength and fled with his satellites. But their destiny was declared, he was intercepted, and with his followers cut to pieces at the capital. Such was the end of a man who had made so many myriads wretched. The emperor elated with his success returned to the capital, and held a splendid triumphal entry, being hailed by myriads who rejoiced to see their sovereign return. Faithful to his word, Chingtih proposed to raise the lady he had married to his throne, but all the ministers refused to sanction this choice, because she had been the daughter of a publican; still it was managed, and she finally became a very celebrated personage at court. The emperor had decreed death to all the rebels, but his minister, Leäng, commuted the punishment to banishment and slavery. The story ends with some moral observations on the punishment of the wicked, which in the mouth of a pagan writer sound well.

We have thus given an uninterrupted account of the contents of these volumes. The book contains the history of the first six years of Chingtih's reign, and tolerably well adheres to facts, though it is more amusing than the dry details of history. Books of this description abound in the Chinese language; there is scarcely a period of which some writer or other has not fully described, in this manner, the state of things. Whosoever would take the trouble of perusing these numerous volumes, would be enabled to give a faithful picture of the Chinese nation, in all its stages. As such we also recommend the present lucubration.

The style is very easy, but full of provincialisms, and the book itself abounds in errors of printing. However, a beginner in the language will be enabled to make out the sense tolerably well, and instead of plaguing himself with the classics, he may read these seven volumes with advantage. The interest is kept up throughout the whole with considerable tact, and there are episodes to be found well worth the reader's attention.

ART. II. *China: its state and prospects, with especial reference to the spread of the gospel: containing allusions to the antiquity, extent, population, civilization, literature, and religion of the Chinese.* By W. H. MEDHURST, L. M. Soc. London, 1838, pp. 582. 8vo.

JUSTLY may this book be pronounced a good one, if it be right so to designate a work that accomplishes the object of a philanthropic author. It has had an extensive circulation, and been well received, on both sides of the Atlantic, and has found many readers in India and beyond the Ganges. By the periodical press, generally, it has been commended, and very highly by some critics. Though we join in this commendation, yet we are not at liberty, as reviewers, to pass by unnoticed its errors and defects. The book is evidently an extempore production; and almost every page bears marks of haste. Had the author carefully revised it, increased the amount of facts twofold (which he could easily have done), and reduced the size of the book one third,—not only would its style and method have been greatly improved by such a process, but the volume would have come forth from the press worth at least double its present value. It has been ranked among the best modern works on China; but it ought to have surpassed them. Perhaps no man living possessed better advantages for giving a correct account of this country, than Mr. Medhurst; and he has done the public good service by publishing his information. In our opinion, however, he has hardly done full justice either to his subject or to himself.

Two or three paragraphs, from the introduction of the volume, will show, more faithfully than any words of our own, both the object of the work and the circumstances under which it was written, they will show too the writer's own view of his book.

"It is necessary that the author should give some account of the origin and nature of the following work. Having been called upon in the year 1836, to undertake a journey along the north-east coast of China, in order to ascertain whether or not that country was open to the gospel; and having kept a record of passing events, he contemplated on his return, the publication of a journal, with some brief remarks on the situation of foreigners in Canton, and the state of the native Christian community there. In the course of his tour through England, however, to plead the cause of missions, he found it necessary to dilate more at large on the political, moral, and spiritual condition of the Chinese; and to relate in order the efforts that have been made for their

evangelization. These statements having been listened to with some interest, and awakened a sympathy on behalf of China, the thought suggested itself, that possibly, the feeling thus created might be extended and perpetuated by a publication, embracing the general state of China, and its state and prospects, with especial reference to the diffusion of the gospel.

"The most important feature in the condition of that country is its population, about which so many different opinions have been held, and for the benefit of which Christian missionaries so ardently long and labor. The question of amount, therefore, is discussed, and the suggestion thrown out, that probably the highest census given of the Chinese people is the right one. Their civilization and political state next demand attention; and some references are made to their singular language, and the state of education among them. As we contemplate the introduction of a new religion into the country, it is natural to inquire, what are their present views of divine and eternal things, and to show the defects of their own systems, as a prelude to the recommendation of another. Before treating on the recent efforts of protestants to evangelize China, it was thought necessary to allude to the previous exertions of other missionaries; and therefore the devoted, self-denying, and persevering labors of Syrian, Nestorian, and catholic Christians, are briefly enumerated. The missions to Canton, the Straits, and Batavia, are then severally described; and the attempts to carry the gospel by means of Scriptures and tracts, along the coast of China, are delineated. This review is concluded by appeals for more agents, and increased facilities for the vigorous prosecution of the work, as it is only when we use the appointed means, that we can consistently look for the Divine blessing on our labors.

"The short time that could be spared for preparing this work for publication must necessarily have occasioned many defects, in point of style and arrangement. Sent forth when very young on this important mission, occupied during his whole stay abroad in studying foreign and difficult languages, and accustomed to write and speak for the benefit of the Mohammedans and heathens, it can hardly be expected that the author should be skilled in European composition. Public engagements, for the first year after his return to England, called him incessantly from home; and it was only during the retirement of the last winter, that he has had the least opportunity for arranging his thoughts on the subject now discussed. Being about to quit his native country during the present summer, to revisit the scene of his former labors, it was necessary that he should begin to print, almost as soon as he began to write, in order to have the book published before his departure. He must cast himself, therefore, on the indulgence of the public, hoping that the circumstances under which the information contained in this volume has been collected and communicated, will be a sufficient apology for the many omissions and incongruities, which may appear. The critic will perhaps survey, with a lenient eye, the productions of the foreign missionary, who, by his residence abroad, in regions where the human mind has been long stationary, has not been able to keep pace with the improving spirit of the age. Any

observations, however, on his matter or manner, made in kindness and candor, will be thankfully received, and should the work reach a second edition, be carefuly improved upon. Some discrepancy may appear between the diffusiveness of the first chapters, and the conciseness of other parts of the work; but it is honestly confessed, that, finding the matter grow upon his hands, the author was obliged to condense before he had reached the middle of the volume, and to leave out many interesting particulars, regarding his own travels in the Malayan Archipelago, in order to introduce what had more especial reference to the evangelization of China. Some difference of style will also appear between the descriptive and narrative parts of the publication; but it was thought better to give the views and impressions of the moment, than to abridge them of their interest, by presenting them in a more labored style."

The work is comprised in twenty-two chapters, illustrated with a few wood-cuts and a map of the maritime provinces. "*China, its state and prospects*," does not appear to us a very appropriate title for a book, which consists of mere notices,—and only in this light we think the author intended the volume should be received.

The 'chronology and extent' of the empire form the subjects of the first chapter. The extravagant pretensions which some writers have maintained for the antiquity of the nation, are justly discarded. Mr. Medhurst thinks the Chinese must have branched off from the parent stock soon after the dispersion, and traveling east settled on the borders of the Yellow river, coëval with the establishment of the Babylonian and Egyptian monarchies. In this we agree with him. We understand, too, what he means when he says, "China is China still." But is it true that "her language and her customs remains unaltered, and the genius and spirit of the people are the same they were in the patriarchal age?" A thorough investigation of these points will lead the inquirer to a conclusion, somewhat different from that expressed by our author. It is doubtless true that "no nation has undergone less change, or been less affected from without;" yet we are inclined to think, that the language and customs of the Chinese have undergone great changes, and that the genius and spirit of the people are not the same they were in the patriarchal age. Too much unchangeableness and stability have generally been attributed to the Chinese and their institutions. A nation's laws are, perhaps, the best criterion by which to test these points. How numerous are the changes in their penal code! Had all things been as unalterable as many writers represent, *fan fan fuh fuh*, and other like phrases, expressive of constant changing and turning, could not have become so common and familiar as they now are. There are

popular changes and fashions in this country, as well as everywhere else among mankind. They may not appear in the same particulars, or run in precisely the same lines, as they do in some other families of our race. Still they are frequent, and some of them are very marked. "Little as the Chinese are given to innovation, and slow to change, it would be a phenomenon indeed, if the fashion of more than two thousand years back had not in some degree 'passed away.'" *Staunton.*

'Probable population,' 'census of the population,' and 'reflections on the population,' are the subjects of chapters 2d, 3d, and 4th, occupying seventy-five pages. The subject of population was brought to the notice of our readers, in the numbers of the Repository for January and February, 1833; and the facts there given are for the most part identical with those adduced by Mr. Medhurst, both having been derived from the same original sources. We agree with him in thinking that the Chinese account is substantially correct, and our best authority. Such was our opinion expressed eight years ago, and all we have since seen and read of the Chinese has only served to confirm that opinion.

The chapters on population are rendered interesting by the introduction of remarks on several collateral subjects, about which there is much need of information among Europeans. The picture of *scarcity and want* is overdrawn. The people in many provinces "are reduced to the most abject state of want and misery, many dying of actual starvation." (p. 28.) "The people in *most* of the provinces find a difficulty in procuring the necessaries of life; many die of actual want." Again on the same page, he shows that, though the people are content with a "diminished quality and sometimes quality [*diminished quality?*] of food; yet many of them can hardly find food enough, and numbers die annually of sheer starvation." (p. 39.) "The extreme poverty of the people in the south of China is well known to all who are acquainted with those regions, and the piteous scenes presented in winter by *whole hosts* of peasants almost destitute of food or fuel, are enough to affect most deeply the minds of the compassionate. The common wages of the day-laborer is but four pence a day, and the remuneration of a schoolmaster from each of his scholars is only ten shillings a year; while provisions are sometimes nearly as high as they are in Europe."

All this is too unfavorable, if we may be allowed to judge from personal observation and inquiry during a residence of more than ten years in parts of the country above referred to. Famines are not fre-

quent in China, and those who die of "sheer starvation" are few. Instances of death in the streets and temples of large cities are sometimes numerous during the inclement season of winter; but most of these are either the debauched and diseased outcasts from the haunts of infamy, or those who have become impoverished by gambling, and enfeebled by smoking opium. The remuneration made by pupils to their masters is usually, in this part of the country, double, and often treble, the amount named by Mr. Medhurst; and his remark was probably made more with reference to what he had observed in Batavia than to what he had ascertained of the people in their own country. Four pence a day to laborers is also somewhat below the ordinary rate of wages; the average is nearer eight pence.

Infanticide is far less extensive, we are constrained to think, than is represented by Mr. Medhurst; nor we are quite sure that it is, as he says, "wholly confined to the female sex." Daughters are not so much "despised and neglected" as he supposes. Infanticide, as he elsewhere says, is more the result of poverty than prejudice, and has to do with economical rather than with religious considerations.

"The Chinese perpetuate this infernal custom merely from parsimonious motives, and just to save themselves the care and expense of bringing up a useless and troublesome being, who is likely to cost more than ever she will fetch, on being sold out in marriage. It prevails, therefore, in proportion to the general indigence of the people, and affords by its prevalence, a criterion by which to judge of the density of the population, and the poverty of the inhabitants. Hence, we find that it obtains more in the southern provinces, where the numbers of human beings exceed the powers of the soil to produce sufficient sustenance; or, in a crowded capital, where the myriads of citizens find hardly room to live or to breathe. In the southern parts of the empire, the natives themselves, who might be supposed anxious to conceal the fact, bear ample testimony to its existence, and that in a proportion which it is fearful to contemplate; while the lightness, with which they treat the murder of female infants, shows that it must have prevailed, in no ordinary degree, in order so far to blunt their sensibilities on the subject, as to lead them to contemplate the drowning of a daughter, as far more excusable than the treading of printed paper under foot. The extent of infanticide in the capital has been calculated, by the number of infants thrown out every night, and gathered by the police in the morning, to be buried in one common hole, without the city. One writer informs us, that ten or a dozen infants are picked up every morning, in Peking alone; hence, the murders in that city must amount to several thousands annually."

Future inquiries may greatly alter our present opinions; but the facts now in our possession do not warrant this statement. The murder of an infant is a most foul and horrible act, and is generally

so viewed by the Chinese; the being that can do it, they stigmatize as "worse than the brutes." They are fond of their children; and, so far as our observation has reached, they usually love their daughters as much as they do their sons. Three lifeless outcast children have fallen under our notice, and four other cases have been reported to us by eye-witnesses. Whether these were murdered or not, there was little or no evidence to show, aside from their being left uninterred. We have made many inquiries on the subject of infanticide, but have been able to obtain very little information from the Chinese — nothing have we learned from them that would lead us to suspect that the murder of infants is more common in Peking than in Canton. The conclusion, that "it prevails in proportion to *the general* indigence of the people, and affords by its prevalence a *criterion* by which to judge of the density of the population, and the poverty of the inhabitants," is unsatisfactory to our own minds, and at variance with facts. Poverty may, and doubtless does, sometimes prompt persons to commit this most wicked act; still the population may be very dense, or very poor, or both, and yet be free from the sin of murder. We are at a loss to know where Mr. Medhurst obtained his opinions; the facts adduced by him afford them little support. It does not appear that so much as one case ever came under his own observation, either in or out of China; nor does he, if we rightly recollect, bring forward the testimony of even a single native witness to substantiate what he says. The subject needs to be more thoroughly investigated; and we will not fail to lay before our readers from time to time any information we may obtain.

The occasional proclamations, issued by high provincial authorities, remonstrating against the practice and forbidding it, are strong and certain evidence of its existence. The facts, that almost every man in China marries and not unfrequently more than one wife, and that many males and but few females emigrate, viewed in connection with the known law of population that the sexes are nearly equally numerous, militate against the idea that great numbers of female children are murdered. But the object of Mr. Medhurst's argument, "is to show, that, the children being sacrificed to Mammon rather than to Moloch, the prevalence of the custom indicates the great poverty and overwhelming numbers of the people,— that there is a disproportion between the supply of food and the number of consumers,— that human life is cheaper than human *provender*,— and hence the conclusion, considering the fertility of the soil, that China is immensely populous."

He represents the Chinese as so "huddled together" that they can hardly breathe; "a room twenty feet square would afford sufficient space for a dozen people to eat, drink, work, trade, and sleep;" and "we may easily see that the ground that would support one Englishman, would be sufficient for the support of three or four Chinese," because the former eat beef and mutton, the latter dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and cockroaches. In the earlier numbers of the Repository, we may have given similar accounts of the diet of the Chinese; but it is time they were corrected. Beggars do indeed eat all kinds of "provender." But the people in the higher and middling walks of life, and the peasantry generally, are by no means regardless of the quality of their food, nor are they stinted in its quantity. Mr. Medhurst says, that even some parts of the mineral kingdom are laid under contribution for the support of life; and adds in a note, "the Chinese use great quantities of gypsum, which they mix with pulse, in order to form a jelly, of which they are very fond." This may be so, but we can find no confirmation of the fact, unless he refers to its use in curdling bean-curds. But even in this use it is laid under contribution much less than salt.

In chapters five and six, on the 'civilization of China,' and its 'government and laws,' we do not find much either to commend or to dispute. The criminal judge, he says, "goes the circuit of his district periodically, and holds his court in the provincial city." The judge makes no circuit. There a few other minor errors in these chapters, but need not be here noticed.

The seventh chapter is occupied with remarks on the 'language and literature.' Mr. Medhurst thinks, "it would not be hazarding too much to say, that, in China, there are more books and more people to read them, than in any other country in the world." And so thoroughly are the Chinese versed in the writings of the sages, that were the Four Books and Five Classics "annihilated to-day, there are a million of people that could restore the whole to-morrow." We question the accuracy of this second affirmation. Persons may be found able to recite the whole; but we have never met with them, and should be surprised if ten such were found in the whole empire. Admitting that there are here more books and more people to read them than in any other country, still we do not think that, "learning, such as it is, is more common in China, than in any other part of the world." Our author greatly overrates both what is expected of, and achieved by, the candidate, who "is expected to know by heart the whole of the Four Books and the Five Classics, as well as the com-

mentaries upon them. They must also be well acquainted with the most celebrated writers of the middle ages; and the history of China, from the earliest antiquity, must be fresh in their recollection, that they may allude to the circumstances of by-gone days, and enrich their compositions with phrases from ancient authors, who, in the estimation of the Chinese, thought and wrote far better than the moderns."

On the language, Mr. Medhurst's remarks are somewhat less lucid and less accurate than we expected to find them. He notices some popular errors that have been entertained regarding the nature of the language; and to show that it is not so formidable as some have represented, he adduces the testimony of one, who declares that in *eight months*, "all the difficulties of this hard language vanished away before perseverance." Did any man ever obtain a mastery of this language in eight months? Yet so the language, which Mr. M. has used, leads the reader to believe.

To Mr. Medhurst's own knowledge of the Chinese language, we can bear strong testimony. Both in writing and in speaking, he may be ranked among the best European sinologues. But we must differ from him when he repeats, what has often been affirmed, that "in the science of grammar, the Chinese have made *no* progress." We will not pursue this topic here, but may call it up erelong in another number.

While on the subject of language it may not perhaps be deemed wrong in us, to notice such phrases as, 'piles of poems,' 'provender,' 'cream of the country,' and others like them, which now and then occur in his pages. Even Chinese rhetoricians would certainly object to these as inelegant. When speaking of the literary examinations, Mr. M. says, that if the slightest fault is detected in a student's essay, "the individual's mark is immediately stuck up at the office gate, by which he may understand that it is time *to walk home*, as he will not be permitted to proceed to the next trial." These are specimens of phraseology that ought not often to appear in grave discourse. But a word to the wise is sufficient.

At various times efforts have been made to trace a direct connection between the Egyptians and the Chinese. On this point, Mr. Medhurst gives us the following information.

"The notion of some connection between China and Egypt has been revived, since two small porcelain bottles were brought from Egypt to this country; on these, inscriptions have been discovered, apparently in the Chinese character; and the learned have been curious to know their identity and import. A

fac-simile of one was seen by the author in China; and a picture of the other has appeared in Davis' Chinese, but without any translation. On examination it has been found, that the inscriptions are in the Chinese running-hand, and read as follows: *Chun lae yew yih neën*, "The returning spring brings another year:" and "*Ming yuĕh sung chung chaou*," "The clear moon shines through the midst of the fir-tree." This latter sentence is part of a well-known couplet, composed by Wang Gan-shih, a famous writer under the Sung dynasty, A. D. 1068; and as there is a curious circumstance connected with it, we shall hear relate it. The original couplet ran thus:—

Ming yuĕh sung keën keaou;
Wang keuen hwa sin shwuy.

"The clear moon sings in the middle of the fir-tree;
"The royal hound sleeps in the bosom of the flower!"

"Soo T'ungpo, another famous writer, who flourished about fifty years afterwards, found fault with this couplet, and altered it to the following:

Ming yuĕh sung chung chaou;
Wang keuen hwa yin shwuy.

"The clear moon shines through the midst of the fir-tree;
"The royal hound sleeps under the shade of the flower!"

"Traveling, afterwards, in the south of China, he heard a bird singing in the woods; and, on inquiry, found that they called it ming yuĕh, "the clear moon;" and, observing a grub nestling in a beautiful flower, he ascertained its name to be wang keuen, "the royal hound." It is unnecessary to add, that he now became convinced of his mistake; but too late to repair the evil; as the couplet, thus amended by him, had already been inscribed on various vessels, and transmitted, as we find, to distant Egypt. It will easily be seen, that this by no means strengthens the supposition of an early connection between China and Egypt; and so far from the bottles being coeval with Psammeticus, B. C. 658, as has been suggested; its [or their,] date cannot be older than A. D. 1130.

'The religions of the Chinese' are succinctly and faithfully portrayed in the 8th chapter. There is certainly a difference between a "caldron" and a censer; and the latter term we had always supposed was the proper name for the vessel in which incense is burned in temples.

The 9th chapter is devoted to the 'Catholic missions in China.' Of the manner in which the subject is discussed, the following paragraph is a fair specimen.

"Encouraged by the openings which presented themselves, Louis XIV., king of France, resolved to send a mission to China; and having selected a number of Jesuits, well skilled in the mathematics, he sent them with honors and pensions on this important mission. Among the rest, was De Fontaney, professor of mathematics, in the king's college; with Gerbillon, Bouvet, and Le Compte, afterwards celebrated for their labors in the east. They went

first to Siam, and from thence proceeded in a Chinese junk to Ningpo, on the coast of China. The mandarins at that port received them with politeness; but the viceroy declared it unlawful for native vessels to bring Europeans to China, and threatened to send the missionaries back, and confiscate both ship and cargo. Verbiest, on hearing of this, memorialized the emperor, representing that they were men skilled in the sciences, and his brethern. To which the emperor replied, 'men of that character must not be expelled my dominions. Let them all come to my court; those who understand the mathematics shall remain about my person: the others may dispose of themselves in the provinces, as they think fit.' On the receipt of this order, the viceroy was obliged to send those men to the capital with honor, whom he had intended to expel with disgrace. At this juncture, Verbiest died, A. D. 1688, regretted by the Chinese, but still more so by the missionaries, who expected to derive great advantage from his counsel and assistance. His character, for humility and modesty, was only equalled by his well-known application and industry. He seemed insensible to everything but the promotion of science and religion; he abstained from idle visits, the reading of curious books, and even the perusal of European newspapers; while he incessantly employed himself, either in mathematical calculations, in instructing proselytes, in corresponding with the grandees of the empire on the interests of the mission, or in writing to the learned of Europe, inviting them to repair to China. His private papers are indicative of the depth of his devotion, the rigor of his austerities, his watchfulness over his heart amid the crowd of business, and the ardor with which he served religion. His sincerity was attested, by the endurance of sufferings in the cause he had espoused; and his disinterestedness and liberality, by the profusion of his gifts to others, and the renunciation of indulgences to himself."

'Protestant missions' among the Chinese are noticed in chapters 10, 11, 12, and 13. Notices of voyages on the coast fill a hundred and sixty pages, comprising seven chapters, which might have been well reduced to one. The 'class of laborers required for China,' is the subject of the 21st chapter. The volume closes with an enumeration of desiderata, and an appendix exhibiting a sketch of Chinese chronology.

We have perused the work with pleasure, and not without advantage; and recommend it to those who wish to know what the Chinese are. In most particulars, Mr. Medhurst has estimated the people lower than we are wont to do.—Perhaps he has not seen them in so favorable circumstances, as he would have done had he been longer in China. Those with whom he has been most in contact, in Batavia and along the coast of this country, may not have been, taking them all in all, fair representatives of the great mass of the nation. Throughout his work, however, he has generally spoken of the Chinese in their collective national character. B.

ART. III. *Obituary notice of the Rev. Nathan S. Benham.* Communicated from Bangkok, Siam, April 11th, 1840. By J. C.

[From a note accompanying this brief obituary, we gather two or three pleasing facts respecting the Siamese. Recently, several of that nation have professed to abandon their old religion, and believe in Christ. Though as yet they do not afford evidence of a real change of heart, still, their understandings being enlightened, and their judgments convinced so far as to induce them to receive the truth, indicates that a change is going on in public opinion. Two or three men had recently appeared in Bangkok, inquiring about the Christian religion; they said they lived ten days' journey to the north of the city, and had read the books which told them of "Prah Jeho;" and they wished to know more of him. Prah Jeho is an abbreviation of Phrah Jehowah Chau, a term used for the Deity. It is further stated that, at length, vaccine matter has been obtained in Bangkok; it was brought out recently from America, and has taken well.]

WAS drowned, on the night of the 6th April, of 1840, in the river of Bangkok, Rev. NATHAN S. BENHAM, a missionary of the A. B. C. F. M. Mr. Benham was one of the late reinforcement to the Siamese mission, consisting of five ordained missionaries with their wives and two young ladies, who sailed from Boston, July 6th, 1839, and arrived at Singapore, Oct. 23d. He reached the field of his destination, March 3d, 1840; and soon after, resolved to devote his labors to the evangelization of the Chinese, in connection with the Rev. Mr. Johnson, now on a visit to the United States. He had obtained a teacher, and was just entering with interest upon the study of the Fuhkeën dialect of the Chinese language, when suddenly he was taken, as it is believed, to the bosom of the Savior.

The circumstances of his death were as follows. He had been attending the monthly concert of prayer, at the house of a Christian friend situated up the river about two miles from the place of his residence. He left a quarter before 9 o'clock P. M., with three boatmen, and with the expectation, as the tide was against him, of being late home. About 11 o'clock, two of his men reached home with the intelligence, that the boat had been driven by the current against the cable of a junk which they were passing and upset, and that Mr. Benham and one of the men were drowned. The junk was lying near the shore about a quarter of a mile from Mr. Benham's house. Diligent search was immediately made but in vain. Subsequently, the man supposed to have been lost was found, having floated some distance with the tide, and been helped out by a Chinese on shore to whom he called. On the morning of the 8th, the body rose near the junk, against which the boat struck. There does not appear to be any reason for suspecting any violence on the part of the boatmen; as

his watch, keys, money, &c., were found with the body, and the whole account of the men makes it quite certain that they barely escaped being drowned.

Mr. Benham was born, August 23d, 1811, in the state of New York U. S. A. In 1830, during a revival of religion in Byron, Genessee Co., where he was then residing, he made a public profession of attachment to Christ. Soon after this he commenced studying with a view of qualifying himself to labor as a foreign missionary. He received his collegiate and theological education at Hudson, Portage Co., Ohio, where also he officiated as tutor for one year. During the summer of 1835, he offered himself to the A. B. C. F. M. as a foreign missionary, and was accepted. On the 4th of March, 1839, he was married to Miss Maria H. Nutting, of Groton, Mass, soon after which, with his associates of the reinforcement, he received his instructions from one of the secretaries of the Board at Middlebury, Vermont.

Mr. Benham possessed a mind much above the common rank, endowed by his Creator with unusual powers for the acquisition of languages. His knowledge of the original languages of the Bible is known by all his associates to have been far beyond, as to extent and accuracy, what is commonly attained by those in similar circumstances. He was a cheerful, humble, devout, and consistent Christian. His remarks at the monthly concert, about an hour before his death, indicated a state of mind which laid fast hold of the declarations of God. Alluding to the fewness of those who habitually attend the monthly concert, amounting as he thought to not more than one tenth of those who profess to love the kingdom of Christ, he remarked,—using language found in the last chapter of Zechariah which had been read,—"Notwithstanding all these discouragements, 'at evening time it shall be light'—HOLINESS TO THE LORD shall yet be written even on the bells of the horses." O! that the dying testimony of our brother against the churches, on this subject might be heeded. How can they expect great success to attend the efforts of their missionaries, until they as a body are presenting earnest and constant supplications for this object at the throne of grace?

The mission to which our deceased brother belonged feels deeply afflicted. One has been taken from them from whom they had hoped much in reference to the Chinese in this kingdom. But though afflicted, we are not cast down. We feel that our Master is too wise to err, and too good to injure. All things shall yet work together for good.

ART. IV. *Ko Doü Dzu Roku, or, A Memoir on Smelting Copper, illustrated with plates.* Small folio, pp. 20. Translated from the original Japanese.

JAPAN, and all that pertains to it, has been regarded by us with peculiar interest ever since the commencement of our work. Nearly all the volumes of the Repository contain articles relating to the country, or its inhabitants; and we wish they had been more in number, and better in quality. When speaking or writing about the Japanese or Chinese, a feeling of half reverence for their antiquity, and somewhat of wonder at their integrity as nations, is always apt to tinge one's thoughts; while at the same time we are half disposed to ridicule their assumptions of these same things, and declare that they are unworthy of the least attention. We are at once both credulous and distrustful, like one who hears a very strange story from a dear friend. However, we hope and trust that the days of our ignorance are passing away, and that erelong we shall be better known by them and they by us.

The work whose name, standing at the top of the page, has unwittingly molded our thoughts, long lay on our shelf an object of curious rarity. The pictures told the general character of the work, but beyond them all was unknown. It was a gift to a friend from M. Brüger, surgeon of the Dutch factory at Desima, who visited Canton in 1828, and brought with him a few Japanese books, among which was this identical volume. Some years after, a few others were brought here from Batavia, which M. Siebold had presented to his friends there. Subsequently several natives from the land of the Rising Sun, by an all-directing Providence, found their way to Canton and Macao; and from them a few more volumes were obtained. The opportunity was favorable, and as time and other engagements have allowed, we have cultivated their acquaintance, begun to learn to speak their language, and read the books which had so long been sealed. The subjects of the several works, obtained as we have just described, from various sources, are very miscellaneous; an inventory of them will give the best synopsis of their contents, and perhaps form an appropriate introduction to the translation of their follow.

1. *Kashira gaki zoü ho. Kin Moü dzu i*, or First book in Instructing Youth, with additions; the plates arranged into chapters. Twenty-one chapters bound up in 10 volumes. First year of the reign

of the emperor Kwanshei, 1789. This work is composed of plates with very short explanations printed at the top of the page. The pictures are in good style, and with the corresponding explanations, cannot fail to be fully understood by the tyro. Along with instruction in his own language, it was apparently intended to teach the lad the Chinese name of the article, or whatever else is represented, and thus the book can be availed of by a Chinese scholar in learning Japanese.

2. *Kwa-hon O shiyaku bai*, or Painting of the Nightingale roosting upon the plum-tree. Nine volumes, octavo. Genbon, 5th year, 1800. This is a collection of odd stories, legends of heroes and demi-gods, illustrated with plates.

3. *Ko kin shen kwo Kagami*, or, Mirror of ancient and modern coins. Printed at Yedo and Ohosaka. Kwanshei, 2d year, 1790. In 1 vol. 8vo. This little work appears to be merely a livraison of a larger treatise on the same subject, it being only a single chapter on those ancient coins that cannot be arranged into sections. It is printed differently from all the others, being in the katakana character intermixed with the Chinese.

4. *Onna Dai Gaku; Takara Haku*, or, A Casket of Jewels: being the Superior Lessons for Females, 1 vol. 8vo. Bunkwa, 4th year, 1807. Published at Miyako, Yédo, and Ohosaka. This is very similar to the Chinese work called the Neu Heaou King, or Inferior Lessons for Females.

5. *Onna Gaku Sunahachi misaho Kagami*, or, Mirror of the Rules and Principles of Female Education, with additions; 1 volume, royal 8vo. Tenpo, 5th year, 1834. Published at Yedo and Ohosaka. This work is similar to the preceding, but much more complete; the first eleven leaves are composed of drawings of the principal occupations of women, articles of the toilet, &c. The great portion of the book contains a treatise on female education, giving an account of all the principal festivals in the year with an illustrative drawing to each one running along the top of the page. The waste leaves of the book, i. e. those next the cover, are painted; a piece of ornament we suppose in compliment to the fair students.

6. *Man kwa, Hiaku nin, isshiu Tokiwa iro*, or, An everyday, agreeable Medley, being a Myriad of flowers and the Hundred men. Kwanshei, 3d year, 1791. Royal 8vo. Published at Yedo. This is a miscellaneous collection of verses which we are told were made by hundred different individuals who had met together. The top of the page is occupied with a series of flowers, persons, landscapes &c., on ten thousand (i. e. on all) subjects. This collection is also

more especially intended for females. This and the last were obtained from a party of six Japanese sailors who were wrecked on Hainan in 1835, and brought to Canton.

7. *Toü Yu Ki*, or, Records of Eastern Journeying. Miyako, Kwanshei, 7th year, 1795. In 5 vols., 8vo. Published at Miyako and Ohosaka.

8. *Toü Yu Ki, Goken*, or, Supplement to Records of Eastern Journeyings. 5 vols. 8vo.

These two works are also called, in a sort of explanatory title placed at the head, 'Remarkable Relations concerning all countries.' They consist of relations of adventurous exploits, descriptions of natural curiosities and similar subjects, the whole illustrated with a few plates. In one of the volumes are some singular hieroglyphics, the object of which we do not at all understand.

9. Dictionary of the Chinese and Japanese languages, arranged according to the radicals of the Chinese language, the meanings written in Japanese katakana. This needs no remark in explanation of its contents; the whole is comprised in one very thick volume.

All the works here mentioned are printed in the Chinese manner from blocks upon paper made from the bark of trees, probably the Broussonetia, or paper-tree, which is known to be extensively employed for that purpose in Japan. They are all of them cheap books, and the paper of course proportionably inferior; the first in the list we are told, did not probably cost more than a dollar or a dollar and a half. The paper is far inferior to a specimen which we obtained at Lewchew, which for softness, whiteness, and evenness of texture, far exceeds any paper we have yet seen of Chinese or Japanese workmanship. We turn now to the Memoir.

The *Ko Doü Dzu Roku*, which we present our readers in an English dress, is a thin pamphlet of twenty leaves, fourteen filled with plates and explanations written in the Japanese hirakana character, and six with Chinese writing. There is neither preface nor exordium to the work, which being a very commendable example, we shall follow, premising that throughout the translation, the original is indicated by marks of quotations. We will, however, just add a record of our hesitancy in presenting this performance to our readers. The natives who have acted as our teachers are sailors or tradesmen, persons in ordinary life and of common education, and who in their own country would probably have never attempted to read a book on metallurgy. They know but little more than how to read simple works, or write mercantile letters.

PLATE I. "*Of digging the ore.*"

This plate is in two compartments; the first represents a miner entering the mouth of the pit, carrying a lamp in one hand, and a pick in the other, with an empty basket swung on his back. At the entrance, he meets a second miner just coming out with a basket of ore. The second shows the same person reaching the extremity of the mine, where is a third workman engaged in cleaving the ore from its bed. This and all the succeeding plates are painted; the colors are everywhere laid on in an artist-like manner, though the cheapness of the work apparently forbade much labor.

"The copper, as it comes from the hills, is undoubtedly in the form of ore; the ore is the effluence of the copper, and in a serpentine vein it rises and appears upon the top of the hill. There are many sorts of ore; that which is of a reddish black color, soft and not very heavy, and taken from veins running from east to west (or horizontally), is the best. The overseer of the mine examines and assorts the ore. Rafters, planks, joists, pillars, &c., are used to uphold and prevent the mouth of the mine from caving in. When commencing, the rock is worked with hammers and chisels; the [barren] stones are thrown away as they are dug, and the ore is brought out; by degrees the hill is penetrated, and the hole thus formed is called a mine. A lamp made of a shell is used as a light, and the quarried stone, put into baskets is carried out on the back. Wherever the quarrying has been done, rafters, planks, and pillars are set up to restrain the overhanging rocks lest they fall. There are many kinds of both good and bad ore. When the mine has been dug deep, the air does not permeate it, and the lamp goes out; therefore, in places above the mouth of the pit, holes are cut down reaching to the mine, opening into it in many places, and secured by planks, rafters, &c.; they are called *shiyaku hachi* or flute-holes. Thus the wind is made to circulate. The whole is called *fuki mawashi* or wind-ventilator."

PLATE II. "*Assorting the ore.*"

This plate exhibits a company of women, with hammers in hand, pounding the ore, and separating the barren stone; one of them has her child strapped to her back. A copper tea-pot stands hard by, and one old dame is enjoying her pipe while plying her hammer.

"Among the ore there are both rich and poor kinds, combined with the plain rock; the poor is separated from the stone, which is then thrown aside, and called refuse stone. This is the employment of old men and women."

PLATE III. "*Draining the mine.*"

In this plate, we have a section of one of the "flute-holes," and three lifting-pumps represented, emptying into each other by means of water-boxes

placed on shelves cut in the rock, where also the laborer stands to work the pumps. The lifting-pump is not known to the Chinese, and we were not previously aware that the Japanese were acquainted with it. How invaluable would be the gifts of a steam-engine to the Japanese miners, toiling day and night to raise water from the deep mine, and of a safety-lamp to him who now works by the light of a shell-lamp! The darkness or the depth of the mine is intimated by lamps placed near the pumps; and the painter has very cleverly represented the light proceeding from them by leaving a circle of white around the flame, the surrounding rock being a light umber color.

"In obtaining the ore, as the mine descends deeper and deeper, and the digging is low down, the water bubbles up, making the labor difficult. Therefore wood and bamboo, prepared in pieces about thirteen feet long, are placed one above the other, and these tubes (or pumps) are inserted into water boxes; several tens or hundreds of strokes are required, according as it is deep or shallow. They are worked uninterruptedly, day and night, to draw the water to the surface. In this manner of operation, there is a great consumption of the strength of the workmen, and they cannot progress very fast; wherefore proper spots are selected for raising the water. Below, in the mine, several perches intervene between them, and there they are also guarded from caving in; they are cut down to those spots in the mine where the water collects, and are called *midzu nuki*, or water-drainings. In all of them the wind circulates. The expense of making them in this manner is exceedingly great; the miners construct them according to their own ideas, and they are indispensible. From thirty to fifty years are occupied in making them."

PLATE IV. "*Roasting the ore.*"

In this plate, the artist has apparently endeavored so to foreshorten his drawing, that the roof shall appear high above the kiln; if such was his intention he has rather failed, for the roof is drawn so near to the fire bursting from the kiln, that it would soon be consumed, were it so built. The kiln appears to be built in a solid and permanent manner, but without the covering of straw mentioned in the text.

"To roast the ore, a kiln must first be built, having vent-holes in it, through which the draft will pass to the fire. Faggots are spread upon the bottom of the kiln, and the ore laid upon them in rows, and thus alternately, faggots and ore, until the kiln is full. A covering of matting, straw, thatch, and other similar things is then placed over it, and sprinkled with water, and the fire lighted at the mouth. Generally it burns thoroughly in about thirty days, and when cooled is taken out."

PLATE V. "*Smelting the ore to extract the coarse metal.*"

The furnace, in this plate, is represented as sunk in the earth, and the smelter is standing over it with a long shovel in his hand to manage the fire. The bellows, which is separated from the furnace by a wall, is made like the Chinese *fung seäng* or wind box, of which a description is given in the Repository, vol. IV., page 37.

"The ore being roasted, is put into a furnace, where coal is employed to melt it; the scoria having flowed off, the coarse metal is taken out; it is copper imperfectly purified."

PLATE VI. "*Taking out the copper when the coarse metal is fused.*"

This plate is intended, as supplementary to the last, to exhibit the mode of taking out the copper, after a second melting of the coarse metal. The fire having gone down, a workman stands over the furnace with a broom, with which he sprinkles the metal as a second workman takes it out on the end of a hooked pole; a third is represented as having just thrown a mass of metal into a pool of water.

"When the coarse metal is melted in the furnace, and the scoria has flowed off, the copper is taken out."

PLATE VII. "*Of fusing silver and copper together.*"

This plate resembles the preceding, but is intended to represent the taking out of metal after a second melting, when the silver is still alloyed with it. In this plate, a bellows is drawn on each side of the furnace, in lieu of the double-handled single one in the preceding plate. While one workman is engaged in sprinkling and taking out the copper from the furnace, a second is plunging a large mass into a tub of water. The title of the plate literally means "together blown," and is rather a second purification of the copper ore than alloying it with silver.

"The silver which is mixed up with the copper is melted, and the scoria taken out; it is therefore called *mabuki dou*, or alloyed copper."

PLATE VIII. "*Casting the bars.*"

Here we have a large sinewy man represented pouring the melted metal out of a large crucible into a wooden pool full of water, while another opposite to him holds a pair of pincers to take out the bars. The exhibition of muscular tension in the drawing of the gigantic man who holds the crucible is creditable to the artist.

"The alloyed copper is put into an earthen crucible and fused, and then poured into molds to form the bars of copper. These bars are sold to foreigners, and are as excellent as if for imperial use. That which natives buy is smelted in the same manner, but the mode of casting and the molds are different; therefore these are in all sorts of shapes: one is made by pouring the copper into a bamboo stuck in the ground."

PLATE IX. "*Fusing lead with the copper.*"

In this plate, one workman, his face muffled and his legs guarded from the fire of the furnace by a mat, has just taken out a mass of copper, and placed it in a trough, while a second, with a spade-like tool, is assisting him in working it.

"When silver is combined with the copper, lead is added to it and they are melted together; it is then called *aïbuki doü*, or combined-melted copper."

PLATE X. "*Separating the lead from the copper.*"

In the previous plates, the form of the furnace has been the same, that of a caldron imbedded in the ground even with the surface of the earth, having the bellows placed on the other side of the intervening wall, and the blast carried into it below its level. No covering is represented, and the flame ascends into a cowl chimney. In this plate, the form of the furnace is oblong, with a curved facing in front; a fender, kept in its place by a rod attached to a post, guards the liquid metal from running out, except at a small orifice, which the workman manages with his spoon-like rod.

"'The 'combined-melted copper' is put into the furnace and heated almost to liquefying, when the workman, holding an iron tool upon the surface of the copper, restrains it from flowing, but allows the melted lead to run off. This copper is called *shibori doü*, or wrung out copper, i. e. pure copper. By this process the silver and lead contained in the copper are extracted, whence it is termed 'the wrung-out (or purifying) fusing;' the rules for the process were derived from foreign countries, and it is on this account also called 'the fusing of the southern foreigners.'"

PLATE XI. "*Separating the silver from the lead.*"

The furnace in which the cupellation is performed resembles a cupola furnace, rising about three feet, and having the fire somewhat below the surface. The assayer is stooping over the fire, intently watching the metal.

"The lead previously extracted is put into an ash furnace, and slowly melted by a coal fire; the lead sinks to the bottom among the ashes, and the pure silver appears coming out from the centre. It is called *hai-buki gin*, or 'ash-melted silver.'"

PLATE XII. "*Of rinsing and sifting.*"

Here we have two tubs of water, at which are women rinsing the pounded scoria; troughs stand by them for receiving the metallic portions, and a workman is shoveling the heap of scoria.

"Within the earthen crucible, used in melting copper, there is an earthy residuum, which, with the scoria, is put into a stone mortar, pounded fine, and afterwards rinsed. As the water in the bowl flows off, the earthy particles being light also run off as useless. The

cupreous portion, being heavy, remains in the bowl, whence it is taken."

PLATE XIII. "*Fusing lead.*"

This plate is supplementary to those on copper, introduced probably on account of the frequent mention of lead when speaking of copper. The furnace is represented as distinct from the crucible or caldron in which the lead is melted; the fire is underneath it, and communicates with the bellows below the surface. The fire is pictured as having gone down, one workman is lading lead into small oblong molds, while a second is cooling them in a tub of water, and a third cording the bars of lead into small faggots.

"The ore of lead comes from the hills; it is fused in a crucible; and afterwards poured out into copper molds to form bars of lead."

Succeeding these 13 plates are as many more, representing the implements used in smelting copper and lead and specifying their names and uses. To the professed metallurgist, this would be a very interesting part of the work; but it will be neither entertaining nor profitable to our readers to be detained with a minute description of them. There are 100 different drawings, representing the iron ladles, rods, forks, skimmers, pincers, &c., with the sieves, brooms, tubs, crucibles, molds, mortars, weights, &c., employed in the various stages of the smelting. The last page is occupied with diagrams of the bellows.

The remainder of the volume is filled with an account of the process connected with extracting copper from the ore, written in Chinese, and corresponding in the main to the Japanese. It is explanatory of the former, and renders the whole account much more complete than it otherwise would be. It is drawn up in excellent Chinese style, and is a good specimen of the capabilities of that language to describe even the most technical operations. The Japanese writer has added the terminations of the cases, the prepositions, and other grammatical marks by which a native of that country is enabled to read Chinese with much more facility and accuracy than he otherwise could do. In the translation, we have introduced the Chinese characters along with the names of places, in order that the means may be afforded for ascertaining their native names by those who have access to educated Japanese. These, in many instances, are so different from the sound of the characters themselves, as to afford no clue whatever to the names of the places designated, if the reader does not happen to know the very characters employed to write that name. Thus, the three great cities in the empire, Yédo, Ohosaka, and Kioto (or Miyako), are severally written 江戸 *Keánghoo*, 大坂 *Taepan*, and 京都 *Kingtoo*, the last is a descrip-

tive term, meaning the imperial city; it is where the dairi or kubo resides. This being their mode of using the Chinese character in writing proper names, we have thought it would be best to introduce them; the same remark applies to names of individuals, officers, and indeed every use of the Chinese. A few sentences occuring in the preceding paragraphs will be met with in these, but being embodied in the original, they could not very well be omitted, and the whole is translated as it stands.

Memoir on Smelting Copper.

"The places in this country where the most copper is obtained are Besh-shi 別子 in Yo 豫, Nanbu 南部 in Aü 奥, and Akita 秋田 in U 羽; next to these places are Sonsau 村山 in U 羽, and Shiöya 生野 in Tan 但; and the poorest are Ginsan 銀山 and Sheükoku 篠谷 in Sheki 石, Kitsukaü 吉岡 in Bi 備, Beiwa 貝波 in Ki 紀, Kinsan 金山 in Sa 佐, Taiya 大野 in Yetsu 越, Taten 多田 in So 津, and some others. From some of these places, there is at times much, and at others little, produced; the mines are sometimes open and sometimes shut. Besides these, there is so large a number which produce but little, that they can hardly be enumerated. Now the productive veins have limits, and the branching offsets cease midway; some of them will not repay the outlay; others, the owners are unwilling to dig; and again there are others which are not worked on account of the labor attending them: of all these there are many.—The copper ore sometimes contains both silver and lead, and at others it is pure without any admixture; it is also alloyed with zinc.* The rules for smelting are also dissimilar. There is some copper which is wrought by hammering, and some which is cast by fusing; generally speaking, that which contains silver and lead is softer, and is hammered into sheets, or drawn out into wire. That which is alloyed with zinc is very solid and hard, easily fractured if hammered, and unsuited either for sheets or wire; but if the soft and hard be fused together, there is no danger of its fracturing. If lead or tin be intimately blended with it, the alloy is very sonorous, well adapted for mirrors and bells. However, each has its own rules; and if [the reader

* "I have not yet ascertained the Chinese for this, but suspect it to be 鑞 *leè*." Note in the original. The characters written for the metal are 白目 *peih muh*, meaning white eye, and it appears from the context, and what is known of copper ores elsewhere, to be calamine.

wishes to read] the rules for quarrying, smelting, &c. they are briefly explained in the following pages.

SEC. I. *Of the ore.*

"All copper localities produce ore accompanied with earth and barren rock. When the mine contains copper ore, its evidence will always be found on the top of the hill, of a reddish black hue, coloring both the earth and stones. It forms a connected vein, either long or short, broad or narrow; either deep or shallow, rich or poor, according as the ore is much or little; for it is the effluence of the copper which steams up and forms it, and the miners diligently examine its aspect in order to judge whether the copper will be much or little, good or bad.

SEC. II. *Of digging the ore.*

"When the appearances on the top of the hill betoken good ore, [the miners] dig several perches into it in a circuitous manner; as they penetrate, setting up posts and joists, and laying boards and rafters upon them, stopping the empty interstices with stones and dirt, in order to prevent the pit caving in. The miners carry a lamp made from a shell, as they work the ore and fill their buckets. The number of days or months required to penetrate ten or twenty perches cannot be determined. Sometimes ore will be, and sometimes it will not be, met with; and when it does occur, the lode will suddenly stop, and again be resumed; at times it will continue on without faults; there are lodes which grow smaller and narrower, the further they are followed; others suddenly contract, and as suddenly enlarge; some diverge, and others are without any branches. The rock which envelops the ore varies in its aspect. The barren rock is thrown aside as of no further use. The ore is of many sorts, yellow, black, reddish and gray, brilliant and dull, some of it contains much, and some of it little. Indeed, the nature of the mine is not uniform, nor is it possible to obtain the ore alike in order to average the good and bad. When dug out, the ore is broken to fragments, and the process of selection and throwing away the barren stone is called *kaname* (or examining the ore). Generally, the best ore produces one tenth of copper, and the poorest, one twentieth.

SEC. III. *Of roasting the ore.*

"Whenever ore is roasted, a kiln is built under a shed. Faggots are spread upon the bottom, and ore laid upon them; a layer of faggots and one of ore alternately are piled up to the brim. A vent-hole is cut in the bottom of the kiln for the draft to be free. The smoke is so sulphureous as to suffocate one, and the fire cannot be approached. When the fire has burned ten days, and gone out, the

whole is cooled and taken out, but the ore has undergone but little change. These are the general outlines (of the mode of roasting).

SEC. IV. *Extracting the coarse metal.*

"Whoever extracts the coarse metal, constructs a wall in a building, and [on one side of it] makes a large furnace, having a trough leading out of it; on the other side of the wall two large bellows are placed. The roasted ore is then put into the furnace upon the coal, and two tall men pull the bellows, while a third, holding a long iron rod, stands before the furnace to separate and level the mass. When the fire has reached its strength, and the liquid metal has risen and filled the furnace, the earthy scoria floats upon the surface, and little by little flows off into the trough; as it flows out, it is suffered to cool, or else water is sprinkled upon it, and it is taken out and thrown aside. When the ore is all melted, more is added, and additional coal placed upon it, until the furnace is full of good metal, when the earthy scoria and coals are all pushed off. Water is then sprinkled upon the top of the furnace, to cause the liquid metal to separate from the cold, and form a crust which can be raised up. An iron pole is employed to peel it off and take it away; first sprinkling and peeling, until all is taken off, when there is found at the bottom of the furnace a mass of copper; if, however, the ore is poor, there may be none.

SEC. V. *Of extracting the copper.*

"The rules for calcining the coarse metal, and extracting the copper, are for the most part like those for melting the ore and extracting the coarse metal. But when the furnace is full of liquid metal, the top is luted with clay, leaving a small hole in it in which to put the coal and blast the charge. If there is any scum take it out immediately, and wait till the whole mass is thoroughly fused; then open the furnace, and entirely remove the ignited coal and earthy slag, after which, wait till the heat has abated a little, and then, sprinkling the surface, take it out in the same manner as when taking out the coarse metal.

"All the operations described above, from quarrying the ore out of its bed to the first making it into pure copper, are done at the mine. The officers' orders are that no copper shall be privately sold, but that it must all be carried to the Riaü-kwa 浪華 foundry; where the superintendents direct the founders to smelt and cast it, then assort the various qualities, and affix their corresponding prices. That which is delivered at Nagasaki 長崎 and Kwashi 和市 is from Besh-shi 別子, Akita 秋田, and Nambu 南部. That which

is brought to market for ordinary purposes of manufacture is all produced from other places besides these three. The number of founders is likewise fixed; they cannot be lightly increased or diminished, lest malpractices should arise. That copper which contains silver, and that which contains zinc, and the pure metal, must not be mixed. There are these two operations carried on in the foundry.

SEC. VI. *The second smelting.*

"Every district which produces copper has it smelted a second time in a foundry furnace. When fused, take off the slag and the coals, and then work the bellows a second time until it is liquefied; wait till the heat has abated a little, sprinkle water upon it to concrete it, and then take it out with an iron rod. This is re-smelted copper or fine metal. [The mass] is about a cubit broad, and half a cubit thick, being a little smaller than the bottom of the furnace. The process is for the most part like that of extracting the coarse metal. Generally speaking, about 250 catties can be melted in the furnace at once, and there are three fusings in a day.

SEC. VII. *The third smelting.*

"The twice smelted copper is put into an earthen crucible, placed in the furnace, and melted. A tub of hot water is set near at hand and a square wooden pool made, into which the molds are placed; and over them a thick hempen cloth spread. When the copper is melted, the scoria taken off, and the fire reduced, hot water is poured into the pool (not very hot), until it is almost level with the molds; then the smelter, firmly grasping the crucible with pair of large iron pincers, pours [the metal] into the molds, which are previously sprinkled with warm water lest the mold should crack.* Afterwards, water is sprinkled upon the bars to cool them, and they are taken out with a pair of iron nippers. Each casting produces ten or more bars; they are seven or eight inches long, and weigh about ten taels (i. e. nearly a pound av.) each. The copper is all poured off in about ten times, and the crucible is fused ten times in a day. In this manner are made the copper bars which are brought to Nagasaki and Kwashi.†

"The above are all the rules for smelting pure copper; there are

* "If cold water is indiscreetly sprinkled [upon the molds], or if the crucible is cracked, in both cases an explosion will take place; and because the lives of persons are endangered by such an accident, great care should be used to guard against it." Note in the original.

† Thunberg says the "copper, after being roasted and smelted at the smelting house, is refined and manufactured at Miyako, where also all the coin is struck." Vol. III., page 141. The foundry of Raûkwa mentioned in this account may be at Miyako, but we have no means of ascertaining.

others for taking the re-smelted copper, fusing and casting it into square, or round, or other shaped molds, as will be presently explained, and these are, in the main, similar to those for making copper bars.

"Copper was first brought to this country by eastern people. According to the Memoir on Copper, the year was between the reigns of Genki 元龜 and Tenshei 天正. For about a thousand years, the metal from every district was chiefly of the third quality, as they had not learned how to extract the silver; so that they could be called deficient in manipulation. For this is known from the fact, that if broken copper utensils, made in the reign of Tenshei and before him, be smelted, silver can always be extracted from them. The silver used in those days was all obtained from mines. At the end of Tenshei's reign, certain foreign merchants came to Sakai 左海 in the country of Shen 泉; and taught the mode of extracting silver to Sumitomo Zhiyusai; this was in the year 1591. In the reign of Tsungching of the [Chinese] Ming dynasty, from that which was produced at Soü-yoü-shei, the furnaces of Tenkoü and Kaimutsu became skillful in extracting the silver, though the mode of operation was different. Teënching reigned the fortieth year after this, in 1631. From Sumitomo Zhiyusai and after, the family has followed the occupation of mining and smelting copper; the fourth in succession was called Sumitomo Tomoyoö, and he discovered a copper mine in the department of Yo (or Yo shiu 豫州,) while Genroku 元錄 reigned, which he desired leave to open; it has yielded not less than 7,000,000 catties of copper annually, while it has been constantly worked up to the present time, more than a hundred years. For seven generations past this family has superintended the Raükwa foundry; and because the designation of the foreign merchants was Shiromidzu 白水 they have joined the two characters to form Shen 泉 their present mark. He who first in this country extracted silver from copper was undoubtedly Sumitomo Zhiyusai, but people generally did not know this fact, and therefore this explanation has been introduced.

SEC. VIII. *Of alloying copper and lead.*

"When silver and zinc are combined with the copper, lead is added and placed on top of the furnace, and the whole mass fused. When the earthy slag and the hot coals are removed, an iron pole is used to take it out by adhesion; its appearance is that of broken tiles, and it is called *awashe kane*, or alloyed copper. Generally there are 8

parts of copper and 2 of lead; but the lead is according to the quantity of silver, if there is much then more is added, if little the lead is reduced.

SEC. IX. *Of separating the lead and copper.*

"The alloyed copper is put into a Namman furnace, (so called because the southern foreigners introduced it; it is built of earth;) and coal added by degrees as the bellows is worked. A crooked iron rod is used to stir the metal about in the clay, but it must not be allowed to become melted so as to run. When the lead is fused, it will flow off, carrying the silver in combination with it. If the zinc is also ready to run off, the workman with his iron rod stops and turns it off so that it may not mix with the lead; it usually remains just between the lead and copper. When the lead has all run off (i. e. that combined with the zinc), then scoop the zinc up and take it out; and when both the lead and zinc are separated, sprinkle water and take out the copper; it is called *shibori doū*, pure (*lit.* wrung out) copper. The lead in the hollow place cools and forms a round mass (called *shiyuts shiyo*, or extracted lead); it still combines silver with it, which does not show itself. Truly this process of separation must be regarded as very elegant!

SEC. X. *Sinking the lead to extract the silver.*

"The first thing in cupellating the silver is to construct an ash-furnace; the foundries of Tenkoū and Kaimutsu call it an ash pool, it is made of sifted ashes placed on the earth, having a depression about a cubit wide, and a hollow place in its middle. When the lead is in, coal and fire are put on, and a defense formed of wet ashes like a wall or dyke is built around, leaving a hole in front to work the bellows (as well as to see the state of the fire), on the top of which a cover of a broad tile is closely luted with wet ashes. The bellows is then gradually blown until the fire attains its strength, causing the lead to drop into the ashes, where it forms a mass upon the bottom. The lead is called *ruikasu*, and is afterwards purified from the ashes. The silver floats in the middle as a small round cake, and is called *haibuki gin* or ash-melted silver. Such are the rules for extracting the silver.

SEC. XI. *Supplement of rinsing the scoria of the copper and zinc.*

"The separated copper is of the same quality as the resmelted; it is melted and made into copper rods, and into for hammers and nippers. That cast into square sheets is used to tile houses, the round is made into cups, the oblong pieces are employed in constructing eave-troughs, and the long rods are for making wire. If the lead and

zinc are not completely separated, the copper will split and crack when hammered; it is consequently very important that at the time of smelting it be perfectly purified. Zinc is only used as an alloy in making mirrors and warming-stoves and bells; if it is combined in the copper, that metal will not stick to the molds, but when taken out, the engravings and ornaments will be distinct and clean.

SEC. XII. *Of the washing and rinsing.*

"The fragments of copper taken from the refining furnace which adhere to the scoria, and that from the crucible, are beaten in a mortar, sifted, and then rinsed in water in order to obtain the copper.

"Written by Mas'tadzuna (or Soü ten-boü 增田綱) a pupil of Sumitomo Zhiyusai in Raükwa."

When Thunberg accompanied the Dutch embassy to Yédo in 1776, the party after much intreaty were allowed to see the operation of casting the copper bars at Ohosaka, which he thus describes. We introduce it as the testimony of an eye-witness to corroborate the native account.

"The operation of smelting of copper was one day performed particularly for us, and merely on purpose that we might see it, in consequence of the importunate intreaties both of our chief and our conductors. This was done with much greater simplicity than I had imagined. The smelting hut was from twenty to twenty-four feet wide, and a wall like a niche was built up, with a chimney on one side of it. At the bottom of this, and level with the floor, was a hearth, in which the ore, by the assistance of a hand-bellows, had been smelted before our arrival. Directly opposite, on the ground, which was not floored, was dug a hole of an oblong form, and about twelve inches deep. Across this were laid ten square iron bars, barely the breadth of a finger asunder, and all of them with one of their edges upwards. Over these was expanded a piece of sail-cloth, which was pressed down between the bars. Upon this was afterwards poured cold water, which stood about two inches above the cloth. The smelted ore was then taken up out of the hearth, with iron ladles, and poured into the above described mold, so that ten or eleven bars, six inches long, were cast each time. As soon as these were taken out, the fusion was continued, and the water now and then changed. That the copper was thus cast in water, was not known before in Europe, nor that the Japanese copper hence acquires its high color and splendor. At the same time, I had the good fortune to receive, through the influence of my friends the interpreters, a present of a box, in which was packed up, not only pure copper cast

in the abovementioned manner, but also specimens taken from every process that it had gone through, such as the crude pyrites with its matrix, the produce of the roasting, and of the first and second smelting. * * *

"After this we saw a quantity of cast copper, not only in the abovementioned form of bars, as it is sold to the Dutch and Chinese, but also cast in larger and smaller, round and square, thicker and thinner, pieces, for other purposes, according as they may be wanted for the fabrication of kettles, pans, and other utensils."

The copper exported by the Dutch is, according to Thunberg, packed in long wooden boxes each containing one pecul. A cargo consists of six or seven thousand chests. The bars, he says, "are six inches long, and a finger thick, flat on one side and convex on the other, and of a fine bright color." Each bar weighs about one third of a pound." One of these bars now lies before us. It is nine inches long, flat on one side and convex on the other, the upper side much blistered, of a dark carmine color, and weighs 11 taels, 3 mace, and 8 candareens, or 15.12 oz. avoirdupois. W.

ART. V. *The Chusan Archipelago; its situation, magnitude, productions, and advantages for foreign commerce.*

NOTICES of the Chusan Archipelago may be found in the Repository, vol I., pp. 37, 124; vol. II., pp. 531, 548; vol. IV., p. 333; vol. V., p. 339; vol. VI., p. 13; &c., &c. Leaving our readers to refer to these places, we proceed to collect from other sources such information as we suppose may be interesting at a time and under circumstances like the present. A British squadron, *not bearing tribute*, has passed by the usual anchorages off Macao, and is now, while we write this, moving northward—with what intent, and for what point, we are unable to state, but time will show. If it seeks a place of rendezvous, beyond the ordinary range of tyfoons, where it can best command the waters of the Chinese, it may anchor somewhere near latitude 30° 36″ north, longitude 121° 41′ east, taking Horsburgh for guide. This anchorage is just off the south of Tinghae, having from five to seven fathoms of water, is completely landlocked and sheltered from all winds. Tinghae is the capital of the great Chusan, or Chowshan, the largest island of the group. This island is

about thirty miles in length, and fifteen in breadth, and is surrounded by hundreds of others, varying in size from little islets, or mere barren rocks just rising above the water, to islands several miles in circumference. An eye-witness thus describes them.

"Most of the Chusan islands consists of hills rising with a regular slope, and rounded at top, as if any points or angles existing in their original formation, had been gradually worn off into a globular and uniform shape. Many of these islands, though close to each other, were divided by channels of great depth. They rested upon a foundation of gray or red granite, some part resembling porphyry, except in hardness. They were, certainly, not formed in consequence of successive alluvion by earth carried to the sea by the great river at whose mouth they were situated, like the numerous low and muddy islands, at the mouth of the Po, and many others; but should rather be considered as the remains of part of the continent thus scooped and furrowed, as it were, into islands, by the force of violent torrents wafting farther into the sea, whatever was less resistible than the rocks just mentioned. Some of them wore a very inviting aspect. One in particular, called Pootoo, is described as a perfect paradise."

Staunton, from whom we have quoted the preceding paragraph, thus speaks regarding the anchorage at Tinghae.

"The part of the harbor in which the Clarence anchored, was distant about half a mile from a landing place, near the house of the tsungping, or military governor, who presided in this place, and which bore from the brig northeast by north. The depth of water was five fathoms. In this situation the four passages into the harbor were so shut in, that none of them were visible. It looked like a lake surrounded by hills; and a person standing upon the deck of the Clarence at anchor, could scarcely point out how she got there. The extent of the harbor, from north to south, is little more than a mile; but it is near three miles from east to west. The rise and fall of the tides makes a difference of about twelve feet. The time of high water, at the full and change of the moon, appears to be about twelve o'clock. The tides, however, are very irregular, and vary according to the wind, and the eddies produced by such a multiplicity of islands. At the anchoring place of the Clarence, the flood and ebb ran in the same direction, within three points of compass; the current setting constantly between east and northeast by east; and for the two days and nights, during which that vessel continued in the harbor, her head always pointed nearly to the same object on the shore. The circumstance of irregular tides had been noticed in the

manuscript journal of the Stringer galley, in the year 1708, where it is mentioned that 'in the distance of two leagues among the Chusan islands, the irregularities of the tides were such that there was the difference of two hours in the time of high water in the two places.' 'Among these numerous islands there are almost as any valuable harbors or place of perfect security, for ships of any burden. This advantage, together with that of their central situation, in respect to the eastern coast of China, and the vicinity of Corea, Japan, Lewchew, and Formosa, attract considerable commerce, especially to Ningpo, a city of great trade in the adjoining province of Chĕkeäng, to which all the Chusan islands are annexed. From one port in that province twelve vessels sail, annually, for copper to Japan.

"Soon after the Clarence had anchored, some civil and military officers come on board to inquire the occasion of her visit; which being declared, it was settled that the party should go ashore the next morning, and wait on the magistrate to make their demand. With these officers came, to serve as an interpreter, a Chinese merchant, who had formerly been connected in trade with the agents of the E. I. Company, while they were allowed to frequent this part of China. He still retained somewhat of the English language. By this man's account, the English had given no just cause of dissatisfaction in this place, though they have been interdicted from it, through the means, as is most likely, of the superior influence of the officers governing at Canton, who are supposed to draw large sums from the accumulation of foreign trade in that port; and perhaps also from the increasing apprehension, on the part of the Chinese government, of the ill effects which might arise from an unrestrained communication between foreigners and the subjects of that empire, in several of its ports at the same time. The Chinese merchants still recollected with pleasure the names of Mr. Fitzhugh and Mr. Bevan, two of the Company's principal agents at Ningpo and Chusan; and indulged a hope that the English trade would be again permitted there. He explained the reason why a salute by the Clarence of seven guns was answered by three only from the shore, by observing, that among the regulations of economy in the Chinese government, no greater number is permitted to be fired from the same spot, on any occasion of compliment."

While the ships of Macartney's embassy were remaining at Chusan the parties that went on shore enjoyed good opportunities for seeing Tinghae and the adjacent scenery. Of one of these visits, sir George gives the following account.

"The party, thus obliged to defer their return to the Lion, went to

view the city or walled town of Tinghae, situate within a mile from the large open village or suburb, built along the shore. The way from one to the other was over a plain, intersected with rivulets and canals in various directions, which possibly might serve, among other purpose, for that of separating the different properties of individuals. The ground was cultivated like a garden. Not a single spot was waste; and the road, though good, was narrow, as if in order that as little land as possible should be lost to culture. The city walls were thirty feet high, and, like those of a large prison, overtopped the houses which they surrounded. Along the walls, at the distance of every hundred yards, were square stone towers. In the parapets were also embrasures, and holes in the merlons for archery; but there were no cannon, except a few old wrought-iron pieces near the gate. The gate was double; within which was a guardhouse, where military men were stationed; and the bows and arrows, pikes, and matchlocks, orderly arranged, were no doubt intended for their use. Of the towns of Europe, Tinghae bore the resemblance most of Venice, but on a smaller scale. It was, in some degree, surrounded, as well as intersected, by canals. The bridges thrown over them were steep, and ascended by steps, like the Rialto. The streets, which were no more than alleys or narrow passages, were paved with square flat stones; but the houses, unlike the Venetian buildings, were low, and mostly of one story. * * *

"Throughout the place there was an appearance of quick and active industry, beyond the natural effect of a climate not quite thirty degrees from the equator: a circumstence which implied the stimulus of necessity compelling, or of reward exciting, to labor. None seemed to shun it. None asked alms. Men, only, were passing busily through the streets. Women were seen, chiefly, in the shops, and at their doors and windows."

"These islands appeared to us, (says Barrow,) in sailing among them, to be mostly uninhabited, extremely barren of trees or shrubs, and many of them destitute even of herbage, or verdure of any kind. In some of the creeks we perceived a number of boats and other small craft, at the upper ends of which were villages composed of mean-looking huts, the dwellings most probably of fishermen, as there was no appearance of cultivated ground near them to furnish their inhabitants with the means of subsistence. The squadron having dropped anchor, we landed on one of the largest of these islands; and walked a very considerable distance before we saw a human being. At length, in descending a valley, in the bottom of which was a small vil-

lage, we fell in with a young peasant, whom, with some difficulty, by means of an interpreter, we engaged in conversation. Embarrassed in thus suddenly meeting with strangers, so different from his own countrymen, in dress, in features, and complexion, his timidity might almost be said to assume the appearance of terror. He soon, however, gained confidence, and became communicative. He assured us that the island on which we were, and of which he was a native, was the best in the whole group, and the most populous, except that of Chusan; the number of its inhabitants being ten thousand souls." This was probably Lowang.

"In some of the passages, formed by the numerous islands, the current ran with amazing rapidity, appearing more like the impetuous torrents of rivers, swelled by rains, than branches of the great ocean. The depth, too, of these narrow passages, was so great as to make it difficult, dangerous, and frequently impossible, for ships to anchor, in the event of a calm; in which case they must necessarily drive at the mercy of the stream. As we approached, in the Clarence brig, the high rocky point of the continent called Keeto, which juts into the midst of the cluster of islands, the wind suddenly failed us; and the current hurried us with such velocity directly towards the point, that we expected momentarily to be dashed in pieces; but on coming within twice the length of the ship of the perpendicular precipice, which was some hundred feet high, the eddy swept her round three several times, with great rapidity. The captain would have dropped the anchor, but an old Chinese fisherman, whom we had taken on board to pilot us, made signs that it was too deep, and, at the same time, that there was no danger, except that of the bowsprit striking against the mountain. The Chinese vessels have no bowsprit. At this moment the lead was thrown, but we got no soundings at the depth of one hundred and twenty fathoms; yet the yellow mud was brought up from the bottom, in such quantities, that the Nile, at the height of its inundation, or the great Yellow river of China, could not be more loaded with mud than the sea was in the whirlpool of Keeto point. The current, in the strait of Faro, setting directly upon the rocks of Scylla and the whirlpool of Charybdis, those celebrated objects of dread to ancient navigators, could not possibly have been more awfully terrific, though perhaps more dangerous, than the currents and the eddies that boiled tumultuously round this promontory of the Chinese continent."

A glance at the map will show how admirably well Tinghae, or some other place in its vicinity, is situated to serve as a military and

naval station, for commanding both the maritime and inland navigation of China. From thence the channel of Formosa and all the rivers and harbors up to Shantung can be reached in two or three days. Starting at early dawn, with a steamer, one could look at the markets of Ningpo and pass on to Hangchow, and inspect the grand canal at breakfast time; then touch at Chapo and Shanghae and run over to Nanking, and there, after finishing the business of the day, take dinner; and during the evening and night return to Tinghae. In four or five days, in case of emergency, a visit might be paid to the emperor at Peking, either by going up the canal or around the promontory of Shantung. The Yangtsze keäng and Yellow river will afford one an opportunity, at leisure, to survey many of the richest parts of the empire. (For accounts of these rivers, see our first and second volumes.) In like manner the coasts of Corea and Japan can be examined.

ART. VI. *Journal of Occurrences: political phenomena; attack on the Hellas: lord Churchill's death; attempt to burn the fleet at Capsuy Moon; arrival of steamer Madagascar and Wellesley, 74, with transports; queen's speech on Chinese affairs; notices of blockade; notices to the Chinese; smuggler seized; admiral Elliot leaves for Teëntsin: Russian mission to Peking; Russian expedition against Khiva; tea in Asám.*

THE Rubicon is passed. Within the boundaries over which the Chinese claim jurisdiction, a force has entered that cannot be expelled, and that will not pay homage. The struggle now begun will not and ought not to end, until the civilities, the rights, and the immunities, usually yielded to and claimed by civilized nations are secured. All the world must rejoice that such a force is here. On its directors, however, great responsibility rests. With plenipotentiary power to wage war and make peace, no ordinary degree of wisdom and skill are requisite in order in the best manner to form and consolidate the new system of intercourse. All 'communications' should be made on principles of strict justice and pure equity. Throughout the struggle, the lives and the properties of the people should be respected and protected. Immense interests are staked—the well-being of half the world is suspended—on the present struggle. Surely those who bear the sword, and those who are clothed with authority to act in this great contest, will remember whence their power and all power is derived, and to whom for its exercise they are responsible.

Monday, June 1st. One of the men, late of the Hellas, was interred in Macao this afternoon, having died of a wound received on the

22d ult., during an attack on that vessel. This attack is believed to have been made by pirates. But as the vessel had long been engaged, and was then engaged, in the opium trade, some have supposed the attack was made by people under the direction of local officers. It is hard to tell what is the exact truth. The event, however, is a sad and melancholy one, and one at which we cannot but grieve. Especially do we regret the severe personal injury sustained by captain Jauncey. Were it possible, by any means in our power, we would dissuade every foreigner to desist from the traffic in opium.

June 3d. Died at about 10 o'clock this morning, on board H. M. ship Druid, the right honorable lord Henry John Spencer Churchill, after one week's illness. His lordship was 43 years of age, and the fourth son of the duke of Marlborough, and at the time of his death was senior officer of H. B. M.'s naval force in the Chinese waters. He was interred in Macao on Friday morning with military honors due to his rank.

June 9th. Soon after midnight, ten fire ships were sent among the fleet at Capsing Moon, for the purpose of annihilating the British fleet collected there. Little or no damage was sustained, but the act serves to show the feeling that still predominates with the Chinese authorities. H. B. M. ship Alligator arrived at the moment the fire broke out.

16th. The steamer Madagascar, came in from sea at 8 A. M., causing some unnecessary excitement.

21st. Arrived the Wellesley, H. B. M.'s ship of the line, bearing the broad pennant of commodore sir James John Gordon Bremer knt. C. B. K. C. H. commander-in-chief of the Indian station. Other ships and transports arrived the next day; and some of them the same evening were seen moving northward.

The queen's speech respecting China. Her majesty, queen Victoria, in her speech to the members of parliament, in January says: "Events have happened in China which have occasioned an interruption of the commercial intercourse of my subjects with that country, I have given, and shall continue to give, the most serious attention to a matter so deeply affecting the interests of my subjects and the dignity of my crown." This, we suppose, may be regarded as her majesty's answer to the commissioner's first letter—or, if not an answer, the prologue to an answer.

Instead of venturing to give any remarks of our own, relative to the case now pending between the British and Chinese governments we quote a few paragraphs from English papers.

COMMONS.—In answer to Mr. Mackinnon, Lord J. Russell stated that there had been no official intelligence received amounting to the fact of a declaration of a war against China; but instructions had been given to the governor-general of India to make some active preparations. Sir R. Peel wished to ask whether war, if proclaimed, would be carried on on account of the supreme authority of this country, and at the expense of the united empire? And, whether or no the government would bring down any message to parliament announcing the intention of her majesty to resort to hostilities? Viscount Palmerston said, that any communication with the government of

China would be carried on in the name of the queen of this country, and that whatever assistance might be afforded by the governor-general of India, would be assistance lent to this country under the responsibility of government, and not of the East India Company. With regard to the other question, it was not at present the intention to send down any message of the kind. Though frequently pressed to be more explicit, lord Palmerston called the proposed operations against China "communications," not "hostilities."

MARCH 19.—Sir J. Graham, having given notice of a motion respecting China on the 2d of April, put certain questions to which lord Palmerston replied in writing, that captain Elliot had purchased some opium to make up the amount which the British had agreed to deliver up. Mr. J. A. Smith observed that the warlike preparations going on in India being now matter of public notoriety, and as great anxiety existed on the subject, he wished to ask the noble lord whether he had any objection to state the object of the expedition, and what was likely to take place. Lord J. Russell said, that the orders sent out were to make preparations to have a certain naval and military force in readiness. The honorable gentleman asked what was the object of these preparations, and he could only state very generally what they were. In the first place, they were to obtain *reparation for the insults and injuries offered to her majesty's superintendent, and her majesty's subjects, by the Chinese government; and, in the second place, they were to obtain for the merchants trading with China an indemnification for the loss of their property, incurred by threats of violence offered by persons under the direction of the Chinese government; and, in the last place, they were to obtain a certain security that persons and property in future trading with China shall be protected from insult or injury, and that their trade and commerce be maintained upon a proper footing.* [cheers.]

MARCH 24.—Sir J. Graham postponed his motion, founded on the China papers before the House, to the 6th April. Mr. Crawford having presented a petition from merchants in London calling for inquiry, moved, that the grievances complained of in the petitions of the owners, and representatives of the owners, of a large part of the opium delivered up by captain Elliot to the Chinese authorities, be referred to a select committee. The hon. gentleman went into a history of the trade in opium, from the earliest period it had existed between Bengal and China up to the time when commissioner Lin was invested with extraordinary powers, superseding all the authorities under the viceroy, and appeared in Canton for the purpose of putting the authority which he possessed into effect. The events which followed were too notorious to need repetition. Capt. Elliot, after having returned from [to] Canton, having got as it appeared into the lion's mouth, called upon the British merchants to give up the opium in their possession to the Chinese authorities; of course, on the principle and understanding of indemnification if the owners of opium had not been paid. Now he had only further to state what appeared to him to be the position in which the British merchants at Canton stood in regard to captain Elliot, as British superintendent there. He believed that by act of parliament they owed full and implicit allegiance to every order he might make; they had no choice but to do so. Sir G. Staunton, who seconded the motion, said he thought that had the order of the 11th September, 1839, been issued three years, or even seven months sooner, they would not now be discussing the claims to compensation, nor have seen a suspension of trade, nor a contest which it was desirable to avoid. He, however, concurred in the course pursued by her majesty's government. Lord Sandon thought it right to state the course he intended to pursue in his motion on the 26th; it was to call on the House to condemn in strong terms the continuance by the East India Company of the growth of opium for barter with the Chinese, and to declare the expediency of lending its best endeavors to enable the Chinese

government to suppress the mischievous and iniquitous trade in opium. He had strong doubts whether the empire of China had not a more just cause of war with us than we had with it. Lord Palmerston stated that no objection would be offered to the appointment of the select committee. He conceived that if his hon. friend (Sir G. Staunton) were to examine the papers laid before the House, he would see that he labored under a mistake in supposing that her Majesty's superintendent, since the trade was thrown open, had departed from the conduct pursued by the supercargoes of the East India Company with regard to the smuggling trade in opium.

APRIL 2.—In answer to Mr. Hume, sir J. Graham said that he would read the resolution which he proposed to make on the subject of China, reserving to himself the right of alteration if he found anything requiring it in the papers not yet produced. The substance of this motion would be—"That it appears to the House, upon the consideration of the papers relating to China, presented to this House by command of her majesty, that the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with China, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly to be attributed to want of foresight and precaution on the part of her majesty's present advisers with reference to our relations with China, and more especially their neglect in not furnishing the British superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions to provide against the growing evils arising from the contraband traffic in opium, and adapted to the novel and difficult situation in which the superintendent was placed."

AMERICA. The state of our relations with China seems to be closely watched in America. In the Congress of the U. S. the following resolution was agreed to:—"That the president be requested (if in his opinion it be not incompatible with the public interests to do so) to communicate to this House any information in his possession respecting the condition of the citizens of the United States doing business during the past year in China; the state of the American trade with that country: and the interests of the people and commerce of the United States, as affected by the recent measures of the Chinese government for the suppression of the contraband or forcible introduction of opium into China; also, whether the British government has given notice to that of the United States of a purpose to blockade the port of Canton, or of other hostile intentions towards that government, and any other information possessed by the executive in relation to the above matters. That the secretary of the treasury be directed to transmit to this House a statement of the commerce and navigation between the United States and China, from 1824 to 1839 inclusive, exhibiting for each year the amount of specie, the value and description of manufactured articles, the value and description of other merchandise, and the total amount exported, the quantity and value of teas, the value of silk goods, the value of other merchandise, and the number of seamen employed."

On the following public notices, we have no remarks to offer for the present. They introduce new experiments on the Chinese.

Public notice of blockade of the river and port of Canton, by sir James John Gordon Bremer, Knt. C. B. K. C. H., commodore of the first class, and commander-in-chief of her Britannic majesty's ships and vessels of war, employed and to be employed on the East India station and seas adjacent. In pursuance of the commands of her Britannic majesty's government, I do hereby give notice that a blockade of the river and port of Canton by all its entrances will be established on and after the 28th instant. Given under my hand on board her Britannic majesty's ship the Wellesley, in Macao Roads, this twenty-second day of June, 1840. (Signed) J. J. GORDON BREMER.

By command of the commander-in-chief, WM. DYER,—*Secretary*

By sir James John Gordon Bremer, Knt. C. B. K. C. H., commodore of the first class, and commander-in-chief of her Britannic majesty's ships and vessels em-

ployed and to be employed on the East Indian station and seas adjacent. With a view to the convenience of British and other foreign merchant ships resorting to the coast of China in ignorance of the blockade of the river and port of Canton, notice is hereby given that the senior officer off that station has been instructed to permit them to repair to, and remain at any anchorages in the neighborhood of the port, which he may see fit to indicate from time to time. Until further notice, it is to be understood, that the anchorages of rendezvous for such purposes of convenience, are Capsuy Moon and Macao Roads. Given under my hand on board her Britannic majesty's ship Wellesley in Macao Roads, this twenty-second day of June, one thousand eight hundred and forty.

(Signed) J. J. GORDON BREMER.

By command of the commander-in-chief, WM. DYER,—*Secretary.*

Public notification. The following is the English version of a declaration in the Chinese language, issued by the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China.

(Signed) EDWARD ELMSLIE,
Macao, 26th June, 1840. Secretary and treasurer.

Twelve months since, the emperor was graciously pleased to depute Lin, the commissioner, to come to these provinces, and suppress the traffic in opium. He found it stagnant: he has made it flourish here and along the whole coasts of the empire. The emperor commanded the commissioner to regulate and protect the lawful trade. He has thrown it into a smuggled form, and heavy losses have been cast upon all persons pursuing it, both native and English. The emperor, in his wisdom and justice, commanded the commissioner to treat the foreigners with firmness, but with consideration; carefully separating the right from the wrong, so that there might be no reasonable cause for irritation and future trouble with the English government. The commissioner disregarded the immediate offer of Elliot to fulfill the imperial pleasure, which he was ready faithfully to do, in a manner consistent with the dignity of the empire, with the preservation of peace, and with obligations of justice to innocent and absent men, unconnected with the traffic in opium. But on the contrary, he forthwith confined Elliot a close prisoner at Canton, and so detained him for several weeks, proceeded to constrain the whole foreign community, by the stoppage of their supplies of food and of fresh water; and under these circumstances of lawless and most violent restraint, required Elliot to deliver up all the opium in the possession of his countrymen, under pain of death.

How has the commissioner dared to degrade the majesty of China and of England, by these insulting and violent proceedings towards an English functionary, acknowledged by his imperial majesty, and who had always respected the laws of the empire, and faithfully fulfilled his public obligations? And which would have been the most effectual means of accomplishing the imperial pleasure? Those that Elliot had offered, and was ready to take, founded upon the separation of the innocent from the offending, and accompanied by precautions and securities that would have given permanent efficacy to such distinctions?—or those of senseless violence, casting upon the whole transaction the character of shameful spoliation? The commissioner preferred a career of needless and spoliatory constraint, which has made amplest reparation a duty of highest obligation in the government of England, which has broken to pieces all sense of confidence in the wisdom or justice of the provincial government, and which has had the effect of immediately reviving the opium traffic at all points of the coast with utmost vigor. The emperor admonished the commissioner to maintain the honor and dignity of the empire. He has over and over again violated his pledges under the seal of the empire, and left the word of a high officer without weight, in the estimation of all men, native and foreign. When a native of the land was unhappily killed at Hongkong in the month of July last in a riot in which several tens of foreign seamen were engaged, Americans as well as English, Elliot closely investigated according to the forms of his country, invited the honorable officers of the empire to attend, and severely punished those persons who were convicted of participation in the disorder. But because he could not succeed in discovering the perpetrator of the murder, and would not consent to deliver up an innocent man for execution, what are the proceedings of the commissioner? He forcibly drives away from Macao, a place situated more than

forty miles from the scene of the riot, the whole British community, aged and infirm persons, women almost in pains of childbirth, young children. He causes vessels engaged in lawful pursuits, or in carrying away some of these innocent fugitives (Spanish as well as British), to be cowardly attacked by overwhelming force in the night time, and burnt. Nine or ten innocent persons, some Spanish and some English, lose their lives, some are cruelly mutilated; some still detained in captivity upon the most false pretenses, and under circumstances terribly disgraceful to the empire. Poison is put into the springs of water. The English people were driven to conflict to procure supplies of food; worthy officers and soldiers of the empire have fallen a sacrifice to the violence of the commissioner; and falsehood upon falsehood has been reported to the emperor, and proclaimed to the people, to cover these bloody and disgraceful proceedings.

When the commissioner came to Canton, the empire was at peace and respected by the whole word. His first act was one of the most unprovoked war against the English nation, by the imprisonment and wanton insult of the English officer, who had already offered to fulfill the imperial pleasure. He found these great provinces tranquil and flourishing. In less than a year, he has reduced them to the very verge of ruin and insurrection; and piracy and robbery stalk abroad unpunished. It is well known to the foreigners and the people of the province, that many of the provincial authorities, wise and honorable men, acquainted with the foreign character, have remonstrated against these foolish and dangerous proceedings. But, he answered their counsels with contumely and menaces. The gracious queen and the people of the English nation venerate the emperor; and cherish the people of the empire. But great injuries have been perpetrated, and the truth must now be made known to his imperial majesty, to the end that the evil doers may be punished, and that all things may be reëstablished on a sure and honorable basis. Let the natives of the land pursue their ordinary occupations in peace and security, in the assurance that no violence will be offered to them or their property, whilst they are opposing none to the fordes of the queen of England. The officers of the English nation are strictly commanded to protect and cherish the people of the land.

Macao, 31st March, 1840. (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT.

Public notification. The following is a notice to the inhabitants of the coast of the province of Canton. (Signed) E. ELMSLIE,

Macao, 25th June, 1840. Secretary and treasurer.

The high officers, Lin and Tăng, having visited the English superintendent, and people at Canton, with perfidious violence, in contemptuous disregard of the imperial command that they should be treated with justice and moderation, and having shamefully deceived the emperor with false reports, it has been determined by the gracious sovereign of England, to send royally appointed officers to the coasts of China, to the end that the truth may be made manifest to his imperial majesty, and lasting peace and honorable trade firmly established.

This notice is to declare that the queen of England, venerating the emperor and tenderly cherishing the good and peaceful inhabitants of the land, has strictly commanded that their persons and property should be rigidly respected whilst they are opposing no resistance to her majesty's arms. Let them therefore bring their supplies and commodities to the several stations of the British forces without fear, in the certainty that they will receive kind protection, and just payment. The high officers, Lin and Tăng, having by false representations drawn from the emperor orders for the discontinuance of honorable British trade (to the deep injury of tens of thousands of just men, native as well as foreign), the commander-in-chief of the English sea forces has now to declare by the command of the queen of England, that no native vessel will be allowed to pass in or out of the said port, and others, hereafter to be named, till the British trade shall proceed without obstruction at points to be indicated by the commander-in-chief, and until further notice under his seal of office. But fishing craft will be allowed to pass in and out of the port of Canton, without obstruction in the hours of daylight, and the native trading vessels of the outside cities and villages are permitted to pass to and fro, and to resort for purposes of mutual exchange to the station of the British shipping. (Signed) CHARLES ELLIOT.

26th. A little before midnight a Chinese was seized by the police,

in the act of smuggling opium, near the office of the local magistrate in Macao. He was immediately sent up to the higher officers for trial.

30th. At 7 o'clock this morning rear-admiral, the honorable G. Elliot, with captain C. Elliot, and others in her Britannic majesty's service, on board H. B. M. ship Melville, left Macao Roads to proceed, as we understand, direct to Teëntsin. Their object appears to be to afford the emperor an opportunity of making an amicable adjustment of the unhappy difficulties now existing between Great Britain and China. Canton, the Bogue, and Macao, remain *in statu quo*.

The exact number of the forces now in China, we are unable to give; in round numbers they may be, say, 15 ships-of-war, 4 steamers, and 25 transports, with about 4000 land forces.

Russian mission to Peking. According to the terms of the treaty between China and Russia, ten of his czarish majesty's subjects are allowed a residence close by the dragon's throne. Of these, two study the Chinese language, two the Mantchou, and two the Mongolian, with a view to facilitate the intercourse between the two countries. The persons forming the establishment usually remain only one term of ten years, at the expiration of which period, they are relieved by ten others. For this purpose, a mission was to leave St. Petersburg in February or March, 1840.

Russian expedition against Khiva. This is said to have left Orenburg November 29th, under the command of general Perowski; it consists of about twenty-four thousand men, and twenty pieces of cannon, double the number of troops that can be brought into the field by Ullah Kholi, the present khan of Khiva. Some writers estimate the khan's forces as high as 20,000. For an extended account of this khanate, we must refer our readers to our sixth volume. See vol. VI. page 121, for July 1837. Recent accounts state that there are about 2000 Russian slaves in Khiva. To release these, and to prevent the recurrence of captures in future, are said to be the principal objects of the expedition. Late in December, it had met parties of the enemy, and fighting had commenced. "The lawful interest of the Russian cabinet must be established and maintained in Khiva."

Cultivation of tea in Asám. It seems but yesterday since it was discovered that the tea plant was growing in Asám. In our fifth volume, (p. 100) there is a brief historical and geographical account of the country. The subject was then just beginning to excite attention; and now it is prosecuted as one of the most important enterprises connected with British India. A steam engine saw-mill, and a steam vessel with a hundred horse-power engine, have been ordered from England, the one for preparing material for tea boxes, &c., and the other for navigating the Brahmapútra. The Friend of India, for March 12th, 1840, says, "that no fewer than 1733 laborers have been sent to Asám," from various parts of India. "Forty-nine artificers have also been engaged, and five hundred Chinese laborers are on their way to Bengal in the service of the Company. Finally, a communication has been opened with the Burmese authorities across Manipúr, with the Chinese province of Yunnan, the object of which is to induce Chinese laborers to emigrate from that province to Asám."

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

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ART. I. *Notices of countries on the west of China Proper, extracted and translated from Chinese writings, by M. L'Amiot.* Communicated for the Repository by R. I.*

SE YU, or Se Yih, is the title of a work which has a great run in China. Se Yu comprehends generally all the countries that are, or that the Chinese suppose to be, westward of the great wall. The inhabitants of those countries are called by the Chinese *Fan*, *Hwuy*, *Hwuytsze*, *Hwuyhwuy*. The last three names designate the Mohammedans. The term Fan is odious, from the idea of contempt which the Chinese attach to it. The Fan, governed by the Chinese, are called 'interior;' those which govern themselves, although paying tribute, are called 'exterior.' I will endeavor to omit nothing that may be of importance in the work before me; but not to be tedious, I will retrench all that is doubtful or uninteresting. What relates to the countries depending on China appears to be written with care. The author has profited by the authentic information which the government causes to be written on these matters. Since those countries are little known in Europe, I shall endeavor to extract carefully all that this book says relating to them. In the extracts which I give, it is the author who speaks; all that is my own is put in notes, or in parenthesis. It is desirable to hear the Chinese speak of themselves and of their country, and it is the best means of

* This paper, we ought to remark here, was translated from the French by R. I. M. L'Amiot arrived in Canton in 1820, after a residence of twenty-seven years in Peking, from whence he was expelled by an order from the emperor. See the Anglochinese Gleaner for October, 1820, p. 414.

becoming acquainted with them. M. Bertin, formerly our Macœnas, particularly required translations from us, which he preferred to the finest dissertations. It is impossible for me to render the Chinese style in French; but I will retain, as much as possible, their expressions and ideas.

The author gives a map of Se Yu, but the proportion between the distances is not preserved. The places are even sometimes transposed, as I shall remark in a note on Yárkand; so that there is no reliance to be placed on this map. It seems to me that the description of the country might serve to make a map, because the author gives the positions of the places, and their distances from each other; but there is great difficulty in estimating the Chinese *le* or mile. It appears by the history of the Ming, that the measures have varied under different dynasties. The Chinese have never been able to measure distances by astronomical observation; nor does it appear that any European has done so in Se Yu. I doubt if the Chinese have ever taken the trouble to measure roads; on those which are prepared for the emperor and at great expense, the number of *le* is written up all along the road; but it is a fact those *le* are not all of equal length. In my travels, if I inquired the distance from one place to another, I was told so many *le*, and it was often added, 'they are great or small.' It is admitted that in the north, the *le* are longer than in the south. It would appear, that popular tradition has determined their number. I find in a geography printed by order of government, that from Canton to Peking, are 8185 *le*: as the position of Canton and of Peking is known, it seems that it might serve to estimate the Chinese *le*; but there is no doubt that the windings of the road are included in those 8185 *le*; now the routes in China, both by land and water, wind without end, so that I perceive no way of estimating the *le* with precision. However, it is generally believed that there are 200 *le* to a degree of latitude. Taking them at this rate, and following my translation of the description of the country, a map may be made, not quite perfect, but better than any that we have of Se Yu.

The European missionaries who have traveled over so many barbarous countries for the salvation of souls, have never exerted their zeal in Se Yu, and it is the country perhaps where they might reap the most abundant harvest. The simplicity, the good sense, the few wants of those people would facilitate their conversion. We cannot believe what the author says of the corruption of their manners, and he admits elsewhere, that it is not general. Besides, according to the same writer, those abominations are common to all the great cities of Asia,

where different nations assemble to trade. The author speaks of the knavery of the lamas, who under pretence of religion, corrupt and pillage the simple people; but he does not say that those lamas are very often Chinese adventurers, who having lost their reputation and means of living in their own country, assume the dress of lamas, and learning to stammer their jargon, make a campaign in this disguise to procure money. This makes it more probable that the simplicity of manners in Se Yu might be favorable to the introduction of the gospel. In some parts the cold and heat are excessive, which is attributed to local causes; for they are in the temperate zone, where all the aliments of Europe are found, the privation of which is so fatal to many missionaries. In the numerous deputations that I have seen at Pe-king, there have been some exceedingly fine men, with features truly characteristic: there were also some very ill-looking, whose physiognomies reminded me of Cain, whose curse the deluge has not entirely obliterated; but I believe those tribes to come from countries further south than Se Yu. The 'countries of the west' are now to be described in order.

Hami. In the space of 1000 *le*, from Keäyu kwan (the eastern barrier of the great wall) including Sha-mŏ and Sha-king, there is neither water, herb, man, nor smoke,—if there is no smoke there is absolutely nothing. The former Han dynasty built a strong place on this frontier for emergent affairs. Since our own sovereigns (of the Ta Tsing dynasty) have entered their dominions, some 10,000 *le* as well to the north as to the west, and civilized those countries, they have built, and placed under a prefect, the city Yŭhmun, to the west of Keäyu kwan, and distant from it 200 *le*. West of Yŭhmun 300 *le* is Nganse foo, or the city Nganse. South 600 *le* is Chayen, the place where the former Han built their fort. Shaking with its environs was famous, even in antiquity, for its sands and precipices. The city of Hami is 900 *le* northwest of Nganse. In the environs of Hami, which are strictly guarded, there is sand of a golden red color. This country has submitted to the present dynasty from its commencement. Under the emperors Kanghe and Yung-ching there were great commotions which extended towards the east (China). On this occasion Hami was appointed the chief depôt for the provisions and munitions of war, and it remained so during the troubles with the Eleuths, and till the present time.

The city is four *le* in circumference, and has two great officers who have under them two [one?] civil and two military officers and 1000 soldiers. There is a very large trade at Hami in all kinds

of merchandise. Five *le* distant from the Chinese city of Hami, is the Mohammedan town, the prince of which, created by the emperor, is named Esako (Esak or Isaac), he commands six towns whose inhabitants are all the slaves of their prince: they are poor, miserable, and in number under 2000 families. They do not understand the Mohammedan tongue [as spoken in the various regions beyond], their language being different, although their costume is nearly the same. In summer the heat is excessive, while the winter is extremely cold. The country produces wheat, barley, flax, millet, pumpkins, melons, grapes, and peaches. Pa-le-kwan (Barkoul) is to the northwest, and to the south Pechen is the first place of importance without the great wall.

Barkoul is 300 *le* northwest of Hami, anciently a territory of the Soungars. Under Yungching, the armies of heaven (the emperor is son of heaven, and his armies are of heaven) drove out the Eleuths, who retired to the west. The southern limits of this territory touch the north limits of Hami: to the north are the Kalkas (probably Coleos), and to the west is Oroumtchi. This place is amongst the most important, whether in attacks or retreats, to protect the north and south [being intermediate between the northern and southern lines or provinces]. For this reason a strong force is placed here of 1000 Mantchou soldiers with their families, and 3000 other soldiers [of the green, or Chinese standard]; there are also two great officers.[1] The climate is very cold. The snow falls even in the 5th and 6th months (from the end of May to the beginning of July); nevertheless they have for some time successfully cultivated wheat, barley, two kinds of millet, one of which is glutinous and the other not.

In the 39th year of Keënlung, Eho heën, or the city Eho, was rebuilt. Eight days journey further to the west (the day's journey is usually considered 100 *le*, a little more or less), another town has been built called Koo ching, [the city Koo]; at which place here is a high officer, and 1000 Mantchou soldiers with their families. Game and wild animals abound; there are also many pines, and white mushrooms (which when dried sell very well throughout China).

Oroumtchi, or Woo-loo-mŭh-tse, is also in the ancient country of Soungaria. To establish peace in Ele [after the troubles with the Eleuths], the inhabitants of 1000 *le* round about were exterminated or driven out, so that there remained absolutely nothing, neither man nor smoke.[2] On the declivity of the mountain Lo-choo, or Hung-shantsuy, is built a town surrounded by a rampart. For 1000 *le* in circumference, the soil is very rich and fertile. In the 30th year of

Keënlung, a resident minister was placed there, also a general and two other military officers. Eight miles west is another town surrounded by a rampart and ditch filled with water, which is 10 *le* in circumference. This town has been named Kungning by favor of the emperor. Here are 3000 Mantchou soldiers with their families, and officers of different ranks to command them: and also 2000 Chinese soldiers [with their families] and 100 or more officers, and seven civil offices, charged with the administration of justice. On the declivity of the mountain Hungshantsuy there is an old town of the same name, at which there is a commander-in-chief, with 5300 soldiers, and upwards of 100 officers of different ranks: several thousand emigrant families from the Chinese province of Kansuh are established here; there are all also some thousands of men banished for crimes, who clear and cultivate the land. The people love to sing, to drink, and dance, and all kinds of buffoons are found among them.

Upon the mountain Hungshantsuy there is a temple, which has given its name to Oroumtchi, though is often called Hung meaou, or Red temple. There are also two buildings for students in literature, [temples to the gods of learning and of war]: every year ten are sent out and some subjects formed. There is a great mound of sand to the west of the town. At the foot of the mountain there is abundance of coal; and southwest of the city are three summits, which are hid in the clouds, always covered with ice and snow, and glittering like crystral: they form truly a wonder of the world. The emperor named it by favor *Füh show che shan*, i. e. the mountain of longevity and felicity; much game is found there; and very fat pheasants that fly in flocks: also assafœtida, and the bark of pines from which an extract is made, that is used as a medicine. Since the country has become civilized, the climate appears to be much ameliorated. All kinds of grain grow there.

Ele made likewise a part of Soungaria: it served as a lurking place to the khan of that country.[3] In the 19th year of Keënlung, Amoursana, khan of the Eleuths (being embroiled with Tawats khan of Soungaria) retired to the city Kweihwa[4] with his people and all that he was able to carry away. The emperor received his submission, and gave orders to subdue his enemy. Waga was seized and all his territory reverted to Tawats. Nearly a million of inhabitants having been massacred, the country remained absolutely empty and stripped of everything. Ele was then appointed chief place of the neighboring states.

In the 29th year of Keënlung, a town was built in the valley of

Ele which is 18 *le* in circuit, and surrounded by a ditch full of water. The emperor's kindness named it *Hwuy yuen ching*, 'city of benefits diffused afar.' A generalissimo resides there, with chief charge of the administration civil and military: he has under him forty to fifty military officers, among whom are thirty *chewei*,[5] also twelve civil officers of various rank. Mantchou soldiers to the number of 3600, with their families, have successively arrived there, headed by 128 military officers. This city is very much frequented by the merchants of different countries, who repair thither in crowds. Outside of the town are barracks for the Mantchou troops, the Chinese *Solons* (the Tartar Solons are considered the best troops of the empire) the Eleuths, and other Momammedans, who divide amongst themselves the protection of the whole country. They are commanded by 128 officers of different ranks.

To the east of the city Hwuyyuen, 15 *le*, there is a mountain called Kung-woo-urh-go-lo, at the bottom of which coal is very abundant; to the north of the same mountain is an iron mine. Further east, 55 *le*, is a town that the emperor by favor named Hwuyning ching i. e., the 'city of benefits and of peace:' there are stationed a great number of military officers, and an adjutant-general; altogether there are about 50 officers and 1900 soldiers. Still more to the east, 15 *le*, is a Mohammedan town called Koo-urh-cha. Further east, 180 *le*, there is a mountain named Hashe which is many hundred *le* in circumference: on this mountain is much silver and game; it is there that the general hunts; on it there is also a town, called Hashe. To the northeast, 400 *le* from Hwuyyuen, there are 1000 soldiers with their families in a valley; they only occupy themselves with their flocks, and have no fixed residence. To the north is a mountain from whence springs a stream of warm water, which has a pernicious effect on the health.

North of Hwuyyuen, 40 *le*, is a town; 20 *le* more to the north is the town Woo-ha-urh-le-ko, a cultivated district, where there are 2600 soldiers of the green flag; 1000 and upwards of banished criminals; 26 farms or houses, for clearing the land and cultivation; and a commander-in-chief with 120 officers of different ranks. Further north, is the mountain A-la-ma-too whence flows a river toward the south, its waters are required by the officers and soldiers, for there are neither springs nor wells near that place. The river afterwards bends its course and enters the river of Ele. Further north is the mountain Ta-urh-ke, which is well wooded and abounds with fruit. More to the northeast is the mountain Mŏ-wac-too, where there is

yuenlae[6] which is offered to the emperor every year. Northeast are two mountains which produce the *pin-po*,[7] (fruits of the Sterculia), many apricots, medicinal plants, and wild flowers. Wild bears are numerous. A pleasing temperature is enjoyed both in summer and in winter peculiar to this country.

To the south of Hwuyyuen there are many rabbits and pheasants. One *le* from the city is the river Ele, which takes its rise in the mountain Ha-she-pei-urh-che, and enlarging its stream by several springs or rivers it becomes navigable: there are white fish and others in it. The river afterwards bends its course towards the northeast, and at 700 *le* from Ele is lost in the sand and disappears. To the south is a very extensive valley, cultivated by 1000 soldiers and their families, who are divided into eight parties. The eastern part is very well wooded; the vegetation very high and in great abundance: there are many wolves and wild sheep. The west part is a marsh covered with rushes, where a great many yellow sheep and wild boars roam; and 600 soldiers are stationed near there with their families, and 400 others called Ta-hoo-le.

West from Hwuyyuen the whole is hill and dale; at 400 *le* from the city, 600 are Solon and 400 Tahoole soldiers. The northwest and southwest of Ele is inhabited by Fan foreigners. North of Ele 1800 *le* is Ta-la-pa-ha-tae. To the east is Woo-loo-muh-tse; to the south the frontiers of Hwuy. This country was inhabited originally by the Soungars, who without any fixed habitation, confined themselves to their flocks, neither cultivating nor reaping. Since the great armies have occupied the country after driving out the Soungars from their retreat, all kinds of grain have become necessary, and many farmers are established to clear and cultivate the lands: 6000 families are employed in this labor, they pay a small tribute which scarcely suffices for the few wants of the soldiers and officers. It is necessary to draw more than 500,000 taels from the interior. (It is not only at Ele that the receipts do not defray the expenses of the administration, it is the case in nearly all the north of China; the rich provinces of the south supply it.) Several myriad pieces of silk are exchanged for cattle and horses, which are sold to furnish money for the administration. The excise brings in annually more than 40,000 taels, which added to the cottons and linens of different towns of the Mohammedans, begins to be sufficient. From several cities 7000 to 8000 lbs. of copper is exacted, which is coined. A high officer visits the country; he exacts, as tribute, one out of every hundred horses or cattle, and every thousandth sheep.

Amongst these people, some like the Eleuths, send a deputation every year to Peking, bearing tribute to the emperor; some send every three years; and others have no fixed period. According to the axiom of the ancients, the extent of empires varies according to the virtues of emperors, and owe to them their preservation. It is the great virtues of our emperors that have extended so wide the boundaries of the empire: no other dynasty has been so liberal. (Mencius often repeats that the people should of themselves submit to a paternal and wise government; such is the basis of his politics, which has a great resemblance to that of Fenelon.)

Tarbagatae (Ta-la-pa-ha-tae) was a part of the country of the Soungars, in subjection to the Eleuths; they lead a pastoral life without a fixed residence. After the defeat and total ruin of the Soungars, the A-muh-urh-lung-na retired north to this country which was totally waste. The great armies having established peace in Ele and fixed its destiny, Tarbagatae became an independent frontier which was put in good condition to protect the whole country. It is 18 days' journey south of Ele, and seven days north of Ha-lung-ko and is but three days' journey distant. To the northwest is Russia, and there is not quite 500 *le* from one kingdom to the other.[8] As this frontier is of the greatest importance, two great officers are stationed here; but in the northwest the cold is extreme in winter, there is as much as ten feet of snow. In summer there are many venemous serpents, and flying insects that sting the eyes, leaving their sting, which is perhaps very difficult to extract, for which reason the chief town has been removed to another spot, and named by the emperors favor Tarbagatae: it is several *le* in circumference. Here are stationed six civil officers and seven military. Farms are established for the cultivation of the land, and to procure the necessary provisions. Here is established 1000 Chinese soldiers and 1500 Mantchou and Mongol troops from Ele, who are relieved successively.

The contributions yield every year some tens of thousands of taels. Some tens of thousands of pieces of silk are exchanged also with Ha-lung-ko, for cattle, horses, sheep, and camels; the money raised in this way is destined to defray the expenses of the administration.

In the 36th year of Keënlung, the prince of the country, who has under him upwards of 3000 families, submitted to the emperor, who elected him king of the first order. They are placed to the east of the city where there is a very extensive space, and convenient for cattle, and where there is plenty of fish, game, wild beasts, bears,

&c. . . wild boars, and birds whose flesh has an excellent flavor: they are the size of a fowl, their plumage green. N. B. Tarbagatae is *north* of Ele, and *south* of Halungko — and not the reverse as stated on the preceding page.

Tarbagatae, its extreme northern borders adjoining Russia and Halungko, is from its position of the utmost importance. Halungko acknowledges itself subject to the Middle Kingdom. Its heart, imbued with the learning of the empire cannot divide itself or incline elsewhere. Russia, engaged with her neighbors, is scarcely equal to its own engagements, how then can she excite troubles? Thus China rests in peace, supported by justice and reason. (The author divides Se Yu in two parts, one to the north and northeast where he marks down a great road from Hami to Ele, and thence into Russia: it is this part which has been in dispute until this day. The other part is to the south, and southwest in which there is also a great road from Hami to Pechen, and even to Tibet, and from thence to India; it is of this part he now treats.)

Pechen is a city of the Mohammedans, 760 *le* from Hami. Under Yungching, the Eleuths having taken possession of the town, the inhabitants conducted by their chief retired to Kwei-hwa-chung.[8] They returned afterwards to Pechen, when the armies of heaven had swept Ele. The chief was created a prince by the emperor. The town is small, but its position on the southern road renders it very important. For this reason it is surrounded by a rampart, 5 *le* in circumference. Here is stationed a generalissimo, six civil and six military officers, and 350 soldiers, in six small forts.

The prince Chang-urh-foo has under him six towns, in which there are about 3000 families. On account of the great quantity of sand, trees, or even grass, do not grow in many places; in summer the heat is insupportable: in winter there is no way of defending oneself from the cold which is excessive. The country produces corn, flax, hemp, melons, (which are carried to Peking in the winter,) *pategues;* the grape grows well and in great variety; (they are brought dried to the emperor; and melons, which are also sold in many provinces of China). To the west of the town the soil is fertile, and yields abundance of cotton,[9] peas, beans, &c. One *le* north of Tourfan the (principal town 260 *le* west of Pechen) such violent hurricanes arise sometimes, that they make asses and sheep disappear, that are not to be found again. To the south there are wild horses and camels which assemble in herds of a hundred. More to the southwest 500 *le* is Ho-puh-no-urh. The tradition of ages marks the Singsuh hae (or

sea of Constellations) as the source of the Hwang ho. From Pechen, passing by Hochen,[10] and Ulterior Tibet after a passage of 9000 *le*, a little more or less, you arrive at Singsuh hae. In a space of 10,000 *le* in circumference, there is neither man nor smoke, and there is the source of the Hwang ho. (The author goes on to speak of mountains of snow, bottomless abysses, and rivers which flow like pearls or stars; at length he adds:) these different streams uniting form a lake at Ho-puh-no-urh, which thence pursue their course under the mountains, and when they appear in China, form a river called the Hwang ho.[10]

Two villages are named Ho-puh-no-urh. The natives of the country cultivate nothing, they have no flocks, but live on fish; they make clothes of flax, or a species of wild hemp; they also use the down of various birds. They have a peko of the first class[11] who depends on the great officers of Pechen, whither he carries the annual impost, which is paid in fish. They have a language of their own, and do not understand the other Mohammedans.

H'harashar, or Ha-la-cha-ta, a city built by the Chinese, is the residence of the great officer intrusted with the administration. It has three gates; one to the north, one to the south, and one to the west, and is surrounded by a ditch. This town is 870 *le* from Tourfan (Too-loo-fan) which is 260 from Pechen. Here are four civil officers and 200 soldiers; originally it was a town of the Mohammedans. There are still different tribes of Mohammedans who lead a pastoral life, finding a great deal of game and all that they require. The country is 1000 *le* in circuit, its waters are good, the soil very fertile, and may be easily irrigated; the population is therefore numerous. There is plenty of fruit, corn, and various grains: they make wine or brandy (kumiss) with the milk of cows or mares (which is common in these countries). Amongst one race of these Mohammedans, the manners are horrible, they are cowards, thieves, &c., the women being without shame, &c.

The workmanship of the women is much better than among the other Mohammedans; the metals are also better worked. As the country is poor, the greater part of its inhabitants are sold as slaves to the other Mohammedans, and even into India. This quarter being of great importance, a great officer is stationed here, and the kban is named peike (prince of the 3d or 4th class): there are also three chewe to protect the country. To the southwest 150 *le* is Ko-urh-lo, a town of Mohammedans which has upwards of 700 families (we may suppose that so many people and flocks are not in the city alone

but in its district;) here are no other officers, but the peko; they have a peko of the third class, one of the first, one of the fifth, and one of the sixth, the others are of the seventh. (These peko are officers taken from the natives of the country; there are seven classes of them, the same as of the Chinese). They dig canals which serve to water the lands, and take a great quantity of fish. Grapes, melons, gourds, fruits, corn, barley, and rice, are in great abundance. These Mohammedans are very fond of singing, but they have no idea of ceremony or of urbanity.

Poo-koo-urh, which is 590 *le* further west, had formerly more than 2000 families; but having committed themselves by a revolt, the grand armies destroyed the whole, excepting 100 families which rétired to Koo-urh-lih. And 500 Mohammedans families, collected from elsewhere, inhabit the territory, and occupy themselves solely in grazing horses and cattles. They are cunning, and are fond of singing and frolic. They have five peko of the first, fifth, and sixth classes; the other two are of the seventh; there are no officers sent from the interior of China. These peko, as well as those of Koo-urh-lih, depend on the chief officer of H'harashar. The country furnishes che-le-sun, and sheep-skins, and red copper. To the south is a desert. After four days' journey on horseback, there are mountains and very agreeable valleys; much game and wild animals. In going to the south you come near Singsuh hae. All the Mohammedans coming from the west must necessarily pass by Poo-koo-urh; there is no other road. Poo-koo-urh might be a rich and delicious country; but those idle, vagrant Mohammedans only use their strength in theft and plunder: the women blush at nothing. Such is the state of degradation to which barbarity and rude manners reduce the human species!

Kouchay, 300 *le* west of Poo-koo-urh, a Mohammedan town, is square and has four gates, and is 9 *le* and upwards in circuit. Here is a generalissimo, and four civil officers and 300 soldiers, to keep the town and ten small forts. There is also a peko of the third class, fourth, fifth, and sixth; the others of the seventh, these peko command the troops also. The Mohammedans both in and out of the town make 1000 families and more, who pay an impost for the maintenance of the troops; and 1060 lbs. of copper are brought to Kouchay to be coined; with 200 lbs. of saltpetre, and 300 lbs. of sulphur are carried to Ele to manufacture powder. This place is, as it were, the eastern gate to enter China. Some tens of *le* to the southward is a desert; advancing three days' journey on horseback, mountains are seen, and very delightful valleys, and much game, but no inhabitants.

Further south is Sing-suh-hae; the productions of this country are linen, *tateën* (strong and coarse), saltpetre, sulphur, and copper. To the north of the town there are many mountains in which are grottoes of stone, which in summer, autumn, and spring, appear at night to be all in flames: in winter the snow and cold extinguish the fire. The Mohammedans then enter naked, and bring out cinnabar, which is not done without great difficulty and peril. There are but two small rains in the year; sometimes it does not rain throughout the year. The only support for the crops (there is neither well nor spring) is in a river to the west of the town, which well serves to irrigate a great deal of land. The soil is of itself very fertile, and produces much grain and fruit; 200 *le* to the north is a little town called Seaou-fo-tung-chung; 60 *le* west are from 400 to 500 grottoes which all have idols of Fuh, shining with gold and every color.

Sha-ya-urh, 160 *le* to the southwest, is a little Mohammedan town, depending on the chief officers of Kouchay. Here is no officer, except a peke of the fourth class, of the fifth, and of the sixth; the rest are of the seventh. South of the town is a village containing upwards of 700 Mohammedan families. The district of Sha-ya-urh pays to Kouchay every year; first more than 1000 sacks of grain; second two thirds of their copper, saltpetre, and sulphur. The soil which is wet and miry suits very well for rice, gourds, and melons, and a diversity of fruits; the pears particularly are good, and in great abundance. There are many tigers and foxes. Outside of the town there is a pond covered with rushes, which breed many insects that are very troublesome. The Mohammedans for defense surround themselves day and night with a linen curtain; there are some female singers who are not deformed; they are modest, and have a good complexion. Ho-puh-no-urh is a little distance to the south. Eight days' journey southwest is Hoo-chen (or Khoten); twenty-eight days' journey on horseback towards the southwest is Se-tsang.[12]

Oushi or Yungning ching. Woo-she was originally a Mohammedan town; its inhabitants are called Tourfan, which signifies in the Mohammedan language, a 'general rendezvous.' It is 1000 *le* to the northwest of Kouchay. To the south are mountains in which a river makes many windings. The inhabitants of Oushi originally amounted to several myriads of families, they were in subjection to the Soungars, and made a great show. Their prince Sei-ke-sze owed his elevation to Tawats, khan of the Soungars. The great armies having crushed Ele, Tawats took refuge in Oushe. Sei-ke-sze by stratagem seized

him and his son; being set free, he was created prince. The Mohammedans, unworthy the treatment of Sei-ke-sze, revolted against him, without however exciting other commotions. He fled to Aksou, where he made himself so detested by his cruelties, that he was summoned to Peking, and was replaced by A-po-too-la, a Mohammedan of Hami. He also made himself abhorred for his cruelty and drunkenness, as well as the officers of Oushe. The Mohammedans revolted and massacred both, and the other officers were assassinated. Upon this the generalissimo of Ele, and other great officers coming to inflict punishment, and reëstablish tranquillity, were both massacred. As nobody remained, the seat of government was transferred elsewhere. There was stationed a chief, with six civil and six military officers, and 200 Mantchou soldiers. Copper money was melted (the Chinese do not understand stamping it), of which the value is one twelfth of the same weight of silver in ingots. The country of Oushi is very extensive: the inhabitants lead a pastoral life, those both within and without carry on trade, paying a tenth as impost. The emperor by his grace has granted to it the name of *Yungning ching* 'city of Endless Tranquillity.' This country includes six great towns, and is of the utmost importance. The chief officers deliberate among themselves on the choice of a peko of the third and fourth classes, and then write to the emperor for his sanction. The same officers determine also, the six great peko, who go to Peking as a deputation from the six cities: they are regaled with beef and wine, and depart escorted by chewei or imperial guards. One of the chief officers visits the districts, examines the agriculture, and punishes or recompenses the cultivators according to their merit.

In the 30th year of Keënlung, the Mohammedans being totally destroyed on account of their revolt, there only remained 400 soldiers of the green flag, who cultivated the land. Upon this 500 families, from four different quarters, repaired thither to clear and cultivate the land. They pay an annual tax. There was neither town nor house; but they began to erect huts. The fruit-trees already form groves, and there without doubt preside peace and happiness.

Aksou, or A-ko-soo, 200 *le* to the east of the city of Yungning ching, is a large Mohammedan town dependent on it. It contains probably with its environs 20,000 families. The country produces georgelin, corn, barley, peas, beans, millet, peaches, apricots, marbled grapes, gourds, and melons. The habitations of the peasantry bespeak plenty and riches. They have large herds of cattle, sheep, camels, and horses, they show great skill in manufacturing jade;

they are generous and noble, and both sing and ridicule the oddities and niggardliness of the other Mohammedans; they collect from every quarter to trade, and there is an immense commerce. Besides a Chinese officer, there is a peko of the third order; two of the first, two of the fifth; the rest are of the seventh. The great peko is at present of the second order. The country produces delicious peas, which are presented to the emperor.

Pae is a little town 450 *le* to the eastward, upon the great road. It contains from 400 to 500 families. Grain and fruits are scarce here. No officer is sent here from the interior; but there are five peko of different ranks.

Hanlemuh is 80 *le* more to the east. This town also depends on Oushi, and 210 *le* northwest is Kouchay. When the grand armies arrived at Kouchay, the inhabitants of Hanlemuh were the first to submit. Hanlemuh is on the great road, in the direction of the Snowy Mountains. There is little fruit; for in the 8th and 9th months, all the leaves fall from the trees; there is nothing but corn, barley, melons, and grapes. Copper and saltpetre and jade are procured from it. There is a military officer besides eleven peko of different ranks. Their manners are simple, they are neither cowards nor rogues, like the other Mohammedans, they are fond of singing, drinking and dancing, like those of Kouchay.

Yárkand, or Yĕ-urh-keäng, is a large town bordering on the country of Mohammedans. The residence of the ancient princes, covered over with green glazed porcelain tiles, serves at present for a corn magazine. Their country-house is the residence or tribunal of the chief officer. The town is surrounded by a very deep ditch full of water, which is more than 10 *le* in circuit. Two officers are stationed at Yárkand, who have under them five inferior civil ones, and ten che-wei divided in eight parties. There are thirteen small forts, 300 Mantchou and 655 Chinese soldiers. The revenue from the customs is 35,370 taels; and 35,400 sacks of corn are drawn from them (a sack per man is the usual demand); and 30 taels of yellow gold, with 800 lbs. of oil, called *tsing yew* (probably varnish); also 1649 taels are exacted for the ordinary wants of the soldiers and officers. The Mohammedans furnish also 57,569 pieces of linen, 15,000 lbs. of cotton, 1432 linen sacks, 1297 hempen cords, and 3000 lbs. of copper; the whole is carried to Ele.

Yárkand is a very extensive territory. Oushi is to the east, to the west is Badakshan, to the south Khoten, and Kashgar to the north.[13] The chief officer governs ten towns, each of which has

peko from the third to the fifth orders. The city of Yárkand, the greatest of all, has five peko, from the third to the sixth orders. The others are of the seventh. The population amounts to 70,000 or 80,000 families. In each city there are 1000 families of soldiers or officers, who have a separate quarter. The traders of the provinces of Shanse, Shense, Keängnan, and Chĕkeäng expose themselves to all the dangers of this long journey for the sake of trade. There are also traders of various countries not governed by China, an immense quantity of merchandise is seen there. The Chinese are respected and liked, fetes are given to them, accompanied by plays in which women sing and dance. There are many poor people, their manners are very corrupted, the obscenities and vices against nature are found there, with which the inhabitants of Canton and Fuhkeën are reproached. The country produces all which is found elsewhere amongst the Mohammedans. A great deal of jade is taken out of a river; the largest pieces are like bowls or (Chinese) bushels, the smallest as long as the fist or a goblet; some pieces weigh as much as 400 lbs., some of them are as white as snow, others yellow as wax, some are also black and reddish; all these kinds are of the best quality. Two officers have charge of this river. To take out the jade, they employ Mohammedans, who are accustomed to it, and walk into the river in a string of 20 or 30 men, till they feel the jade with their feet and drawing it out of the water, beat cymbals to arrest the officers who come to receive it.

About 230 *le* beyond Yárkand there is a mountain called Mertae which contains some hundred millions pounds of spotless yu, men cannot ascend it, but oxen are trained which go up and break off pieces. Every year in the spring and autumn, Yárkand presents to the emperor 7, 8, and even 10,000 lbs. of yu, other countries present it also, but neither the amount nor the time is fixed. Individual trade in this gem is strictly prohibited; but traders run every risk to carry on the contraband, which cannot be prevented.

Khoten is a frontier town, 700 *le* to the south of Yárkand, 20 days' journey from Ulterior Tibet. The west being mountainous, there is no road to communicate with the exterior Fan. To the east there are deserts and marshes. Singsuh hae is not far distant. Here are two great officers and 222 soldiers of the green flag. Those two officers have under them six towns, all of which have peko from the third to the fifth order. Khoten is a flat country; the soil is rich and 1000 *le* in circuit, it produces more yu (or jade) than Yárkand. All the produce of the neighboring states is found there. Their manners

are simple, they are not lazy and debauched like the other Mohammedans, the men work in the fields, the women in their houses, they fabricate various valuable stuffs, especially very fine linen, and of high price.

Kashgar, (or Ha-she-ko-urh) is a large frontier town. This country is at the northwest extremity of Se Yu, beyond the Snowy Mountains, these are the exterior Fan. Here are two great officers and five civil inferior ones. The Mohammedans give every year as contribution 3600 *poourh* (I believe that these are small carpets), 3600 taels in silver, 14,000 sacks of grain, and 10,000 pieces of linen, all of which is carried to Ele; merchandise pays one tenth to the customs. There are 480 soldiers and 15 chewei, apportioned to 12 places. The high officer governs 9 towns. The country is very fertile and produces all sorts of fruits and grain. Various kinds of excellent productions are manufactured in it, as well as gold and silver stuffs [14] which are presented to the emperor, also pomegranates, quinces, quince marmalade, dried grapes, and sterculia nuts.

Both at Kashgar and at Chen ching, a neighboring town, the jade is worked with great skill and industry. Their manners have an appearance of elegance and politeness, the women dance and sing in family parties, they fear and respect the officers, and have not the wild uncultivated appearance of the Mohammedans of Oushi. Peko from the third to the seventh order are stationed here. The great peko has the dignity of *kung* (which answers to that of count or marquis). Eight other towns depend on the chief officer of Kashgar: viz. 1st. Ying-a-lung-urh, 200 *le* south of Yárkand; it is here where all strangers enter into the country of the Mohammedans, the post of the greatest importance and where a general officer is stationed. The country is very fertile, producing plenteously rice, corn, barley, peas, beans, gourds, melons, and much fruit. 2d. Pei-tsze-pa-teh, 30 *le* to the east of Kashgar; it produces black mushrooms, &c., (I believe they are a species that grow on trees, and which are eaten all over China) and morilles. 3d. Ta-shi-pe-le-ko, 200 *le* northwest of Kashgar, and near Pou-lou-téh. Here is a peko of the fourth order. The country produces corn, barley, and apples. 4th. A-la-too-shi, 80 *le* northeast of Kashgar. The soil is very rich and fertile. 5th. Pih-shi-ko-le-muh, 10 *le* east from Kashgar. The manners and customs are the same as the other. 6th. Yŭh-soo-na-urh-too-shi, 130 *le* northwest of Kashgar, and near the Snowy Mountains which makes it very cold. 7th. A-urh-ko near the Snowy Mountains. There are snow-fowl on which the inhabitants feast in large kettles, there are also snow animals

of which the inhabitants do not know the use. You may go from the Snowy Mountains to Ele in four days. The roads are not passable in spring, autumn, or winter; while in summer they are but little frequented. 8th. Uh-pih-urh, 180 *le* northwest and near Poo-loo-tih. Here ends all that concerns the exterior Fan, governed by China. The following exterior Fan are not governed by China.

Galungko. In the 21st year of Keënlung, the grand armies swept out its holes and lurking places. The khan submitted, and was created prince. The inhabitants have no houses, they live in tents, and are engaged with their flocks which are astonishingly numerous, and fatten quickly in eating a white root four or five inches in length. When they go to a feast, even in the greatest heat of summer, they put on eight or nine garments: they greatly esteem tea and Chinese porcelain: they have few laws which are not rigorously observed; they do not employ torture; small offenses are punished by a mulct paid in cattle; great criminals are put to death. Their deliberations are general, and the khan does no injury to those who are not of his opinion. Formerly the 100th horse, 100th cattle, and 1000th sheep were paid as contribution to China; but the Mohammedans, reflecting that those animals were the produce of their own care, and that grass was furnished by heaven, decided that there was no just reason for contribution, and refusing it shook off the yoke; excepting that they have always called themselves subjects of the emperor. They exchange their cattle on the frontier for the merchandise of China. It is a nation which is not in subjection to the emperor, and really formidable. Galungko is westward from Tarbagatae.

Poolootih is a tribe of wandering Mohammedans with its flocks, bordering on Kashgar. Formerly they killed and pillaged in every direction, but they are restrained by fear since the great armies have established peace in Se Yu. They go every year and salute respectfully the great officers of Oushi, and present horses for the emperor, they also make brandy of mare's milk (which is common in all these countries).

Gankeën, another tribe of Mohammedans, is composed of 60,000 to 70,000 families: in that part, to the west of Poo-loo-tih, the land is cultivated, and it produces grain, and the usual fruits of Se Yu. The people once attempted to trade with China, but were interrupted.

Foolourh is a race of Mohammedans to the west of Yárkand, who live in barracks of earth. They have neither books nor writing, and do not understand the other Mohammedans; they live pell-mell, men and women together like herds of animals (in these matters we must

not credit the Chinese); they are given to theft and plunder, and sell their children for slaves. (The author talks of other countries to the west, which are either imaginary or absolutely fabulous. What he says of Russia and India is false, incorrect and uninteresting. The Chinese are most profoundly ignorant of all which relates to foreign countries.)

Additional notes by L'Amiot. 1. In China the soldiers are taken indifferently from among the people; the number is not always complete, because the necessity of the officers and tribunals requires that a certain number of soldiers be suppressed that they may be profited thereby. There are also soldiers by inheritance from father to son; these live in families, and their number is complete; but they do not present a formidable appearance. The service is not severe, and the privates easily find substitutes by giving them something to drink. A sick or aged man is not deprived of his pay, if he require it for himself or family. By the same rule pay is granted to child of a widow whose family belongs to the army by succession. It must be curious to see such a troop under arms on a grand review! In a violent crisis the government has recourse also to raising the people *en masse*. This corps has always its advantages; there is never a deserter, or if there be, another member of the family supplies his place. If it be necessary to take the field, the son or nephew is substitute for the infirm old man; or in default of a son or nephew, an adopted soldier marries the daughter, and preserves the fortune of the family; small it is true, but still a fortune in a country where so many people suffer by famine! The soldier, besides, at his own house, takes care of his family and is taken care of by them; he enters into service, is mechanic or trader, and his household goes on tolerably well. These soldier-families are devoted to government from whom they derive all their subsistence, and their fidelity and devotion is relied on, for in a revolution they would be the first sacrificed. These families are descended from the Tartars who conquered China, or from Chinese who at first lent them assistance; it resembles a numerous nobility, who have a much greater facility than the rest of the nation, in attaining to honors and places. The young Tartar, deprived of all assistance, still prides himself on his bow and quiver, which have made his nation so renowned; for with these arms the Mantchous conquered the vast empire of China, and for this reason the bow and quiver are still held in great honor by them. Thus it is that these families preserve the general (rous) principles of order, of submission and of devotion, which restrain the people, and secure the peace of empire. Moreover these soldiers of China, who are so slightly thought of, inspire some respect; in Peking a police-soldier, his whip on his shoulder, makes himself more feared and regarded than the *gensd'-armes* of Paris, with long sabres or musket and bayonet.

2. Such are the very common effects of wars in China, which often finish by the extinction of the population. It is said that some tribes of men, peculiar to certain provinces, have totally disappeared in great revolutions. The Chinese, however, are less cruel and less violent than many other people, they are less governed by those passions which have so often ravaged the world; but here wars begin in treason; neither victor nor vanquished trusts his adversary's word; suspicious and timid; a stranger to generosity and greatness of soul, he thinks himself secure only in his opponent's death. This it is which makes war so disastrous in China, and which would make humanity tremble, if ever the Europeans waged it there. This horrible carnage has not always taken place. On occasion of the last revolt under Keäking, the

guilty were tried and punished according to the laws, accusations were also laid against the relations of the revolted chief.

3. In China and in Tartary it is pronounced *han;* but as this word is strongly aspirated, strangers have confounded it with *kan;* thus it is said 'the Tartar khan.' This expression is ignoble in China, like all foreign denominations; therefore the present dynasty do not make use of it in *Chinese* writings. But the Mantchou Tartars reserve it for the emperor solely; it signifies the 'supreme authority.' It was struck out when we made use of it in our translations to express a foreign power. The word shangte, which has made so much noise amongst the missionaries, is translated in Tartar language by apka-i-han, that is to say, khan of heaven.

4. Kweihwa ching, a frontier town of Se Yu and of China, and which is an entrepôt of the merchandise exchanged on both sides. Hoo-pih-lih called by Europeans Gobilé (Kublai khan), a celebrated conqueror of China and founder of the Yuen dynasty, at first placed the seat of his empire here.

5. The *chewei* are the imperial guards taken from the families of both Mantchou and Mongol Tartars, who shared in the conquest of China. All the great officers of Tartary, Tibet, and of Se Yu are Tartars, and commonly taken from the chewei, a certain number of whom are sent to serve, in the first instance, under the governor-general.

6. Yuenlae. 7. Pinpo. (These notes are wanting in R. L's manuscript.)

8. It appears that a desert separates China from Russia on this side. On occasion of the English embassy, the first minister was at Ele, where he remained some time. There was a question of difference as to the limits of the two empires. The Russians were said to have advanced too far along a river. After many debates there was a kind of arrangement; but it appears that the Russians did not retire, and *audita refero*, this affair was not in the Peking gazette. In the forty or fifty years that these countries have been at peace, it is probable that the population of Se Yu is much increased; and that the arts, especially of agriculture, have made progress. The second note 8 belongs to No. 4.

9. This cotton is the herbaceous cotton, a plant so common in China, and so valuable from the oil and cotton that it yields. It might be cultivated in the north and south of France.

10. The Chinese have many fables about the Hwang ho, very similar to those the Egyptians have about the Nile; and in fact the origin and effects of the one and the other have much resemblance; with this difference, however, that the overflowings of the Hwang ho are never certain, and no conjecture can be formed as to the time they will take place. The extensive regions of Se Yu, the provinces of Shense and of Shanse, are to the west of China, and more elevated than the plains of Honan, where the Hwang ho unites all the waters of the west. As the sea is very distant, and there are few lakes or rivers, it rains but seldom; hence it often happens that there is little water in the Hwang ho. However, as the long chains of mountains become loaded with snow and ice, the atmosphere is gradually charged with vapor, the clouds increase, and rains truly astonishing are sometimes seen, which joining with the fountain of snow and the mountain torrents, must naturally produce frightful inundations, especially if these causes act at the same time, and over a considerable space. Once in traveling in the defiles, I saw a town suddenly destroyed by a mountain torrent, the water rushed to the Hwang ho which was not far distant, and the inhabitants had scarcely time to save themselves. With respect to the yellow color of the Hwang ho; I have traversed from 200 to 300 leagues in Shanse, and to the higher part of the river, there is scarcely any other soil, even in the highest mountains, than a very stiff clay of a bright yellow. As there is little rain, the whole atmosphere is charged with a very fine, yellow dust, which fills the eyes, nose, ears, and

mouth. It is not possible to go a league without having the face and clothes of a yellow color (this dust, however, does not cause pain in the skin like that of Chihle, which is charged with nitre and soda); so that not only the rivers and brooks, which flow over a bed of this clay are yellow; but also all the water whose surfaces communicate with the atmosphere. This yellow dust causes the deposits of the Hwang ho, in its inundations, to give the soil a surprising fertility. In Honan there are two good crops in the year, and the first is almost entirely of corn. I have nowhere seen corn grow with such vigor, nor eaten of such fine and nutritious flour; it is used at Peking for the finest pastry. Sometimes after the first crop, they are satisfied with sowing the corn, and covering it over again, without ploughing the land; at other times the seed is cast according as the water retires, without any other labor. It appears to succeed well everywhere. What a wonderful source of riches is the Hwang ho! Ah! immortal glory would doubtless attend the happy genius who might know how to restrain its fury, and profit by its favors; but is not this beautiful prodigy beyond the powers of man? The government lays out an immense sum on the Hwang ho every year; but if it once break through the obstacles opposed to it, its fury is more terrible, and the disaster the more extensive. I am inclined to think that if its torrent once poured into the plain of Honan, no human power could restrain it, it might possibly be directed from its source through the mountains and deserts, but it is a space of many hundred square leagues.

11. The *peko* are the chiefs, or officers, which are taken from among the natives of the country; there are seven classes of them.

12. The Chinese divide Tibet, and probably some of the neighboring states, into three parts: 1st Se Tsang, or Western Tsang. 2d Tseen Tsang, or Anterior Tsang. 3d Heaou Tsang or Ulterior Tsang. These three expressions will recur elsewhere.

13. Yárkand should be in the map, between Oushi and Khoten, but there is not sufficient room, because the six pages of the map are equal, and always filled up, so that Yárkand is placed elsewhere, and a note written that it is in such a position: such are Chinese maps!

Additional notes. The author says, that if politeness and ceremony be observed towards the Mohammedans, they imagine that they are feared, and become arrogant; but in showing severity and rudeness, they are impressed with fear and respect, and are then supple and manageable. This reflection is equally applicable to the author's countrymen. The author marks his distances by a day's journey on horseback. The horses of Chihle are weak, on a continued journey it would be difficult to make more than 100 le in the day. Horses come from Se Yu, and from eastern Tartary which are more vigorous. The Chinese who are banished to Ele and other parts of Se Yu, are usually there for life, and are condemned to a slavery which does not appear very severe, and which may be easily bought off by a moderate sum. There are some crimes, designated by the laws, for which those banished for life may never partake of the emperor's pardon. Of this number are those Christians, who summoned before the tribunals, have refused to apostatize. Those who are not included in this law of exception, are liberated in the general pardons which are pretty frequent; they who behave well also have the hope of being restored to their families, and the refractory are immediately punished. By this means they are restrained in good order, and return in the end to finish their lives in peace.

ART. II. *Notices of Chusan by Dr. James Cunningham*, F. R. S. *Extracted from Harris' Complete Collection of Voyages.*

ACCORDING to captain Alexander Hamilton, the English factory at Chusan was commenced by the new East India Company in 1700, and abandoned by the chief, Mr. Allan Catchpole in 1703, by reason of the oppression of the officers, and the Company's neglect of sending money sufficient to carry on their trade. Two letters written by Dr. James Cunningham F. R. S. the surgeon of the factory and associate of Mr. Catchpole in 1701, are preserved in Harris' Collection of Voyages, from which we extract a few paragraphs relating to the settlement. He left Borneo in July, and on the 1st of October, after stopping near Fuhchow foo in Fuhkeën for refreshments, the ship anchored near the land in lat. 30° N., until the captain found the way by boat to the Great Chusan, distant about twelve leagues beyond the first islands to the group, from whence a pilot was obtained, who carried the ship to the harbor.

"Upon this island," says the doctor, who dates his letter from the factory, "the Chinese have granted us a settlement and liberty of trade, but not to Ningpo, which is six or eight hours' sail to the westward, all the way among islands; this being the largest, is eight or nine leagues from east to west, and four or five leagues in breadth. About three leagues from that point to the mainland, called cape Liampo by the Portuguese, but Ketow by the Chinese, at the west end of this island, is the harbor, very safe and convenient, where the ships ride within call of the factory, which is built close by the shore, on a low plain valley, with near two hundred houses about it, for the benefit of trade, inhabited by men whose jealousy has not, as yet, permitted them to let their wives dwell here; for the town where they are is three quarters of a mile farther from the shore, environed with a fine stone-wall, about three miles in circumference, defended by twenty-two square bastions, placed at irregular distances, besides four great gates on which are planted a few old iron guns, seldom or never used: the houses within are very meanly built. Here the tsungping, or commandant of the island lives, and betwixt three and four thousand beggarly inhabitants, most of them soldiers and fisher-[redacted]; for the trade of this place, being newly granted, has not, as yet, brought any considerable merchants hither. The island in general abounds with all sorts of provisions, such as cows, buffaloes, goats, deer, hogs, wild and tame geese, ducks, and hens, rice, wheat, cala-

vances, coleworts, turnips, potatoes, carrots, beetach, and spinage; but, for merchandise, these is none, except what comes from Ningpo, Hangchow, Nanking, and the inland towns, some of which I hope to see when I have acquired a little of the Chinese language. Here also the tea grows in great plenty, on the tops of the hills, but it is not in such esteem as that which grows on more mountainous islands. Although this island is pretty well stored with people, yet it is far from what it was in P. Martini's time, as he describes Chusan."

After mentioning Pooto, belonging to a monastery of Budhists, Dr. Cunningham speaks of another island called Kintang, "five leagues from Chusan in the way to Ningpo, whither, they say, a great many officers retire to live a quiet life, after they have given over their employments. On that island also are said to be silver-mines, but prohibited to be opened. The rest of the circumjacent islands are either desert, or meanly inhabited by a few people, but all of them stored with abundance of deer: for it is not long since the island of Chusan began to be peopled. It is true, in Martini's days, about fifty years ago, it was very populous for the space of three or four years; at which time the fury of the Tartar conquest was so great, that they left it desolate, not sparing so much as the mulberry-trees (for then they made a great deal of raw silk here). And in this condition it continued till about eighteen years ago; then the walls of the port, or town as it now is, were built by the governor of Tinghae for a garrison to expel some pirates, who had taken shelter there. About fourteen years ago, the island beginning to be peopled, there was a tsungping, or commandant, sent to govern it for three years, to whom succeeded the late tsungping (who procured the opening of this port to strangers), whose government continued till April last, being translated to be tsungping of Teënching wei, near to Peking, and was succeeded by the present tsungping, who is son to the old tsungping of Amoy."

ART. III. *Wars between Burmah and China, described by Marco Polo, and by Burmese historians.*

TAGAUNG, the original seat of the Burman empire, situated on the Irawadi, is said to have been destroyed by Tartars and Chinese, prior to our era. Mogaung, Bamoo, Momeit, Ava, upon or near the same

river, and Thenni and other places on the Salwen, have all been invaded by hostile armies from the north. The Burmese, in their turn, have also sometimes entered the Chinese territories with hostile purposes, and sometimes too with peaceful intentions. In war, however, they seem always to have been regarded by the Chinese as their most formibable foreign foes. Many hardfought battles have been witnessed on their frontiers, and recorded by the Chinese. We have other records of these wars, one of which occurred seven years prior to the accession of Kublai, and is thus described by the Venetian traveler Marco Polo.

"It happened that in the year 1272, the grand khan sent an army into the countries of Vochang and Karazan for their protection and defense against any attack that foreigners might attempt to make; for at this period his majesty had not as yet appointed his own sons to the governments, which it was afterwards his policy to do; as in the instance of Centemur, for whom those places were erected into a principality. When the king of Mien, and Bangala, in India, who was powerful in the number of his subjects, in extent of territory, and in wealth, heard that an army of Tartars had arrived at Vochang, he took the resolution of advancing immediately to attack it, in order that by its destruction the grand khan should be deterred from again attempting to station a force upon the borders of his dominions. For this purpose he assembled a very large army, including a multitude of elephants (an animal with which his country abounds,) upon whose backs were placed battlements of castles, of wood, capable of containing to the number of twelve or sixteen in each. With these, and a numerous army of horse and foot, he took the road to Vochang, where the grand khan's army lay, and encamping at no great distance from it, intended to give his troops a few days of rest. As soon as the approach of the king of Mien, with so great a force, was known to Nestardin, who commanded the troops of the grand khan, although a brave and able officer, he felt much alarmed, not having under his orders more than twelve thousand men (veterans, indeed, and valiant soldiers), whereas the enemy had sixty thousand, besides the elephants armed as has been described. He did not, however, betray any signs of apprehension; but descending into the plain of Vochang, took a position in which his flank was covered by a thick wood of large trees, whither, in case of a furious charge by the elephants, which his troops might not be able to sustain, they could retire, and from thence, in security, annoy them with their arrows. Calling together the principal officers of his army,

he exhorted them not to display less valor on the present occasion, than they had done in all their preceding engagements, reminding them that victory did not depend upon the number of men, but upon courage and discipline. He represented to them that the troops of the king of Mien and Bangala were raw and unpracticed in the art of war, not having had the opportunities of acquiring experience that had fallen to their lot; that instead of being discouraged by the superior number of their foes, they ought to feel confidence in their own valor, so often put to the test; that their very name was a subject of terror, not merely to the enemy before them, but to the whole world; and he concluded by promising to lead them to certain victory.

"Upon the king of Mien's learning that the Tartars had descended into the plain, he immediately put his army in motion, took up his ground at the distance of about a mile from the enemy, and made a disposition of his force, placing the elephants in the front, and the cavalry and infantry, in two extended wings, in their rear, but leaving between them a considerable interval. Here he took his own station, and proceeded to animate his men and encourage them to fight valiantly, assuring them of victory, as well from the superiority of their numbers, being four to one, as from their formidable body of elephants, whose shock the enemy, who had never before been engaged with such combatants, could by no means resist. Then giving orders for sounding a prodigious number of warlike instruments, he advanced boldly with his whole army towards that of the Tartars; which remained firm, making no movement, but suffering them to approach their entrenchments. They then rushed out with great spirit and the utmost eagerness to engage; but it was soon found that the Tartar horses, unused to the sight of such huge animals, with their castles, were terrified, and wheeling about endeavored to fly, nor could their riders by any exertions restrain them, whilst the king, with the whole of his forces, was every moment gaining ground. As soon as the prudent commander perceived this unexpected disorder, without losing his presence of mind, he instantly adopted the measure of ordering his men to dismount and their horses to be taken into the wood, where they were fastened to the trees. Being dismounted, the men without loss of time, advanced on foot towards the line of elephants, and commenced a brisk discharge of arrows; whilst, on the other side, those who were stationed in the castles, and the rest of the king's army, shot vollies in return, with great activity; but their arrows did not make the same impression as those of the

Tartars, whose bows were drawn with a stronger arm. So incessant were the discharges of the latter, and all their weapons (according to the instructions of their commander) being directed against the elephants, these were soon covered with arrows, and suddenly giving way, fell back upon their own people in the rear, who were thereby thrown into confusion. It soon became impossible for their drivers to manage them, either by force or address. Smarting under the pain of their wounds, and terrified by the shouting of the assailants, they were no longer governable, but without guidance or control, ran about in all directions, until at length, impelled by rage and fear, the rushed into a part of the wood not occupied by the Tartars. The consequence of this was, that from the closeness of the branches of the large trees, they broke, with loud crashes, the battlements or castles that were upon their backs, and involved in destruction those who sat upon them. Upon seeing the rout of the elephants, the Tartars acquired fresh courage, and filing off by detachments, with perfect order and regularity, they remounted their horses, and joined their several divisions, when a sanguinary and dreadful combat was renewed. On the part of the king's troops there was no want of valor, and he himself went amongst the ranks intreating them to stand firm, and not to be alarmed by the accident that had befallen the elephants. But the Tartars, by their consummate skill in archery, were too powerful for them, and galled them the more exceedingly, from their not being provided with such armor as was worn by the former. The arrows having been expended on both sides, the men grasped their swords and iron maces, and violently encountered each other. Then in an instant were to be seen many horrible wounds, limbs dismembered, and multitudes falling to the ground, maimed and dying; with such effusion of blood as was dreadful to behold. So great also was the clangor of arms, and such the shouting and the shrieks, that the noise seemed to ascend to the skies. The king of Mien, acting as became a valiant chief, was present wherever the greatest danger appeared, animating his soldiers and beseeching them to maintain their ground with resolution. He ordered fresh squadrons from the reserve to advance to the support of those that were exhausted: but, perceiving at length that it was impossible any longer to sustain the conflict, or to withstand the impetuosity of the Tartars; the greater part of his troops being either killed or wounded, and all the field covered with the carcases of men and horses, whilst those who survived were beginning to give way; he also found himself

compelled to take to flight with the wreck of of his army; but of whom numbers were afterwards slain in the pursuit.

"The losses in this battle, which lasted from the morning till noon, were severely felt on both sides; but the Tartars were finally victorious: a result that was materially to be attributed to the troops of the king of Mien and Bangala not wearing armor as the Tartars did, and to their elephants, especially those of the foremost line, being equally without that kind of defense, which, by enabling them to sustain the first discharges of the enemy's arrows, would have allowed them to break his ranks and throw him into disorder. A point perhaps of still greater importance is, that the king ought not to have made his attack on the Tartars in a position where their flank was supported by a wood, but should have endeavored to draw them into the open country, where they could not have resisted the first impetuous onset of the armed elephants, and where by extending the cavalry of his two wings, he might have surrounded them. The Tartars having collected their forces after the slaughter of the enemy, returned towards the wood into which the elephants had fled for shelter, in order to take possession of them, where they found that the men who had escaped from the overthrow were employed in cutting down trees and barricading the passages, with the intent of defending themselves. But their ramparts were soon demolished by the Tartars, who slew many of them, and with the assistance of the persons accustomed to the management of the elephants, they possessed themselves of these to the number of two hundred or more. From the period of this battle, the grand khan has always chosen to employ elephants in his armies, which before that time he had not done. The consequences of the victory were, that his majesty acquired possession of the whole of the territories of the king of Bangala and Mien, and annexed them to his dominions."

A tooth of Gaudama was the cause of several wars. This tooth refusing to quit China, the king proceeded thither, and the two sovereigns lived together for three months, during which time the emperor daily supplied him with food served up in gold and silver dishes. On departing from China, the king delivered these said dishes to the emperor's religious teacher, with directions to have food daily offered in them to Gaudama's tooth. Thus a precedent was formed; and succeeding emperors demanded the presentation of similar vessels, "as tokens of their *tributary* subjection to China." In 1281, the emperor sent a mission to enforce this demand; and all its members having been put to death by the Burmese, the Chinese

in 1284, sent a powerful army which took the capital Paghan, and pursued the king, who had fled to Bassein, to a place below Prome called *Taroup-mo* or Chinese point.

In 1300, the Chinese sent an army into Burmah in order to reïnstate the king, who had been displaced by some rebellious nobles. It was this army which in one night dug the famous canal called *Theng-due-myaung*, communicating with the river Zo. The canal was 4900 feet long, 14 broad and 14 deep, and is still in existence.

In 1412, a war broke out, and large armies took the field. The following year, the quarrel was decided in single combat by two horsemen, one selected from each nation. The Chinese was killed, and the army, then besieging Ava, immediately withdrew from the country.

In 1442, gold and silver vessels were again demanded as tribute, which being refused, the Chinese the next year invaded the country, and hostilities continued several years.

In 1562, "the lord of many white elephants, the great king of Pegu," after conquering Ava, sent a large army to the frontiers of China, and having subdued several large towns and cities, "built monasteries and pagodas, and there established the Budhistic religion in its purity."

In 1601, the king of Ava returned and rebuilt his capital which had been destroyed by the army of Pegu; he then proceeded against Bamoo, and the chief fled to Yunnan. The king, after capturing Bamoo, sent his son with a message to the governor of Yunnan, threatening to attack him if he refused to surrender the fugitive chief. The governor made a reference to the emperor, who directed the chief to be surrendered, observing, that he was a subject of Ava, and that if the Chinese protected him their territory would be disquieted. The chief was killed in attempting to escape, but his corpse, with his wife and children, was sent back to the king.

The reigning dynasty, becoming the predominant power in China, ascended the throne in 1644. In the southern provinces, however, the Ming family still retained its authority. According to the royal chronicles of the Burman kings — from which, as translated by colonel Burney, we have quoted the preceding notices, the history of the wars is thus continued.

"In in the year 1658, during the reign of Meng-yé-yanda-meit, also called Nga-dat-dayaka, king of Ava, Youn-lhí (in Chinese Yunglĭh), who had been set up as emperor in the southern provinces of China, having been attacked by the Tartars from the north, came down to Mó-myín (Chinese Tăng-yuĕ chow), and sent a message

to the chief of Ba-mô, saying that he would reside at Ba-mô, and present 333 pounds of gold to the king of Ava. The chief replied, that he dare not forward such a message to Ava, and Youn-lh ithen offered to become a subject of the king of Ava. The chief made a reference to Ava, and the king ordeted him to allow Youn-lhí and his followers to come in, upon condition that they relinquished their arms, and to forward them to Ava. Youn-lhí then came in with upwards of sixty of his nobles, including the governor of Maing-tshí or Yunnan, and 600 horsemen, and the whole were forwarded to Ava, and a spot of ground in the opposite town of Tsagain was allotted to them. The Burmese chronicles, however, create an impression, that Youn-lhí desired to carve out a new kingdom for himself in Burmah, and state, that before coming into Ba-mô, he ordered a large army, which was still under his orders, to march after him towards Ava by two different routes, one portion by Mómeit, and the other by Thein-ní and Mó-nê.* Shortly after Youn-lhí reached Ava, accounts were received that a large force belonging to him was attacking the Burmese territory near Mómeit, and when questioned by the Burmese, Youn-lhí said, that his generals were not aware of his having become a subject of the king of Ava, but that he would write a letter, by showing which the Chinese generals would desist. The king of Ava, however, preferred marching a force against the Chinese, who defeated it, as also a second force, and then came down and attacked the city of Ava. Some of the exterior fortifications were carried, and the Chinese penetrated to the southward, set fire to the monasteries and houses, and desolated a large tract of country in the direction. They then returned to the assault of the city, but were repulsed with much loss; and a heavy fire being kept up against them from the guns on the walls, which were served by a foreigner named Mitharí Katan (Mr. Cotton?) and a party of native Christians, a shot killed a man of rank among the Chinese, who then retreated from before Ava, and proceeded towards Mó-nê and joined the other portion of Youn-lhí's army, which had been ordered to march down by Thein-ní and Mó-nê. The king then repaired the fortifications of Ava, and summoned to his assistance his two brothers, the chiefs of Taung-ngú and Prome. The Chinese army when united again ad-

* In the account of the journey of certain Chinese from Siam to China by land, given in the 1st vol. of Du Halde, it is stated, that when the Tartars made themselves masters of China, "a great number of Chinese fugitives from the province of Yunnan dispossessed their neighbors of their land, and settled there themselves, and the inhabitants of Kamarett (a Shan town on the frontiers of China) were forced to abandon their city.

vanced from Mó-nê, and succeeded, notwithstanding many attempts made by the Burmese to stop and check them, in again investing Ava, which they besieged for several months. The families and property of many of the Burmese troops, being outside of the city, were seized by the Chinese and maltreated or destroyed; and this circumstance, joined to a great scarcity of provisions, created much sorrow and suffering among the besieged. The troops had neither rice nor money to purchase it, and on applying to the king, he observed that they had received their grants of paddy land for their services, and that he had no rice to give them; at the same time he stationed some of his women at the palace-gate with rice for sale. The commanders of the troops at last complained against the king to his younger brother, the prince of Prome, who in the month of May, 1661, entered the palace, seized the king and his family, and assumed the sovereignity with the title of 'Meng-yé-gyô-gaung.' The dethroned king and his family were, shortly after, sent to the Khyenduen river and drowned, and hence he is also styled in history Yegyá-meng, or, the king thrown into the water. As soon as Meng-yégyô-gaung took the reins of government, the affairs of the Burmese began to prosper. He succeeded in several successive attacks on the Chinese besieging force in different directions, and at last, as the Chinese suffered severely from these attacks and from an epidemic disease, they, one night in the month of November, 1661, evacuated their entrenchments before Ava and fled, leaving most of their baggage and property.

"Shortly after, the king of Ava was advised not to allow Youn-lhí and all his Chinese followers to reside together at Tsagain, but to make the latter take the oath of allegiance, and then disperse them in different parts of the country. The king ordered all the Chinese, with the exception of Youn-lhí and the governor of Yunnan, to be sworn; but when the Burmese officers summoned the Chinese to attend at the pagoda where the oath was to be administered, they refused to come unless the governor of Yunnan accompanied them. He was accordingly invited also, and on coming to the pagoda and seeing many Burmese troops in attendance, he imagined that it was their intention to put the Chinese to death. He and several of the Chinese suddenly snatched the swords out of the hands of some of the soldiers and attacked them, killing many of the Burmese; who, however, at last mounted the enclosure walls of the pagoda, and fired down upon the Chinese, until many of them were killed and the remainder submitted. But as soon as the king of Ava heard of this

affair, he ordered the whole of the Chinese, with the exception of Youn-lhí, to be put to death.

"In the month of Dec., 1661, the Tartars marched down a force of 20,00 men, under Ain-thí-weng, the governor of Yunnan, which took post at Aung-peng-lay, and sent a mission to the king of Avā, demanding Youn-lhí, and threatening, on refusal, to attack Ava. The king summoned a council of his officers, and observing that in the reign of king Du-pa-yŏun-dayaka, Thó-ngán-buá had been surrendered to the Chinese, and in the reign of king Nga-dat-daya-ka they had been made to surrender the chief of Ba-mô to the Burmese, gave it as his opinion, that these two precedents would justify his own delivering Youn-lhí to the Tartars. One of the Burmese officers expressed his entire concurrence in his majesty's opinion; adding, that the Tartars were very powerful, and that the Burmese troops and inhabitants were suffering much from their war with the Chinese. Youn-lhí, with his sons and grandsons, were accordingly, on the 15th January, 1662, forwarded to the Tartar camp, and delivered over to the Tartar general. He, however, sent another mission to demand the person of the Chinese governor of Yunnan, but the king of Ava having replied, that he had executed that governor for ingratitude and treachery, the Tartar camp broke up on the 22d January and returned to China. The mutual surrender of fugitives of every description is now an established principle in the relations between the two kingdoms, and the Chinese are said to inclose carefully in a large cage, and forward to Ava, any Burmese fugitives required by the king of Ava.

"For a full century after Youn-lhí was surrendered, the Chinese and Burmese appear to have continued in peace, but at last, in the year 1765, in the reign of Tshen-byú-yen, king of Ava, the second son of Alompra, another war broke out between the two nations; and as this war is the last which has occurred between them, and is often referred to by the Burmese with pride and exultation, and as its details are recorded with some minuteness, and are really calculated to give European nations a more favorable opinion of Burmese courage and military skill, I shall endeavor to make a free translation of the account of it, which is contained in the 29th and 30th volumes of the chronicles of the kings of Ava."

This account as extracted and translated by colonel Burney is reserved for our next number.

ART. IV. *Ma Twanlin, the Chinese historian, with a brief notice of his writings: translated for the Repository from the French of Rémusat.*

[For the following translation from Rémusat, we are indebted to the kindness of a friend. Our readers will be glad to know that other papers from the same author and the same translator will be given in the future numbers of the Repository.]

MA TWANLIN, surnamed Kweiyu, one of the most celebrated of the learned men of China, or at least, one of those best known in Europe, was born at Löping,* in the province of Keängse, about the middle of the 13th century. His father, named Ma Tinglwan, held an important office at the court of the last emperors of the Sung dynasty. He sent Ma Twanlin to study at the school of Keaou-he, the most illustrious, in modern times, of the interpreters of the classic books. After having made, under this excellent master, a progress which announced what he would one day become, the young Ma Twanlin obtained a place which he soon relinquished. The fall of the Sung dynasty, and the conquest of China by the Mongols, decided him to renounce the civil service, and devote himself to literary and historical pursuits. He published, under the title of Ta Heŏ Tseĕ Chuen,† a commentary upon the Ta Heŏ, or Superior Lessons.

But Ma Twanlin's chief claim to distinction rests upon his Wăn Heĕn Tung Kaou, (*Recherche Approfondie des Anciens Monumens*, or) Antiquarian Researches. He was twenty years engaged in this work. The preface, which he has placed at the beginning, is a master-piece of reasoning and criticism. Ma Twanlin examines and judges with impartiality the labors of those who had preceded him in the same researches, and exposes the motives by which he was governed in the composition of his work. The historians who have succeeded best in tracing a picture of the revolutions which caused the rise and falls of the different dynasties, left much undone. Their works were deficient in the details of events, in facts relative to literature and physical history, as well as the history of government,

* Löping is the name of a town and district in the department of Jaouchow. Our author is often called Ma Twanlin of Poyang. Poyang is a town near Löping, upon the lake Poyang.

† The Ta Heŏ is a treatise on moral and political economy, in which the author Tsăngtsze, one of the principal disciples of Confucius, taking for his text a discourse of his master, develops, in eleven chapters, the doctrines of Confucius on the duties of men considered as members of families and citizens of a state. This work, the Ta Heŏ, has been admitted into the number of the Four Books, and even occupies the first place among them.

morals, and manners. As early as the times of Confucius, that wise man complained of the want of authentic documents for a thorough knowledge of the prevailing customs during the reigns of the two dynasties of Heä and Shang. It was then very important to collect and preserve all those which time had spared, and the substance of which could not be entirely included in the historical books and memoirs of the different dynasties.

From these considerations, developed in the preface of Ma Twanlin's work, we may judge of the interest of his collection; but it is necessary to have gone through and made use of it, to appreciate all the author's plan and the merit of the execution. With regard to the extent, the number and diversity of subjects treated, this "Book of Inquiries" might be compared to the memoirs of the French Academy of Inscriptions, but we find in it an order and arrangement which the nature of the academical collections does not admit of. In fact, the author, following the order of subjects, gives numerous extracts from curious books treating of the most various matters, memoirs, dissertations, in which he has preserved as much as possible, the exact expressions of the original writers, and more than all the most accurate and extensive bibliography.

The merit of the plan is ascribed by Ma Twanlin to the author of the Tung Teën, named Towyew, who wrote in the 8th century; some other authors had already tried to carry it into effect. Towyew had discoursed, under so many separate heads, of ground-rents and taxes, a metallic currency and different modes of exchange, on population, the civil administration, justice, markets and the traffic in grain, tributes paid by provinces, the employment of the public funds, the choice and promotion of magistrates, studies and examinations, the duties of all the officers of state, sacrifices and solemn rites in honor of the gods, the worship of the ancestors of the different imperial dynasties, the ceremonies of the court, music, war, punishments, geography, and the different divisions and subdivisions of the territory of the empire, the geography and history of foreign nations. But this fine work ends at the year 755. Ma Twanlin undertook to revise, correct, and amplify it, to render it complete for the time which it includes, and to continue it, in all its parts, down to 1224; so that it contains everything relating to these different subjects from Yaou and Shun to the southern Sung dynasty, that is to say, from two thousand four hundred years before Jesus Christ to the twelfth century of our era.

Not content with this immense mass of materials, he added, afte

the same plan, and for the same space of time a complete series of extracts and commentaries on the classical books and others, on the succession and genealogy of the emperors, upon the institution of principalities and feudal tenures, upon celestial phenomena, and remarkable events of all sorts. With this addition, the work is in four and twenty parts, preceded by an equal number of dissertations or prefaces, adapted to each part, and makes three hundred and forty-eight volumes, which, in the two copies belonging to the royal or king's library at Paris, are bound, in the Chinese fashion, in one hundred, and contain the substance of at least twenty or twenty-five common quarto volumes.

The titles alone of these divisions are worthy of the greatest admiration, and inspire the most lively interest. It would be too long to give them here, and we will only observe that the order of subjects is not the only one to which the author has attended, and that he is not less exact in following the order of time through all the divisions; so that one is sure to find, under each subject, the facts which relate to it, chronologically arranged, according to the order of dynasties and reigns, year by year and day by day. We cannot too much admire the labor of research which was necessary in the collection of the mass of materials, the sagacity with which they are arranged, the clearness and precision with which the writer has placed this multitude of objects, each in its true light. We may say that this excellent work is a library in itself, and that if Chinese literature possessed no other, the language would be worth learning for the sake of reading this alone. It is not solely with China that it makes us acquainted, but with a great part of Asia in its most important relations — in everything relative to religion, legislation, moral and political economy, commerce, agriculture, natural history, history, physical geography, and ethnography. We have only to choose the subject that we wish to study, and translate what Ma Twanlin has said upon it. The facts are all stated and arranged, the sources indicated from which they were obtained, and the authorities cited and discussed. Here are, in fact, so many ready made dissertations which, translated into the European languages, would spare us much inquiry and research, and enable us to appear very learned at a small expense.

We may judge of the importance of this great work by the use which has been already made of it; the small number of Europeans who have given their attention to China have drawn upon it largely. Visdelot has taken from it the account of the Tartar nations found in the supplement of the Oriental Library, and the same work has fur-

nished to De Guignes, the greater part of the materials which he has employed in his history of the Huns. From the same source was taken the catalogue of comets observed in China, which Pingsé has inserted in his "cometography," as well as that of the ærolites, besides the fragments of geography and ethnography contained in the first volume of the "Mélanges Asiatiques," and many other precious documents. The best informed of the missionaries have made free use of the same materials, and some of them, Père Cibot for example, have procured for themselves the appearance of great acquaintance with Chinese books, simply by enumerating the names of authors and titles of works quoted by Ma Twanlin, and forgetting to make mention of himself; so that we may truly say that, it is to him alone we should refer the origin of the greater part of the positive knowledge which we possess in Europe, of Chinese antiquities. It is to be regretted that instead of the ill-directed researches, often undertaken by incompetent writers, the compilations full of idle notions and repetitions, and the insignificant narratives having for their object to make us acquainted with China, that no one has attempted to work the precious mine of this great book, where every question on the subject of Eastern Asia finds the most satisfactory answer. There are many parts of the work of Ma Twanlin which merit an entire translation, and which would furnish important ideas for historical and natural science.

The Wăn Heën Tung Kaou was offered to the emperor Jintsung in the seventh month of the fourth year of his reign, 1317. It was examined by the most able of the Chinese literati, and upon their report to the emperor, this work, stamped with the approbation of the Hanlin, (or Imperial Academy) was published under the imperial authority, in 1321.

Some time after, Leaou Măngyew, who had served under the last emperors of the Sŭng dynasty with Ma Tinglwan, the father of Ma Twanlin, having been made president of the Board of Office, wished to give a place to Ma Twanlin; but he being already advanced in years declined to accept the appointment. About the same time his father, Ma Tinglwan died in extreme old age. Ma Twanlin afterwards accepted a literary employment, which however he soon relinquished, and retired to his own home where he died. The dates of neither his birth nor death are precisely known. It is probable that he was born about the year 1245, and died in 1325.

We find some account of Ma Twanlin in the 34th book of the Sew hung Keën Loo, on the 8th and following pages. Fourmont has

badly translated the title of his work in the catalogue of Chinese books in the Royal Library.

The two copies of the Wăn Heën Tung Kaou which are in the Royal Library are of an imperial edition published in the year 1724, by order of an emperor of the reigning dynasty. A continuation of the great work which brings it down to the present times, has been made in China under the name of Sew Wăn Keën Tung Kaou, or Supplement to the Antiquarian Researches. Of all the Chinese books now wanting to complete the collection of the Royal Library, this is, perhaps, the one which it is most desirable to procure.

ART. V. *Opium and Alcohol, considered in their effects on the human system when used merely as a luxury.*

THE possession of health, is undoubtedly one of the greatest earthly blessings that man can enjoy; and to endeavor to preserve it is both his interest and duty. Life at the longest is short; and with a vast number it is rendered still shorter, either by their own imprudences, or by a careless observance of those laws, on which our physical and moral happiness is made to depend. And when we consider the complexity of our organization, the intimate and mutual dependence of one organ upon another, and the numerous predisposing and exciting causes of disease and accidents to which we are necessarily or voluntarily exposed, it is cause for wonder that we live so long as we do. There cannot be a question that much of the misery and wretchedness, disease and premature death, which abound in our world, is to be atttributed to a willful and criminal neglect of the laws of health and longevity.

Setting aside the great mortality arising from pestilential diseases, perhaps the next most fruitful source of death is the artificial mode of living, which custom, ignorance, or a pernicious taste, or all these, have cherished and rendered fashionable. Our limits will not allow us to describe their different varieties. We shall simply offer a few brief observations on the baneful influence of alcohol and opium.

Both of these substances,—the one an invariable product of the vinous fermentation, and the other the natural inspissated juice of the Papaver somniferum,—are, in the hands of the physician, medicinal

remedies of the greatest value; but like many other good gifts of a kind Providence, their use has been abused and perverted to the worst of purposes. When administered in large doses, their poisonous effects are evinced in so palpable a manner, that none can gainsay or dispute them. But when taken continuously in smaller and gradually accumulative doses, as practiced by opium-eaters and spirit-drinkers, their effects upon the constitution not being so immediate, nor so apparent to the unprofessional eye, there are many who believe and affirm, that not only is their use compatible with a long enjoyment of health, but that they are also in a great measure free from those injurious qualities ascribed to them. Such superficial observation and hasty conclusion have of course retarded the development of the truth; but the time will come, when these far-spreading vices, which are now ruining so large a portion of our race, will be seen in their true light, and adequate means employed to check and suppress them.

We learn from various historical works, that alcohol has been known as an intoxicating drink for upwards of 900 years. The Saracens in the the 11th or 12th century appear to have constructed a distilling apparatus; and the Chinese are said to have been acquainted with the art of distillation at a period much earlier than this. It soon became very generally known; and an intoxicating liquor of some kind, obtained by distillation, from barley, fermented raisins, figs, mare's milk, molasses, &c., was possessed by almost every nation. Its nature and effects were so ill understood, that it was thought to possess the wonderful property of prolonging life, and making men young, blooming, and happy for ever! and hence called *aqua vitæ*. Ignorance of its real properties caused it to be introduced, in 1581, as a cordial into the British army and navy,—an error which has been attended with the most melancholy results, as it has been a great cause of drunkenness, and all its concomitant evils, not only in the army and navy, but generally throughout the British isles and dependencies.

The use of opium can be traced to an earlier date than alcohol. The Grecians appear to have been acquainted with its soporific power; and as a medicine it has been employed for many centuries by all civilized countries. It was introduced into the materia medica, more than two hundred years before the Christian era. From its easy operation, from fatal accidents often occurring from its extensive and indiscriminate use as a medicine, and from its being frequently resorted to for the purpose of committing murder and sui-

cide, it is one of the most important poisons that comes under the examination of the medical jurist; and it is on these accounts, that its symptoms and modes of action have been long made the subject of investigation, both amongst physicians and toxicologists.

Alcohol, in its uncombined state, as in ardent spirits, operates upon the system as a powerful local and diffusable stimulant. Its local irritant effects are shown by various experiments performed by Brodie, Magendie, Beaumont, Christison, and Orfila. When applied in its concentrated state upon animals, it produced death, and when less concentrated, vascularity, inflammation, and extravasation. When taken into the stomach it acts, in the first instance, locally upon that organ, exciting heat and if in large quantities burning pain, and then generally upon the system. Its stimulating influence is communicated either by the sentient nerves of the stomach to the cerebro-spinal system, and from thence to the whole economy, or by absorption into the blood by the veins and lymphatics: it is probable that both views are correct. That the nerves convey the stimulus is shown from the instantaneous exciting effect that follows the draught of any alcoholic drink, and that it is absorbed into the blood is proved from the strong odor of spirit which emanates from it, in a person who has died from intoxication, and also from its being able to be detected by experiment.

The degree of stimulation depends much upon modifying circumstances. If the quantity taken is small, general excitement is not very obvious; but if considerable, the most marked symptoms of excitement display themselves, followed by depression and collapse. If the temperament also is excitable, sanguineous or nervous, the greater is the susceptibility to its impression. The chief and most common symptoms which follow the use of ardent spirits, or any intoxicating liquor, are a high flow of spirits, feelings of mirth, loss of care, loquacity, mental activity, increased bodily exertion, quick strong pulse, flushed face, &c. If the stimulus is continued, intoxication is produced, which ends either in sleep, coma, or death. If it terminates in sleep, which it usually does if the constitution is strong, and the quantity of liquor taken not very considerable, no farther injurious effects follow, for the present, except a temporary derangement of the stomach, brain, &c. If it ends in coma, then all the symptoms of dreadful collapse manifest themselves, from which the individual in a few hours, may be restored, but seldom to health; for no sooner has the brain regained somewhat of its usual power, than reaction takes place, evidenced by a flushed face, injected eyes

restlessness, delirium, and often fever, which frequently terminates in apoplexy or typhus. If the quantity of spirits taken is excessive, as in wagers, the usual result is sudden death. Numerous authenticated cases are published which show the frequency of this occurrence. The most common diseases it directly excites and predisposes to, are the following: first, dropsy; second, incurable dyspepsia; third, inflammation of the brain; fourth, tuberculated liver; fifth, delirium tremens. The others that have been enumerated, are induration of the pancreas and mesenteric glands, scirrhus of the pylorus of the stomach, disease of the kidney, irritation and stricture of the urethra and bladder, aneurism of the heart and great vessels, apoplexy of the lungs and brain, mania, melancholia, dementia, and sometimes fatuity, epilepsy, and spontaneous combustion. In addition to this frightful list of diseases, individuals of intemperate habits are liable to all kinds of accidents, exceedingly susceptible to the influence of contagion and epidemics, and when the subjects of disease are the most difficult to be cured. In addition to its destructive effects upon the body, and enervating influence upon the mind, it debases the moral character of the individual, making him a slave to appetite and passion, and extinguishing every good principle, rendering him brutish, miserable, and degraded; and finally leading to poverty, vice, and ruin. These effects are not confined to the poorer classes; among the higher, how many men, distinguished for their talents and respectability, have fallen victims to this dangerous habit, sacrificing everything to its gratification!

The operation of opium upon the constitution, greatly depends, like alcohol, upon the quantity and frequency of its being administered. It is also greatly modified, by age, sex, temperament, habit, climate, idiosyncracy, &c. In very large doses, it acts as a rapid and powerful poison, and is not unfrequently resorted to as such by the Chinese, who take for this purpose, two mace of the extract dissolved in a little water. In these large doses excitement is scarcely apparent, the pulse from the first being slow, attended with drowsiness and stupor, which rapidly increasing are followed by apoplexy and death.

Opium is classed under the head of narcotics. It operates chiefly on the nervous system, through the medium of the blood, possessing the twofold action of a stimulus and sedative.

As it is not the object of this paper, to describe its symptoms and effects as a medicine, but as a *luxury*, our remarks will be confined to a simple detail of its operation, as so employed in this country,—only premising that opium has been long in use among the Chinese,

as a medicinal agent, in cases of languor, debility, loss of spirits, fever, cough, vomiting, satiety, &c.; also externally applied in inflammation of the eyes and to any painful part.

A disposition to smoke this fascinating drug commences frequently in early life, particularly when the person has friends addicted to the practice. He is induced, at the onset, to try it from curiosity or persuasion, or because it is fashionable. At first he smokes very seldom, and perhaps not more than two or three pipes at a time. Gradually, either from a false taste being acquired, or a desire for a renewal of the pleasure it imparts, the pipe becomes a more frequent companion, and usually in the course of a year or two it is in daily use. In real weight, the quantity of extract at first smoked may be about one candareen, which is equal to three or four pipes. Very soon this is increased to two a day, one at night and one in the morning. By and by it is increased to three candareens; and from that to four and five; and if circumstances permit, and the appetite for it is strong, it is gradually increased to one and two mace, which the writer believes to be an average amount;* for though the greater number may use less, yet there are multitudes who exceed it. According to the testimony of natives well informed upon the subject, two mace a day is not by any means an infrequent allowance, and many cases have been known of four, five, six, and even eight mace, having been smoked daily.

On exposing carefully thirty grains of the smokeable extract to a heat varying from 180° to 200° F., the extract was brought to perfect dryness, which was immediately reduced to a state of powder and weighed; its weight allowing for waste was 19 grains; and so great was its hygrometric property, that in a short time, whether exposed to the air, or confined in a box, it became as liquid as before, proving that the smokeable extract is brought by the Chinese to the greatest possible spissitude. If therefore these experiments are true, a person smoking half a mace twice a day would daily inhale what is equal to 38 grains of pure solid opium. And this exceeds in real strength the same weight of powdered Turkey opium, inasmuch as on drying the latter, it loses (judging from the specimen experimented upon) one fifth of its weight, and has besides more impurities. In roasting the extract for the purpose of smoking, there does not appear any reason to suppose that its narcotic properties are destroyed. Still

* Ten candareens make one mace; and a mace is equal to 58 grains troy; but for all practical purposes it may be considered equivalent to one drachm (or 60 grains).

there must be some loss by the method employed by the Chinese; for without taking into account any of the opium that may accidentally be charred, it is quite certain that a portion is deposited in the interior of the ball of the pipe unconsumed; some of the opium fumes are also lost; and it must be likewise stated, that the strength of the extract is not always the same, being mixed in some cases with foreign matter. But what loss is sustained in these ways, is no doubt amply made up by the mode of inhaling it into the lungs,—where, on a most extensive and delicate surface, it, like the gases in general, comes in close contact with the nerves and blood so abundantly supplying those organs.

It has been already stated, that the period when the habit of smoking opium becomes confirmed, varies; it may be at the end of the first year, or the second, or the third; and the rapidity and force which the newly formed appetite is gratified, also differs very considerably: there are numbers who are satisfied with, or at least do not exceed, what may be called a very moderate allowance, viz. from one to three candareens a day; and as long as its use is limited to this quantity, it appears to be smoked with comparative impunity. But like moderate spirit drinking it may predispose to, if it does not directly excite, disease. It is, however, well known that the larger proportion of those addicted to this practice, are not content with a fixed ratio, but desire and require accumulative doses; with some this increase is slow, and with others quick.

The period likewise when the constitution begins to suffer is very variable; with some it is as soon as three or four years, and with others not for ten, fifteen, or twenty years; so greatly dependent are its morbid effects upon modifying circumstances. There is a period of indefinite extent in which the opium pipe may be in daily use night and morning, and a gradual increase made from one candareen to five, eight, or ten, and yet the individual *appear* as strong and healthy as other men. On questioning him, he informs you that the sensations produced are of a pleasurable nature, difficult to be described, and lasting from six to eight hours. He says he feels happy, strong and capable to attend to all his avocations. His mind is exhilirated, whilst under its influence, but the writer has never seen nor can he ascertain, that it amounts to *intoxication*, or madness. The pulse is generally increased in force and frequency, but not to the same degree as from the use of spirituous liquors. Nor, do we think, judging from what we have seen, that opium smokers *usually* experience that high ecstatic feeling, that wild delirium, that agitated

frame, and that great degree of excitement and collapse of the nervous, respiratory, circulating, and muscular systems ascribed to them by some writers. *This* is the period of enjoyment, in which the senses are daily gratified, the mind exhilirated, and the body free from any obvious disease. In fact, the individual may feel so well, that he is perhaps flattering himself with the common delusion, that he will escape the ordinary effects of the drug. But sooner or later he is made practically sensible, that even *he* at last has become its victim. He becomes aware of this by certain symptoms, which after being latent or unobserved for some time, now slowly develop themselves, and are unpleasantly obtruded upon his notice. These symptoms at first are more of a negative than positive character, and arise more from functional than from real organic disease. At *this* period, as long as the stimulus is regularly supplied, according to the demands for it, the different organs of the body do perform their functions, but as soon as its exciting influence has passed off, a degree of torpor and depression affects the whole system; to obviate these, and to enable him to go about his ordinary occupations as usual, the pipe, the grand restorative of all the opium smoker's joys (pro tempore) is renewed.

He is now taught practically to feel, how dependent is his enjoyment, health, character, and livelihood, upon the regular use of a false and dangerous stimulus; for however desirous he may now be to relinquish it, he finds that he is altogether unable to do so. He may attempt to put his good resolutions into practice for a few hours, but the prostration, debility, and inaptitude for all exertion which supervene are so great, combined with such distressing restlessness, pains in the head and limbs, loss of sleep and irritability of the whole alimentary canal, with vomiting and dysentery, that he has no other choice than to return to the old habit as before, unless happily the native physician has succeeded in accomplishing a cure, which however either through his ignorance, or the irresolution of the patient, is rarely the case.

This state of things, which is common to *all* addicted to the practice, may go on for some years. But sooner or later a third period commences, which varies from a year or two to several, being dependent upon the degree of physical strength which remains, and the ability to supply opium to the extent required. In this stage, the habit has not only become fully confirmed, but it is essential to the continuance of life, that it should be gratified. It is a matter now of necessity, and not of choice or pleasure; for the different organs from

being long impaired, have become permanently exhausted, and unable to perform their functions unless goaded to it, and then very imperfectly. The stomach is highly irritable and has lost its digestive power, the appetite for food is gone, and frequent diarrhœa occurs, with pain and weariness of the limbs, depression of spirits, a slow weak circulation, and a gradual diminution both of volition and voluntary power. The individual, being moreover reduced to poverty, is a burden to himself and friends, and his mind harassed as much as his body, for he sees before him inevitable ruin, and a speedy death. With opium he is miserable, and without it he can neither sleep, eat, or live; his countenance is the picture of distress, his eyes sunk, his teeth and complexion dark, and his muscles so emaciated and weak, that he is scarcely able to move. He may drag on an existence for a few years longer, but at last he perishes.

Such are some of the effects of alcohol and opium upon individuals; and their influence upon society is equally injurious. In domestic economy they are the great source of poverty, wretchedness and discord; and their social and national effects are not less pernicious, since in proportion as these habits prevail, the public morals will be corrupted, trade and commerce lessened, character and influence degenerated, crime perpetrated, pauperism produced, labor interrupted, wealth dissipated, happiness ruined, and population destroyed. Many of these effects have already been partially produced, and it is only requisite that these habits become universal, and then they will be wholly realized.

The preceding remarks with respect to alcohol are abundantly confirmed by various statistical reports drawn up by official persons, by documents published by judges, magistrates, and councillors, by the testimony of medical men, and by innumerable facts. Without going farther into detail, the writer will simply state that from these, we learn that in Christendom three fourths of all beggary and crime, and two fourths of all the cases of madness are traced to the use of distilled spirit; and that all manslaughters and murders, with a few exceptions, are connected more or less directly with the habit of spirit-drinking. Some hundreds of medical men, distinguished for their talents and opportunities of judging, have publicly declared their conviction, that distilled spirit is not only unnecessary, but injurious to persons in health, that it contains no nutritive quality, that its daily use is a strong temptation to drunkenness, occasioning many severe diseases, and rendering others difficult of cure, leading to poverty, misery, and death, and that its entire use except for pur-

poses strictly medicinal, would powerfully contribute to the health, morality, and comfort of the community.

To prove the awful extent to which distilled spirits have been drank in Great Britain it is only necessary to state that the quantity paid duty for, according to Mr. McCulloch, was in 1830, 27,706,831 gallons amounting to £8,276,692. In 1831, 26,729,004 gals. amount to duty £8,234,603. In 1832, 26,462,058 gallons, duty £8,483,247. It is calculated, that when to this is added the millions of gallons illicitly distilled, smuggled, and adulterated, the quantity consumed annually is 32 millions of gallons, and that the money expended upon this article alone, is 20 millions; more than two thirds of which is spent by the lower classes. In America ten years ago, spirit-drinking was carried to such an extent, that the average for each adult annually, was eight gallons, and the mortality also so great that out of twelve millions of people from 36,000 to 40,000 were said to be destroyed every year by this vice.

With respect to opium, while we have no statistical tables, nor the means at present of ascertaining and judging so fully and satisfactorily of its effects, &c., as that of alcohol, nevertheless we possess sufficient data to enable us to form a very extensive insight into the injurious properties of this drug. We have the united testimony of many eminent travelers of its deleterious effects in Turkey and Persia. We possess also the testimony of many competent persons and eye-witnesses, of the dangerous and ill effects which follow its use in Smyrna, Java, Sumatra, Asám, and some of the Ionian Islands, &c. Also all modern writers of the materia medica and toxicology, corroborate in the strongest terms, the opinion that the exhilerating effect which opium produces upon some people, inducing them to the dangerous expedient of habitual indulgence in its use, is a custom which cannot be too cautiously guarded against and reprobated, since it impairs the mental as well as the corporeal faculties, and sooner or later proves infinitely detrimental to both. In China, as long as foreign intercourse with the natives is so restricted, all scientific research must be limited, but we hope a better day is dawning upon this land, and that what we know now only in part, we shall erelong be able both to confirm and greatly to improve. But however circumscribed our knowledge may be at present, we possess sufficient evidence both from oral and written testimony of natives, and from ocular demonstration, that the smoking of opium is unquestionably injurious to the public health, happiness and pecuniary interests of the nation; that it blunts the moral sense, rendering those who use it the slaves

of appetite, and the subjects of disease; and offers a very serious barrier to a friendly disposition, and commercial and religious intercourse with the people.

Particulars, respecting the mode and extent to which opium is smoked, &c., have been already given in the Repository; there is therefore no need to repeat them.

Imperfect as the preceding sketch may be, if it is based on *truth*, the writer thinks he is justified in concluding, from the moral obligations which subsist between man and man, that it is the bounden duty of an enlightened public everywhere, to examine into the evils which result from their use, and then endeavor, to the utmost of its power, to discountenance and suppress them. H.

ART. VI. *Pamphlets on China, written with reference to the questions of indemnity for opium and of hostilities with the government:*

1. *The opium question; by Samuel Warren, esq., F. R. S. of the Inner Temple, barrister-at-law. Third edition, London, January*, 1840.
2. *Opium crisis; a letter to Charles Elliot, esq., chief superintendent of the British trade with China, by an American merchant, resident at Canton. London*, 1839.
3. *Is the war with China a just one? By H. Hamilton Lindsay, late of the honorable East India Company's service in China. London*, 1840.
4. *The rupture with China, and its causes; including the opium question, and other important details; in a letter to lord viscount Palmerston, secretary to foreign affairs. By a resident in China. London*, 1840.

AT LENGTH the European press teems with productions on China. Pamphlets upon pamphlets are laid before the public, and page after page and column after column in reviews and newspapers are filled with remarks on China — all showing that a deep interest has been awakened regarding affairs in this country. Apathy is no longer the order of the day. "Have you the latest news from China? Has war been declared? Is foreign commerce likely soon again to be

reëstablished?" On the arrival of each successive mail from the east, such questions as these are being asked with concern that indicates how great are the interests which are now here at stake.

The line of policy drawn out by Choo Tsun, four years ago, and hitherto vigorously supported by the Chinese government, has produced results of great moment, demanding careful consideration from all who are interested in this country and its foreign relations.

The merits of the "opium question" are not easily understood. Mr. Warren, however, has treated the subject with great fairness, and no mean ability. He does not inform his readers why it was he "had occasion to consider the facts giving rise to the important and embarrassing" question; but if, as we suspect, his services were enlisted by the committee or delegation nominated by those who had sustained the chief part of the losses in China, the choice of advocacy was discreetly made. We have nowhere else seen the question handled in a manner so masterly, or with a spirit more manly. The pamphlet is a fine specimen of special pleading. If his argument fails to have the effect for which it was intended, the fault will not be his; for he has said all he could well say, and said it in the best manner. On most of the points discussed, we agree with him; but respecting a few, he has presented views and drawn conclusions, which, in our opinion, are not and cannot be sustained by facts. Still were we quite sure that he drew the said conclusions solely from public documents—wrote entirely aloof from *ex parte* evidence, or that which was afforded him by those who were personally concerned in the decision of the case—we should be inclined to bow to his judgment.

Who ought to bear the loss of the 20,283 chests of opium, surrendered by the chief superintendent of the trade of British subjects in China, her majesty's government, or the late owners of that opium? This is the question. By a series of facts and arguments, plain and conclusive, he shows—what seems agreed to by almost all foreigners in this part of the world—that her majesty's government ought to bear this loss. After having adduced the principal facts, illustrative of the case, Mr. Warren says—

"As far as grounds of moral obligation are concerned, it may be asked, why did parliament choose to grant twenty millions in compensation to slaveholders, who were chargeable with far more guilt and cruelty than can by any possibility be charged upon those now claiming compensation in respect of their surrendered opium? Admitting those who deal in opium to be guilty of as grievous a sin against the law of nature—of morality, as those were who trafficked

in slaves, what right has the one to compensation that the other has not? The claim for upwards of two millions for the surrenderers of the opium rests, it is repeated, on grounds of moral obligation, as strong and solid as those rested on by the claimants (and receivers) of twenty millions for their slaves; namely, both were based on the country's guilty participation in the crime, and in its advantages; in both we had sanctioned the conduct we at length are alleged to condemn; in both the country proposed compensation, on compliance with certain conditions proposed—namely, the surrender of the opium, the emancipation of the slaves. In the latter case, undoubtedly, the legislature formally entered into the contract in express terms; and the strength of the present case is, that the legislature has substantially done the same through the intervention of a lawfully-constituted agent of this country, the chief superintendent: he made the promise, on the faith of which these opium-owners made the sacrifice in question: why should the nation draw back? Equity takes everything to be done, which ought to have been done—which was contracted to have been done. 'The only difference,' said the late lord chief-justice of the Queen's Bench, lord Tenterden, 'between an express and an implied contract, is in the mode of substantiating it. An express contract is proved by an actual agreement; an implied contract by circumstances, and the general course of dealing between the parties; but whenever a contract is once proved, the consequences resulting from the breach of it must be the same, whether it be proved by direct or circumstantial evidence.' Such is the nature of the contract between this country and the slave-holders, which is proved by the act of parliament; such the contract between this country and the opium surrenderers, which is proved by the circumstances and facts of the case so repeatedly set forth in the ensuing pages; and the same consequences ought to follow. Even supposing the cases not to be precisely parallel, there is undoubtedly the strongest analogy between them." *See page* 92.

To those who entertain any doubt as to the correctness of this conclusion, we recommend a careful perusal of the entire pamphlet, from which we here make two quotations, showing what cognizance was had of this whole matter by the British government.

"The British government in India, though always aware of the prohibition of the trade by the Chinese authorities, have, as is notorious, by every means which ingenuity could devise, 'encouraged the trade in opium, by facilities and assistance repeatedly afforded,' and fostered it to its present enormous magnitude; so that it now forms

more than two thirds of the total exports of Bengal and Bombay. They have anxiously consulted, on every occasion, the wants, wishes, and tastes of the Chinese, with reference to the qualities of the opium; and afforded them compensation, on having it proved to them by the Chinese, that the opium supplied to them, was inferior to the standard guaranteed by the state. They have even made direct consignments to agents in China, in order that they might ascertain practically, what mode of package would be most acceptable to the Chinese. As to the amount and proportion of opium sent direct to China, the custom-house books of Calcutta afford conclusive evidence. By them it appears, that of an aggregate of 79,446 chests actually despatched from Calcutta in six years (1832—1838), 67,083 chests were exported to China direct; the vessels laden with them, being, as the records of the custom-house will show, cleared expressly for China. Would it not be, in the teeth of these facts, an insult to common sense, to suppose, either that the government was not perfectly aware of the existence of the opium trade with China, —nay, more; that they calculated upon, and most anxiously cherished such trade, as the principal source of consumption? And when from this trade they derived an enormous revenue, varying from one million to two millions sterling per annum—almost one tenth of the total revenue of India; by which revenue, in fact, the proprietors of East India stock have been hitherto enabled to receive the very high dividend, guaranteed by parliament in the new charter—3 and 4 Will. IV, c. 85? Again. This opium was always paid for by the Chinese in bullion and a glance at the table of exports and imports to and from Calcutta and Bombay, and China, will show what a valuable portion of the supply of silver for the coinage of India, government has received from China, principally by means of the opium trade. The published statements of the British trade at Canton demonstrate the immense importance to the direct trade from China to England, from the value of the trade of India with China; and which value, again, as already shown, is to be referred to the opium trade. Without the Indian trade, the Court of Directors could not have so favorably conducted their large remittances for home charges; nor could merchants in England have purchased teas to the amount which they have purchased, without having sent remittances largely in bullion to that country. The bullion thus brought back in exchange for opium, (to supply which, the immense silver mines of China have been wrought to an extent, which the Chinese had not imagined possible—thus convincing them of the idle nature of their

apprehensions on that score,) has thus been of essential value to commerce. It has drawn forth the resources of the most fertile and populous empire in the world—namely, China; and the bullion thus brought back in exchange for opium, has covered vast tracts of British India with smiling fields and flourishing population. It has enormously extended the import of British manufactures throughout Hindostan; has increased largely the shipping and general commerce of those seas; and has brought into the British Indian treasury, a revenue, exceeding the land revenue of an entire presidency—that of Bombay.

"So much, then, for the knowledge of this contraband trade on the part of the Britsh government in India, and their very substantial reasons for sanctioning and promoting it. On referring to the late Act, 3 and 4 Wm. IV., c. 85, for abolishing the East India Company's monopoly of the trade with China, it will be seen, by sections 30, 32, that the Board of Control has the most intimate acquaintance with, and complete power over, all the acts, regulations, and proceedings of the Court of Directors of the East India Company and Indian government. This Board, therefore, must, of course be held to sanction and authorize all that it permits to remain unrepealed. *Qui non prohibet, cum prohibere possit, jubet.* But who presides over this Board of Control? A cabinet minister; through whom, consequently, the queen's government is thus fixed with the knowledge and sanction of this most productive trade, and all the responsibility attaching to such knowledge and sanction. By the 51st section of the same act, parliament has reserved its right to legislate for India, and all the laws and regulations enacted in India are directed to be laid on the table of the house of parliament. This chain of connection—this direct privity, having been established between parliament, the cabinet, and the Indian government, if the last—the Indian government—could not resist the claim of the opium-traders on the score of the illegality and immorality of their trade, how can the former two, parliament or the cabinet?" *See p.* 54.

We have been assured, on good authority, which we have no reason to doubt, that the E. I. Company and members of the imperial parliament were the owners of opium, which, by their consignees in China, was made over to captain Elliot, and by him surrendered to the Chinese in March, 1839.

We are at a loss to know on what good authority Mr. W. affirms that the working of the mines has been increased in the manner he describes. We think the affirmation unfounded.

We admire, very much, the manner in which Mr. Warren would have future intercourse with China conducted, and the trade in opium "instantly annihilated," provided the emperor is found to be sincere in deprecating it on account of its injurious effects on the lives and morals of his people. To this topic we will revert, after noticing some few things, concerning which our views differ from those advanced by Mr. Warren.

The *character of the traffic in opium* must be viewed separate from that of those by whom it has been chiefly conducted. As a good cause and an honorable business may be conducted by most unworthy agents; so, on the other hand, an immoral traffic may be carried on by very worthy hands. The time was when branches of the slave-trade were patronized by the good and the honorable; and slavery, even to this day, is continued by some good men. The high character of the foreign community in China is fully shown by numerous facts and clear testimony, which, with pleasure, we have often had occasion to record. We were not, however, aware of the fact—until we saw Mr. Warren's pamphlet — that whole cargoes of rice had ever been brought to Canton to be dispensed in charity, "among the poor Chinese who were left by their rich fellow-countrymen to perish in the very streets." We cannot suppose reference is here made to whole cargoes brought to Canton in times of scarcity, and sold at high prices to members of the co-hong; for such could not be called "munificent charities," except in the same imperial style, in which we hear of the benevolent gifts of tea and rhubarb, bestowed in tenderness and compassion on the far-traveled barbarians! Be this as it may, we here repeat, what we have elsewhere often affirmed, that we have nowhere else known a more honorable body of merchants than that which for many years has formed the foreign community in Canton. Their donations for benevolent and charitable purposes have been most munificent. Some of the Parsee gentlemen in particular have been distinguished for their oft-repeated charities to the poor Chinese. And surely we have no wish to detract from this high character. Nay, on the contrary, we do, and we ever shall, view it with solicitude; for nothing can we more desire than that the character of foreigners in this country should be, and appear to be, untarnished, unblamable, excellent.

Mr. Warren, having set forth this subject in its true light, then asks with emphasis:—*Is the trade in opium an immoral trade?* He labors to prove that it is *not* immoral. But, very justly doubting the sufficiency of his arguments, he says: "if the opium trade really be

contraband, it is not by any means the *only* contraband trade that has received the indirect sanction and protection of the British government." *p.* 60. A resident in China, the author of the fourth pamphlet named at the head of this article, says; "no one would attempt to justify the opium trade *upon principle*, any more than he would the abuse of ardent spirits. It rests altogether upon *expediency*. Many interests are involved in it, and like other practices leading to excess, opium-smoking must be left to purify itself, or *run its natural course*." *p.* 19. Mr. Lindsay is more explicit, and more unreserved, and endeavors to vindicate the traffic, as it *once* was; but 'as it is,'—is it not now as it ever has been?—mark his words,—"nothing can be more injurious to the British character than the mode in which the opium trade is at present conducted. It now *is real smuggling*, accompanied by all its worst features of violence, and must frequently be attended with bloodshed and the sacrifice of life. All the respectable mercantile houses in China have pledged their honor against any further connection with it under present circumstances." *See page* 31.

Mr. Warren is more guarded in his expressions on this point. He tells his readers that 'every one acquainted with the matter, knows it is absurd to call the traffic in opium, as it has been carried on in China, smuggling.' *p.* 78. If so, why did not 'the fathers of all smuggling,' freely engage in it here, and allow its importation in their ships, and by their officers? Why were the European boats required, by British authority, to leave the river of Canton, and depart outside the Bogue? Why were the ships engaged in the traffic also required, by the same authority, to leave Hongkong and the Chinese coasts? Why was the governor of Canton told, by the superintendent, that H. B. M. would not look with any complacency on such acts? Why, if the article was not really contraband?

With a view to vindicate the traffic from the 'absurd charge,' Mr. Warren affirms—what he cannot prove—that the governor of Canton protected the trade. He and other provincial functionaries no doubt did connive at it in a most shameful manner, and received some sixty or seventy dollars per chest for that connivance; and certain high officers in the province under the governer, together with his son, being implicated by these proceedings, were most severely punished, and their property confiscated. Some of them are still prisoners, and may yet have to visit the cold regions of Ele. Does this prove that opium was not contraband?

Further to show that the traffic is not immoral, he affirms, strongly

by interrogation, that the parties "openly in the face of day, carried on this trade (which enriched their country far more than themselves), *under the protection of their country's flag*." *p.* 78. And he asks, "can it, again, be seriously suggested that the trade and commerce which captain Elliot was sent to protect and promote, did not extend to the traffic in opium?" *p.* 45. Surely this is almost equal to governor Lin's edicts, in which he so often charges captain Elliot, and still continues to charge him, with giving protection to the parties engaged in this trade. The superintendent has had a hard course to steer between Scylla and Charybdis; but his public notice, dated Hongkong, 11th September, 1839, is evidence enough to prove that it was neither his wish nor his duty to protect the trade in opium. And 'the entire approbation of her majesty's government of his conduct in these matters,' alluding particularly to the smuggling of opium on the river, has been signified by lord Palmerston.

The space allotted for this article does not allow us to notice as we wish to do three of the pamphlets placed at the head of this article. They contain, with a good deal of information, some sentiments that might be canvassed, if not corrected. Possibly we may revert to them in a subsequent number. We have no means of knowing who is the author of 'the rupture with China,' dated London, October 31st, 1839, signing himself 'A Resident in China.' Both he and Mr. Warren are wrong, we think, in some of the views they give respecting the measures and motives of the imperial government.

We do not believe the supreme government of this country can alone eradicate the use of the drug, or stop the traffic in it. We believe, however, that the emperor and his ministers would do so if they could. Of their measures, some, no doubt, have been impolitic and wrong; still their failure is attributable to want of wisdom and power, more than to any lack of inclination. Against both the use and the traffic, for forty years, their voice has been uniform, steady, and strong. Their edicts, in broad capitals, have been sent through all the empire, and often translated; but, as the Resident says, (*p.* 11) 'foreigners took no notice of them.' But, alas! on the poor natives, frequent and heavy penalties have been inflicted. Yet notwithstanding all these severities, both the traffic and the use continued to increase, until the imperial government was goaded on to desperation; what will be the result of the struggle remains to be seen.

The motives, by which the emperor and his ministers have been actuated, seem to us to have been three-fold — loss of specie, en-

croachment of foreigners, and injury to the people arising from smoking. For their opposition to 'the poisonous thing,' as they call opium, the 'independent measures' pursued by those engaged in the traffic, and the exportation of silver, are very cogent reasons, but not the only, or the chief. The excessive use of the drug is not confined to 'the more wealthy of the population,' as a Resident affirms; on the contrary, it extends to all classes, not excepting poor beggars; and so destructive and extensive are its effects, so fascinating and so insidious and so indomitable is the habit, and so numerous have been its victims, that we do not wonder at the intense interest felt, and the strong measures adopted by the Chinese for checking its progress. They see it has ruined individuals and families; they see it is rapidly extending its deadly and desolating courses; and, not without reason, they fear it will, if left unchecked, erelong cause the downfall of the government and the destruction of the nation.

While, however, we give the Chinese credit for sincerity in their opposition to the drug on account of its great injury to health and morals, and disapprove of some of their measures taken to check its use, we still think, and we have ever thought, their policy towards foreigners is so wrong, that all governments whose people have any interests in this country ought to interpose for the correction of this wrong; and we thank Mr. Warren for his able advocacy of such interference; and with his own strong and elevated language we close this article.

"But God forbid that this matter should have a bloody issue. It is not, it need not be comtemplated. The aspect of things, is undoubtedly, from all points, at present gloomy and threatening; but "out of this nettle — danger may yet be plucked the flower — safety," both by China and by Great Britain. Let us take a legitimate advantage of the false position in which the audacious folly and fraud of the Chinese authorities has placed them. Let us turn a deaf ear to all fraudulent pretenses; let us insist on establishing our future intercourse upon a more safe, a more advantageous, a more honorable footing than it has hitherto rested upon. Let us look back calmly and steadily at the authentic history of our past intercourse, to discover the real character of the Chinese, and where have lain the faults of our system. Let us cautiously and prudently arrange the terms of our future intercourse — calling to the task those enlightened by long experience. Let the 'horrid alarum of war' serve no other purpose, and have no other object, than to startle them out of their ancient conceit, and prejudice, and ignorance, awakening them to a sense of

the real position of their affairs, with reference to European nations. Let us—a grand *desideratum*—penetrate to Peking, and learn what is the real state of things *there;* and let us cheerfully yield to what we shall find to be the reasonable and just wishes and will of the emperor. If we discover the ground of his opposition to the opium trade, to be a genuine, a noble regard for the morals and lives of his people, whom we are plainly corrupting and demoralizing, why, in the name of outraged humanity, nay in the name of God, let the trade be instantly annihilated—the countenance of Great Britain withdrawn from it at once, and for ever. If the writer of these pages really believed matters to be with the Chinese, as are represented by those who allege the immorality of the trade, he, as one of the humblest of her majesty's subjects, would most bitterly deplore the dishonorable and degrading part which this country has taken and sanctioned, and say, *fiat justitia, ruat cœlum.* Let the baleful glitter of the poppy-flower disappear from the vast plains of India; and its execrable and blasting influence in China cease for ever. If such were really the case, the gloom that is deepening upon our eastern prospects might be rightly deemed to be the frown of God upon them." *See p.* 109.

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences; bounties offered for British subjects; Dr. Parker's departure for America; foreigners in Canton; enlistment of troops in Canton; attack on three gentlemen; expedition to Peking; blockade; Cochinchinese steamers and envoys; barbarians in Szechuen; small feet and broad sleeves; a eunuch; lieut.-governor Choo.*

BOUNTIES for British subjects and ships! The *ne plus ultra* of Chinese legislation, touching their relations with foreigners, hereto subjoined, will receive the consideration that is meet from those whom it concerns. Whatever provocation may have been given, the gauntlet is thrown.

"Wco, the acting magistrate of the district of Heängshan, &c., issues this edict. From Lin, his excellency the governor of Canton, I have received the following communication.

'The English ships-of-war from foreign ports are now successively arriving at Canton; and though it is certain they will not presume to create disturbance, yet like rats they will enter all the ways, in order to protect those base foreigners who sell opium. This is what they will do. I command, therefore, that all the forts at the mouths of the rivers, belonging to the district, be supplied with additional soldiers and arms, and a careful watch kept by night and day over all the vessels that go out to sea, so as to cut off all supplies of provisions. At the large entrances, let cruizers be placed to

keep guard, and let the smaller ones be stockaded, in order to prevent all egress, and to harass the foreign troops. At the same time proclaim to all fishermen along the coast, that whoever will prepare fire-rafts, and go forth to burn the foreign ships, are allowed to report themselves to the local officers, and after examination will be permitted to proceed out with authority to act at pleasure according to circumstances; and their families, being retained as security, will be supplied with provisions at the expense of the government. Whoever is able to burn and destroy a ship, and kill or capture a foreigner, shall be immediately rewarded largely according to the scale of bounties. There shall be no discount.'

"Having received the above, besides directing an examination of the troops, I proclaim, by this edict, to all soldiers and people, fishermen and inhabitants of boats, in order to inform you that the foregoing promises will be fulfilled. (Here he repeats the governor's words verbatim.)

"The English, by their repeated opposition, have involved themselves; and all you, our people, ought to cherish righteous indignation against them. Formerly, if you were so restrained that you could not give vent to your feelings, how will you not act now when you are encouraged by gain!

"The engagement now made with you is this. You must not presume to act against those who are going to and from Canton and Macao, the Portuguese and those of other nations who have been respectful and obedient to the celestial dynasty; and if you injure or kill these, you will be as formerly adjudged and punished according to the laws. But besides these, if any English, sailing in their boats or sauntering on the shore, enter the country to create disturbance, at once fly and report them to the civil officers and military, and then hasten to stop, attack, burn, and destroy them! Fishermen and boatmen, soldiers and people! Whoever of you can cut off and destroy one foreigner, will become a just man; and whoever can capture a foreign vessel, will have extraordinary merit. As soon as the heads and the name of the ship have been examined and verified, the fixed bounties will be paid by his excellency the governor, with additional rewards and appropriate honors, for praise and encouragement. Valiant heroes! Possessed of an excellent name and rich rewards, let not the heads of the base foreigners long be wanting; establish your character; act like men!

"Having suspended at my office the scale of bounties, I now wait with eager expectation, and hope each one will strive to be foremost. Be careful not to frustrate your high hopes. Be careful. Be careful. A special edict."

The following is the scale of bounties as published by the magistrate of Heängshan.

1. For every English 80 gun ship delivered over to government $20,000 bounty; a discount will be made of $100 for each gun less. Whatever articles belong to the ship, excepting her armament and opium, will all be given as rewards. For the entire destruction of each large ship-of-war, $10,000; and something less for smaller ones.

2. For English merchant ships, delivered to government, the entire cargo will be given, excepting the armament and opium,—and a bounty of $10,000 for every large three masted ship; $5,000 for each ship with two masts and a half; and $3,000 for each two masted vessel. For large boats, $300, and for small ones $100; and one third of these sums for the entire destruction of these vessels, with $100 from the magistrate.

3. For each naval commander made prisoner, $5000; and $500 discount on each inferior officer; for their slaughter, one third these sums.

4. For white English prisoners, soldiers or merchants, each $100, and one fifth for their slaughter. For colored people, soldiers or servants, a reward shall be given. And the magistrate will add $20 for each one killed.

5. For native traitors, purchasing opium of foreigners, and who shall be judged guilty of death, $100. Other rewards will be given.

The dates of these documents we do not know; these and similar ones have been extensively circulated, under the seals of the high officers of the province. Very little excitement, however, has been produced by them, and the month has passed with few incidents worthy of notice.

On the 5th, having previously closed the hospital in Canton, Dr. Parker embarked in the Niantic for New York; he has gone with the expectation of returning to resume his labors in the summer or autumn of next year.

Only four or five foreigners now remain in the provincial city; and only two ships are at Whampoa. The enlistment of soldiers (for the Bogue?) is thus described in a letter of the 9th, dated in Canton:

"On the 9th, enlisting began in booths or barracks covering part of the square in front of the factories; present the Kwangchow foo and other dignitaries, and the hong merchants. The poor fellows that *would be soldiers to merchants*, gathered as a mob by thousands, and about 11 o'clock the important, interesting work began. One by one the aspirants for fame, (or $6 a month) moved into a space kept open by lictors, in front of the Kwangchow foo's booth, and to prove their claim to enter the corps, essayed to lift a shaft about 7 feet long, at each end a stone, the two weighing together about 100 catties. Some lucky fellows succeeded, others could not; the former were marched up to the table for registry, and there underwent a process novel to me: a man at the side of the table stood ready with a piece of chalk, of one or two catties weight; with this he rubbed the balls of the thumbs and fingers of both hands of the recruit long and hard, and when done to the performer's satisfaction, the same was shown up to an old orderly, who had what appeared the final or passing registry-book. The old fellow, not having glasses, nosed the chalked finger-balls, and accepted or rejected the trembling candidate. I have not been able to learn the magic touch of the chalk."

On the 11th, late in the afternoon, three foreign gentlemen, while walking on the Lapa, were attacked and severely beaten by some vagabonds, with evident intention to rob. This being done beyond the jurisdiction of the Portuguese government no redress has been obtained.

On the 19th, an easterly gale was experienced in and off Macao; very little damage, however, seems to have been sustained.

No information of the expedition to the north has yet transpired here; there have been some rumors; probably the first news will be from Peking or Teëntsin; and it may now be daily expected.

A small blockading force remains at the Bogue, while the chief part of the squadron has proceeded north—the Blenheim and Nimrod sailed very recently. A list of the forces will appear in our next.

Cochinchinese steamers. From a late number of the Singapore Free Press, we learn that his majesty Mingming, king of Cochinchina, has purchased from the Netherlands' government in Java the steamer *Van der Capellan*, to be used as a ship-of-war. The king already possesses several ships of war built after European models, as does also his Siamese majesty; and the latter, we have little doubt, will soon imitate the other by purchasing, or having built, steam vessels. The Cochinchinese government has also purchased a small English steamer. By late accounts from Bengal one of his Cochinchinese majesty's men-of-war was at Calcutta. "She has a mandarin, two captains, [the difference between a mandarin and a captain?] and 108 men on board, and carries 32 twelve pounders and several swivels."

Cochinchinese envoys. Hitherto, we know not for how long a period, a Cochinchinese envoy with tribute has been admitted to Peking once in two years. Henceforth, "in order to show forth kindness and benevolence to men from afar," it has been signified by an imperial decree that a visit once in four years shall suffice. Jealousy, and the dread of visitors, not unlikely may have contributed to this new regulation.

Barbarians in Szechuen. A censor has brought to the ears of his majesty complaints against the soldiery in Szechuen. Certain *e min*, 'barbarian people,' not foreigners (mark that, gentle reader) but native *e min*, inhabitants of the mountains, have encroached on the possessions of the flowery inhabitants their neighbors, and the troops have refused or neglected to drive them back to the hills. For this negligence, the officers in charge of the troops, have been reprimanded. The 'barbarians on all sides must be kept in order.'

Small feet and broad sleeves. Fancy and fashion, among the accomplished daughters of Han, are sometimes as uncontrolable as they are troublesome. No one has ever been able to give any satisfactory reasons for the origin of the 'golden lillies.' They have always been supposed indigenous here, and have ever been confined to Chinese soil; but now, strange to say, serious apprehensions are entertained, by the emperor, lest they come into vogue among the people of his own native land. It is most true, nay 't is pitiful, that the fair, and once undeformed, daughters of the Mantchous, their fathers the masters of the Chinese, are now aping the manners of the conquered, not only by compressing their feet, but also by wearing broad sleeves. O tempora! O mores! To check these misdemeanors, an edict (the first and the last of Chinese remedies) was issued in 1838; but alas, with little effect; and consequently the emperor has again issued his orders for a reform, threatening the heads of families with degradation and punishment, if they do not put a stop to these gross illegalities! And, arguing *ad hominem*, he tells the fair ones that, by persisting in these vulgar habits, they will debar themselves from the possibility of being selected as ladies of honor for the inner palace, at the approaching presentation which is to take place this year. *See Gazette for January 19th*, 1840.

A eunuch. Last year an old eunuch, attached to the Yuenming yuen, having reported himself sick, obtained leave of absence from his usual routine of duties, with permission to remain in his own private apartments. Not content with these 'favors,' he contrived to abscond; but on reaching his native district the magistrate forthwith procured his apprehension, and handed him over to that active and zealous minister Keshen, by whom, with a memorial, the poor old man was sent back to the emperor.

Lieutenant-governor Choo. This man, memorable in the annals of Canton, and whose conduct and farewell address must still be in the memory of many of our readers, has at length bid his long farewell 'to this windy dusty world,' and gone to ramble among the immortals. His death occurred last February.

THE

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ART. I. *Narrative of a four years'. war between Burmah and China: translated from the Burmese Chronicles by colonel Burney.*

BEFORE introducing this narrative, it seems necessary that an outline of the battle-ground be drawn, in order better to understand the various positions and movements of the contending armies, from the commencement of the war in 1765, to when it was terminated in 1769, by the ratification of a treaty of peace. Our best guides for the boundaries of Yunnan are the maps of Du Halde and a MS. one by Le Tsinglae. According to the latter, there are, west of the Mekon, six rivers which flow from Yunnan into Burmah. These are, naming them in order from Mekon or *Kewlung keäng* 九龍江; 1. The *Manloo ho* 漫路河; 2. *Mängleën ho* 孟連河; 3. *Nanting ho* 南汀河; 4. *Loo keäng* 潞江; 5. *Lungchuen keäng* 龍川江; and, 6. *Pinlang keäng* 檳榔江. The Kewlung crosses the southern boundary of Yunnan in lat. 21° 40′ N., and about 15° west of Peking. The Manloo and the Mängleën flow southward only a few leagues before they cross the boundary of the province; they are perhaps the headwaters of the Meinam. The Nanting, called Nanbeng and Nanpeng, is also a small river, and probably enters the Loo, which is, apparently, the Salween: in the narrative it is called Táló. Both it and the Lungchuen (called Mówún by the Burmans) cross the southern line of Yunnan in about lat. 23° 45′ N., one near 18°, and the other about 19° west from Peking. Pinlang

leaves Yunnan near the southwest extremity of the province, lat. 24° 23′ N., and lon. 19° W. from Peking. The Irawadi, according to Burmese maps, flows some leagues further westward; and is supposed, like the Salween and the Mekon on the east, and the Brahmapútra on the west, to have its origin in those high regions of central Asia, where the Yellow river and the Yangtsze keäng take their rise. It was along the southern line of Yunnan, and chiefly upon the borders of these great rivers, and upon the Irawadi, that most of the battles were fought. Mogaung is said to be five or six days' journey west from Tsantă, 盞達, which, according to the Chinese map before referred to, stands near lat. 24° 52′ N., and lon. 18° 20′ W. of Peking. Several of the Shan towns are directly south of Tsantă. From the narrative, we are about to introduce, it will be seen that there is no great difficulty in passing into China through Burmah. We hope more peaceful intercourse erelong may be enjoyed on those frontiers than that which forms the subject of the following article, extracted from the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, No. 26, for Feb. 1837. Turn we now to the narrative of colonel Burney. He says—

The causes of that war are said to have been these: a Chinese named Lôlí came to Bamoo and Kaungtoûn, with 300 or 400 oxen laden with silk and other merchandise, and applied to the Bamoo authorities for permission to construct a bridge, to the north of the village of Nánbá, in order to enable him to cross the Tápeng river. The Bamoo officers observed, that they must submit the application to the ministers at Ava; and Lôlí, considering this answer as equivalent to a refusal, was impertinent and disrespectful. The Bamoo officers, suspecting from Lôlí's manner, language, and appearance, that he was not a common merchant, but some Chinese officer of rank, seized and sent him to Ava with a report of his conduct. He was confined at Ava in the usual manner; but after a full inquiry and examination, nothing of political importance transpiring, he was sent back to Bamoo, with orders that he should be allowed to trade as usual, and that if he really wished to construct a bridge, which however appeared to the ministers to be only an idle boast on his part, he should be permitted to do so wherever he pleased. On his return to Bamoo, he declared that some of his goods which had been detained there when he was sent to Ava, were missing or destroyed, and insisted upon compensation. The Bamoo officers replied, that when he proceeded to Ava he took only five or six of his men, leaving all the rest in charge of his goods, and that if there really was any deficiency, he must look for it among his own people, and not

among the Burmese. Lôlí left Bamoo much dissatisfied, and on his arrival at Mó-myín, he complained to the Chinese governor there, that Chinese traders were ill treated by the Bamoo officers, who had also sought pretenses for accusing him and destroying his merchandise.

He then went to Yunnan and preferred the same complaint to the tsungtŭh, or governor-general there. The governor observed, that he would wait a little and see if anything else occurred to prove the truth of Lôlí's statement, that Chinese were ill used in the Burmese dominions, and not permitted to trade according to established custom. About the same time, an affray took place between some Burmese and a Chinese caravan of upwards of 2000 ponies with one Lôtárí as their chief, which had come to Kyaíng-toŭn and put up to the north of that town at the great bazar of Kat-thwáh. The Burmese had bought some goods on credit, and refused payment when demanded by the Chinese. In this affray a Chinese was killed, and the chief being absent at Ava at the time, Lôtárí applied to the subordinate Burmese officers for justice, according to Chinese custom. These officers decided, that the man who had committed the murder should, agreeably to Burmese custom, pay the price of a life,—namely, 300 ticals. Lôtárí refused money, and insisted upon the man being delivered over to the Chinese; but the Burmese officers replied that such was not their law, and then proposed that the man who had committed the murder should be put to death. Lôtárí declared that this would not satisfy them, and returned to China with some of the principal traders, and complained to the governor of Yunnan.* That officer being urged, at the same time, by the ex-chiefs of Bamoo, Theinní, Kyaíng-toŭn, and other subjects of Ava, who had taken refuge in China, to invade the Burmese dominions, made such a report of the abovementioned circumstances to the emperor of China, as to induce his majesty to order an army to march and take possession of Kyaíng-toŭn. The governor put up a writing on the bank of the Tálô river containing these words: "deliver a man to us in the room of our man who was killed, or we will attack you;" and shortly after, a Chinese army under a general named Yín tálôyé, consisting of 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse, advanced and invested Kyaíng-toŭn. The chief of Kyaíng-toŭn at the same time revolted and joined the Chinese.

* Within the last six years two cases of accidental homicide occurred at Ava, of a Burmese killing a Chinese; and on both occasions, the Chinese residents successfully used their influence with the Burmese prince, Men-tha-gyíh, to have the Burmese executed. Nothing would satisfy the Chinese but the death of the individuals who had slain their countrymen.

Shen-bú-yen, the king of Ava, on hearing of this invasion, dispatched, on the 28th of December, 1765, eleven divisions of troops, consisting of 20,000 foot, 200 war elephants, and 2000 horse, under general Let-wé-weng-dô-mhú Ne-myó-tsí-thú,* to relieve Kyaíng-toŭn. The Burmese general, on approaching that place, contrived to send in some men in disguise, and arrange a combined attack on the Chinese besieging force. Their cavalry, which was numerous, was charged by the Burmese with elephants, and the Chinese being defeated, retired to the bank of the Tálô river, where they took post behind some mud-works which they threw up. The Burmese general again attacked them and drove them to the bank of the Mekon or Great Camboja river, where the Chinese army again took post; but they were attacked here also, their general Yín tálôyé killed, and their army driven back to China with much loss, and in great disorder. The Burmese army then returned to Ava, where they arrived on the 8th of April, 1766. Thín-wí-buáh and Dô-bayá, the chiefs of Kyaíng-toŭn and Lú-ta-tshay-nhít-paná sent excuses, stating that they had been forced to join the Chinese; but the king of Ava disbelieved them.

In January, 1767, intelligence was received by the king of Ava that another Chinese army, consisting of 250,000 foot and 25,000 horse, had entered the Burmese dominions, and that on their arrival on or near Shyá-mue-loŭn mountain, to the westward of the Mekon river, a part of the army, consisting of 150,000 foot and 15,000 horse, under general Yín-tsŭ-tá-yeng, was detached by the route of Nuay-leít near Mô-wún against Bamoo. His majesty had before, anticipating the return of the Chinese, ordered Kaung-toŭn to be reinforced and filled with provisions, so as to enable it to hold out under its governor Bala-men-den, and now directed that two armies should proceed from Ava, one by water up the Irawadi to Bamoo under the let-wé-weng-mhú, and the other by the land route to the westward of the river, under the wún-gyíh Mahá-tsí-thú, who should be joined by all the force he might find at Mô-gaung, Mó-nhyen and other towns in that neighborbood, and then march by the Tsantă route, and attack the Chinese. On the 30th January, 1767, the wún-gyíh marched with 22 divisions, consisting of 20,000 foot, 2,000 horse, and 200 war elephants; and on the 4th February, the water force, under the let-wé-weng-dô-mhú, consisting of 11 divisions,

* The Let-wè-weng-dô-mhú is the officer in command of the northern entrance to the palace. The words mean literally, "left-hand royal entrance chief," and the dô, or royal, is often omitted.

15,000 men, and with 300 boats carrying guns and jinjals, proceeded up the Irawadi towards Bamoo.

From Shyá-mue-loŭn mountain another portion of the Chinese army, consisting of 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot, under general Tsheng tálôyé marched by the Tsantă route against Mó-gaung. A body of 5,000 horse and 50,000 foot also took post on Thínzá-nuay-lein mountain, whilst the force under general Yín-tsú-tá-yeng, when it reached Bamoo, stockaded itself along the bank of the river at the spot where the mart is held.

The governor of Kaung-toŭn, not having sufficient force to go out and attack the Chinese, employed himself in repairing the old and constructing new defenses, &c., about the town. The Chinese, leaving 3000 horse and 30,000 foot with three generals to defend their stockade at Bamoo, advanced with 70,000 foot and 7,000 horse under the command of the general himself, and invested Kaung-toŭn, which they assaulted with scaling ladders, axes, choppers, hooks and ropes; but the garrison, as previously arranged, met the assailants, not only with a heavy fire of cannon and musketry, but with large boilers of hot dammer and molten lead, and long pieces of heavy timber, which they let fall upon them. The Chinese were driven back with great loss, declaring that the besieged were not men, but *nats* * or inferior celestial beings. The Chinese then stockaded themselves around Kaung-toŭn at a distance of more than 140 cubits.

The let-wé-weng-mhú, or Burmese general, commanding the water force from Ava, on arriving at the mouth of the Nat-myet-nhá above the town of Shuegú, stopped to allow all his boats to come up, and determined, in the meantime, to throw into Kaung-toŭn a supply of ammunition. He selected three officers who volunteered to perform this service with three fast-pulling boats. The Chinese had only three boats, which they had constructed on their arrival at Bamoo. The Burmese volunteers succeeded at daybreak one morning to pass through the Chinese besieging force stationed to the westward of Kaung-toŭn, and entered that town with the supply of ammunition, as well as with presents of dresses and money, which the king of Ava had sent to the governor. On the same night the Chinese force made another unsuccessful attack. The governor arranged with the Burmese volunteers a plan of operations,—namely, that the water force from Ava should first go and attack the Chinese posted at Bamoo, and then fall on the rear of the force besieging

* The Burmese *nat* is the same as the Hindú *devah*, and most of the Burmese nats are taken from the Hindú mythology.

Kaung-toŭn, from which the governor should at the same time make a sortie. The volunteers again at daybreak passed through the Chinese force stationed to the northwest of the town, and rejoined the water force. The general of that force, entirely approving of the governor of Kaung-toŭn's plan of operations, now moved his fleet of boats close along the western bank of the Irawadi to Bamoo, and then landing his soldiers under a heavy fire from his boats, he stormed and carried all the Chinese stockades. The Chinese general before Kaung-toŭn, dispatched upwards of 1000 horse in support of Bamoo, but the Burmese general placed 2000 troops to prevent the Chinese crossing Len-bangya river, and the Chinese commander recalled them.

The Burmese general then selected three bold and trusty men to pass through the Chinese force before Kaung-toŭn at night, and report to the governor the fall of Bamoo, and the intention of the Burmese general to attack on a certain day the besieging force. On the appointed day, the Burmese general, leaving one division of his force at Bamoo, marched with the remaining 9 divisions and attacked the Chinese before Kaung-toŭn, and at the same time the garrison of Kaung-toŭn sallied out. The Chinese, although greatly superior in numbers, were much disheartened at the loss of their stockades at Bamoo, and after three days' fighting, the whole of the Chinese works before Kaung-toŭn also were taken. Ten of their generals and more than 10,000 men were killed, and the Chinese, after setting fire to the boats which they had been building, closed round their general, and, taking him up, fled to their force on Thín-zá-nuay-lein mountain. The Burmese followed the Chinese, and driving them out of their stockades on that mountain, pursued them as far as Mó-wún, taking a great quantity of arms, prisoners, and horses.

The land force of 22 divisions, which marched from Ava under the wún-gyíh Mahá-tsí-thú, having arrived at Mō-gaung, after repairing the defenses of the town, and leaving a sufficient garrison in it, proceeded to meet the Chinese army, which was advancing by the Tsantă route. On crossing the Kat-kyo-waing-mô, the wún-gyíh heard that the Chinese army was near Lízô mountain, and sent a small party in advance to reconnoitre. This party before it came to Lízô fell in with a party of 1000 horse, which the Chinese general Tsheng tálôye had also sent in advance, for the same purpose of reconnoitring, and the Burmese, drawing the Chinese into a narrow pass between two mountains, where their horse could not form line, attacked and defeated them. Judging, however, from this reconnoi-

tring party only consisting of 1000 horse, that the Chinese army must be of great force, the Burmese party stopped on the bank of the Nán-nyen river, and sent some scouts on in advance. These returned with the intelligence, that, on ascending the top of a mountain and climbing some trees, they had seen the Chinese army, which amounted to about 20,000 horse, and 100,000 foot. The wún-gyíh then appointed six divisions of his army to proceed with celerity by the right, and six by the left, round each side of the Lízô mountain, whilst, with the remaining ten divisions, he advanced by the centre route slowly, and occasionally firing cannon. The Chinese general hearing of the approach of the Burmese, left one third of his army to take care of his stockades in Lízô, and with the remainder advanced to meet the Burmese, and took post on the eastern bank of the Nán-nyen river. The Burmese force under the wún-gyíh came up and joined the reconnoitring party on the western bank of the same river, whilst the right and left wings, which had reached Lízô by marching round the rear of the Chinese main army, suddenly attacked and carried the stockades there. The Chinese in those stockades believing that the principal portion of their own force was in front of them, were completely taken by surprise, and fled and joined their army under general Tsheng tálôyé. These wings of the Burmese army then fell in with another Chinese force, which was coming from China with a convoy of provisions for their army, and took possession of the whole of the horses, mules, and provisions. The Burmese generals reported their successes to their commander-in-chief, the wún-gyíh, by a swift horseman, and proposed that their force should now fall on the rear of the Chinese army stationed on the east bank of the Nán-nyen, whilst the wún-gyíh attacked it in front. The wún-gyíh sent the messenger back approving of the plan of attack, and fixing the day on which it should take place. On the appointed day, the two wings of the Burmese army fell on the rear of the Chinese on two different points, whilst the wún-gyíh crossed the Nán-nyen and attacked them in front with the main army. The Chinese generals seeing their army placed between two fires, retreated and took post at a spot beyond the Lízô mountain; but the wún-gyíh here again attacked them, and completely routed their army, 100,000 men of which fled to Tsantă and there threw up new works. The wún-gyíh halted his army at Mainglá, in order to recruit it.

The wún-gyíh having been taken unwell, the king of Ava recalled him, and appointed the let-lé-wengdô-mhú, who was in command of the Bamoo water force, to go and relieve the wún-gyíh and

with orders to attack and destroy the Chinese army, and then take possession of the eight Shan towns, Hóthá, Láthá, Móná, Tsantá, Maing-mô, Tsi-guen, Kaing-máh, and Mó-wún. The let-wé-weng-dô-mhú proceeded with his ten divisions from Bamoo and joined the wún-gyíh's army at Mainglá, and soon after advanced and attacked the Chinese force at Tsantă under general Tsheng tálôyé, which had been suffering much from want of provisions, the inhabitants of the eight Shan towns having refused to comply with the Chinese general's requisitions, declaring that they were subjects of the king of Ava, and afraid to assist the Chinese. The Chinese were forced to retreat, and the Burmese pursued them as far as Yunnan, taking a multitude of prisoners, horses, arms, &c. The let-wé-weng-mhú, after taking possession of the eight Shan towns, which had heretofore thrown off their allegiance to Ava, joined another Burmese general, the wún-gyíh Mahá Th'-ha-thúra, who had been sent with an army by the route of La-ta-tshay-nhít-paná. The two generals attacked another Chinese force of upwards of 50,000 men, which was posted on a high mountain to the northest of Theinní, and one-third only of these Chinese escaped into their own country. The let-wé-weng-dô-mhú and the wún-gyíh Mahá Thí-ha-thúra having completed his majesty's service, then returned, with the prisoners, guns, &c., which they had taken, to Ava, where they arrived on the 21st May, 1767.

In the month of November, 1767, another Chinese army, consisting of 60,000 horse and 600,000 foot, under the emperor of China's son-in-law, Myeng Khoún-yé, and his brother Tsú tálôyé, entered the Burmese dominions by the Theinní route, accompanied by the ex-chief of that place, Nga-aung-duon; 100,000 men were sent at the same time against Bamoo by the Thínzá-nuay-lein route. On this Chinese army attacking Theinní, the governor and other officers evacuated the place with most of the inhabitants. The Chinese general, Myeng Khoún-yé then advanced with 30,000 horse and 300,000 foot by the Thíbô road, whilst the other general, Tsú tálôyé, having placed a garrison with the ex-chief in Theinní, constructed, to the southwest of that town, some extensive stockades, in which he took post with 20,000 horse and 200,000 foot, and made arrangements for forwarding supplies of provisions to that portion of their army which was in advance. When a report of this intelligence was received at Ava from the chief of Tíbô, the king appointed 30 divisions, consisting of 30 war elephants, 3000 horse and 30,000 foot, under the command of the wún-gyíh Mahá Tsí-thú, to go and

meet the Chinese army advancing by Theinní and Tíbô. This army marched from Ava on the 24th December, 1767. Two days after, another army of 20 divisions, 200 war elephants, 2000 horse, and 20,000 men, under the wún-gyíh Mahá Thíha-thúra, marched by Shue-zá-yan, up Nyaung-ben-gyíh and Pô-gyó, towards the rear of the advancing Chinese army, in order, after intercepting their communications with Theinní and cutting off their supplies, to attack the Chinese in the rear. Four days after, a third army, consisting of 200 war elephants, 2,000 horse and 1,000 men, was detached under the command of the let-wé-weng-dô-mhú, with orders to advance by the Mómeit road, and attack the rear of a Chinese force which was advancing by that road.

On the wún-gyíh Mahá Tsí-thú arriving at Ban-gyí beyond Thíbô, he sent forward seven divisions of his army which fell in with the Chinese and were driven back. The wún-gyíh then advanced with his whole army, and made an attack on the outposts of the Chinese force, which were posted on Gout mountain to the westward of Thíbô, for the purpose of drawing the enemy out; but the Chinese general, assailing the wún-gyíh with an immense superiority of force, defeated the Burmese with loss, and drove them back in great disorder. Three regiments were taken prisoners, being unable to extricate themselves from the midst of the Chinese army, which they had penetrated in a charge. The wún-gyíh collected his troops and retired, thinking only of defending himself. The Chinese general pursued the Burmese with increased confidence, until the advance of his army reached Bout-thek-kay-byen. The wún-gyíh sent notice to Ava, that every attempt which the Burmese had made to stop the Chinese had failed; that they had penetrated as far as Bout-thek-kay-byen; and that he had taken post at Loŭngá-byen-gyíh. When this intelligence reached Ava on the 9th of March, 1768, the whole of the ministers and officers were much alarmed, and advised his majesty to fortify the city, and make preparations for receiving the Chinese, who were but two or three days' journey distant. The king abused his officers, and declared that if the Chinese came, he and the four princes, his brothers, alone would meet and destroy them.

The wún-gyíh Mahá Thí-ha-thúra, who was ordered to proceed with his force to the rear of the Chinese army and cut off their supplies, sent a strong detachment in advance under the tsit-kê-gyíh,* Tein-gyá-men-gaung, to reconnoitre. This officer reported, that the Chinese were advancing in great force, and that he would stockade

* Lieutenant-general in war.

himself and oppose them. The wún-gyíh fearing to divide his force, ordered the tsit-kê-gyíh to fall back, but the latter, being of opinion that his retreating from the immediate vicinity of the enemy would encourage them, and make them believe that the Burmese force was inconsiderable, urged the wún-gyíh to advance, and threw up a stockade with large bamboos. The Chinese came up at night and repeatedly attacked this stockade, but without success. As soon as the wún-gyíh learnt the tsit-kê-gyíh's determination to make a stand, he pushed on with the rest of his force, which accelerated its pace on hearing the sound of cannon and musketry, and the moment it reached the tsit-kê-gyíh's stockade, attacked the Chinese with great impetuosity. The Chinese were defeated and forced to retire, and after the Burmese army had recruited a little, the wún-gyíh followed the enemy, and attacked and drove them out of Lá-shi or Lá-shyô, where they had stockaded themselves; and again out of Kyú shyô, until they took shelter in Theinní. The wun-gyíh followed and took post on the bank of the Nán-beng or Nán-peng river to the southeast of Theinní, sending three divisions of his army under Tein-gyá-men-gaung to the west of the Salueen river at the Kuon-loŭn-dá-gú ford, with orders to stop and cut off a convoy of provisions which was coming to the Chinese. This service was successfully performed, and the Chinese general Tsú tálôyé and other officers finding their own supplies intercepted, were unable to spare any for their army which was in advance under Myeng kounyé. The Chinese near Theinní were soon in great distress from a scarcity of provisions, and too uneasy to come out and attack the Burmese. Hearing a report also, that Teingyá-men-gaung was coming to attack them with 1,000 *musth* elephants, the whole Chinese camp were watching the clouds. At this time, the let-wé-weng-mhú, who had marched by the Mó-meit road, arrived with his ten divisions, and joined the wún-gyíh Mahá Thíha-thúra before Theinní. The let-wé-weng-mhú proposed to the wún-gyíh to let him march on at once with thirty divisions, and fall on the rear of the Chinese advanced force near Thíbô; but the wún-gyíh was of opinion, that the Chinese near Theinní should first be disposed of, and believing that the town of Theinní, in which Shans and Chinese were intermingled, could be more easily carried than the Chinese works outside under their general Tsú tálôyé, the wún-gyíh stormed Theinní with three divisions of 10,000 men each, and captured it with the whole of the Chinese magazines. The ex-chief, several Chinese officers of rank, and as many of the garrison as could escape, fled into the Chinese

entrenchments beyond the town, but nearly 2,000 or 3,000 Shans and Chinese were killed.

The wún-gyíh Mahá Thíha-thúra then made arrangements for depriving the Chinese camp of their supply of water, and posted divisions of his army in a line along the Nán-beng river, from the south of Theinní from Kyaŭk Koŭn on that river to the east of the town, covering at the same time the Nán-tú river, and planting troops at every road or passage leading down to the points at which the Chinese used to come and take water. The Chinese army soon began to experience great distress, no provisions being able to reach them from the rear, as well as being in want of water; and when the wún-gyíh ascertained this fact through some prisoners who had come over to the Burmese in search of water, he attacked the Chinese entrenchments at three points with more than thirty divisions and captured them. The emperor of China's brother, Tsú tálôyé, finding the army unmanageable, cut his throat with his own sword and died. The Chinese fled, pursued by the Burmese, who took a great many prisoners, together with arms, elephants, and horses, and killed more than they could number. The Chinese generals Yaúk-an, Khé-wa, Pan-the, Yin-tsoun-yé, Yín-tá-yí, and Kuen lôyé were also taken prisoners with their chargers.

The wún-gyíh Mahá Thíha-thúra then, leaving a strong garrison in Theinní, advanced against the Chinese army under Myeng koun-yé. The other wún-gyíh, Mahá Tsí-thú, who had posted himself on Loŭngâ-byen-gyíh, learning by the return of the messenger whom he had sent to Ava, that his majesty was highly displeased with him, determined to make another attack on the Chinese; and, marching round the rear of Thoŭnzay, attacked them with three divisions on both flanks and centre, but owing to the great force of the enemy, the Burmese were repulsed, and succeeded only in killing 10,000 or 20,000 men. The wún-gyíh rallied his troops, and after recruiting them a little, arranged another attack. He sent 4000 men secretly at night to the rear of the Chinese army round their right and left flanks, with orders to be concealed during the night, and at day-break to fall upon the right and left wings of the enemy; whilst the wún-gyíh, on hearing the sound of their attack, would advance with the rest of the army in three divisions, and attack the Chinese in front. This attack succeeded completely; and the weapons of the Burmese were so smeared with the blood of the Chinese, that they could not hold them. The Chinese had before suffered greatly from want of provisions, and their general, now believing that the

Burmese from Theinní had arrived in his rear, deemed it prudent to fall back with the whole of his thirty divisions of 10,000 men each. The wún-gyíh continued to attack the retreating enemy, and the whole of the woods and hills were covered with the dead bodies of the Chinese. The Chinese general Myeng kounyé, collected as many of his men as he could, retired by Taung-bain, avoiding the road to Theinní, and on arriving at Maing-yoŭn and Maing-yín, took post on the top of a hill. The wún-gyíh Mahá Tsí-thú in the pursuit of the Chinese met the other wún-gyíh Mahá Thíha-thúra advancing with his force, at Naung-bô to the westward of Lá-shyó. The two armies united and marched towards the Chinese general at Maing-yoŭn and Maing-yín, but as soon as he heard of their approach, he fled into China. The two wún-gyíhs, finding the Chinese had retired, and that the king's service was completed, returned with all their prisoners, arms, &c., to Ava, where they arrived on the 6th of March, 1768.

The Chinese force of upwards of 100,000 men which had marched against Bamoo by the Thínzá-nuay-lein road, repeatedly attacked that place, which was so skillfully defended by Bula Men-den, that they could not carry it, and after losing a great many men, and suffering much from scarcity of provisions, they heard of the flight of the large Chinese army under the king's brother and son-in-law, and immediately raised the siege of Bamoo, and fled to China.

For more than twelve months there was a cessation of hostilities between the two countries, owing apparently to a communication sent from Ava to China by eight Chinese prisoners, who were released for that purpose. But about the end of 1769, intelligence was received from Bamoo, that another Chinese army of 50,000 horse and 500,000 foot was marching against the Burmese dominions under three generals, Thú kounyé, A kounyé, and Yuon kounyé. On the 21st October, the king of Ava sent a force of 100 war elephants, 1,200 cavalry and 12,000 foot under the amyauk-wún,* Ne Myó-thiha-thú, to Mó-gaung, by the route to the westward of the Irawadi. Three days after, another force amounting to 52,000 men under the wún-gyíh Mahá Thíha-thúra proceeded by water to Bamoo; and in another three days, two more divisions proceeded with the cavalry and elephants under the chief of Mo-meit and Kyô-den-yázá, by the road to the westward of the Irawadi.

The three Chinese generals, on reaching Yôyí mountain to the north of the Kízô, detached 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot under

* Chief of artillery.

the kyen-ngan officer, T'sheng táyin, to advance by the Mó-gaung road, and cutting timber and planks in the most convenient spots, to bring them to the bank of the Irawadi, and leave the general with 10,000 carpenters and sawyers, to construct large boats. The main army then marched on towards Bamoo, and after throwing up very extensive stockades at Shue-nyaung-beng, twelve miles to the east of Kaung-toŭn, and leaving 100,000 foot and 10,000 horse to defend them under Yuon kounyé, the rest of the army, amounting to 30,000 horse and 300,000 foot, under the other two principal generals and ten officers of high rank, advanced and invested Kaung-toŭn towards the land side. Also 500 boats, as soon as they were built in the upper part of the Irawadi, were brought down and placed with 50,000 men under Yi táyín, the governor of Thú-kyeng, so as to invest Kaung-toŭn on the river side. Kaung-toŭn was repeatedly attacked by the Chinese by land and water, but its governor Bula Men-den, defended it so bravely and skillfully, that the Chinese were obliged at last to confine their operations to keeping up an incessant fire against the place, from the positions occupied by their land and water force.

As soon as the wún-gyíh Mahá Thíha-thúra, who was advancing with the water force from Ava, heard that the Chinese were closely besieging Kaung-toŭn, he ordered Tsán-lha-gyíh, Dhammatá, Biniá Uh, and Shue-daung-ngay with four war-boats and all the boats which had joined him from the different towns on his route from Ava, to proceed with expedition before the rest of the army, and endeavor to throw into Kaung-toŭn a supply of ammunition and provisions. These four officers attacked the Chinese boats in front of Kaung-toŭn, and after defeating and driving them off, and capturing many, succeeded in relieving Kaung-toŭn. Tsán-lha-gyíh then stockaded himself with 5,000 men in the rear of the Chinese besieging force, on a spot to the south of Kaung-toŭn, and north of the mouth of the Tsín-gan or Tsín-khan river, whilst Dhammatá and Biniá Uh with their boats, and the Chinese boats which they had captured, took post near the island of Kyun-dô on the side of the Irawadi, opposite to that on which Kaung-toŭn stands. The Chinese water-force returned to its former position in front of Kaung-toŭn, and 40,000 or 50,000 Chinese made an attack on Tsán-lha-gyíh's stockade, but being unable to carry it took post round it.

The wún-gyíh being joined at Tagaung and Malí by the elephants and cavalry which had marched from Ava by the eastern route, detached 100 war elephants, 1,000 horse and 10,000 men under the

let-wé-weng-mhú with orders to proceed to Mo-meit, and after putting that place in a state of defense, to watch the state of affairs and seize any opportunity which might offer for attacking the Chinese army. The wún-gyíh himself then advanced with his boats, and on arriving near Kaung-toŭn, took post near the island opposite that place, towards the western bank of the Irawadi. He then ordered 1,500 horse and 15,000 foot, under the Shye-weng-mhú and Tein-gyá-men-gaung, to cross over and land on the eastern side of the Irawadi, and, marching round the rear of Moyú on the north bank of the Len-ban-gya, to attack any convoy of supplies and provisions which might be coming to the enemy from China, and afterwards fall on the rear of the Chinese army.

The force which marched from Ava to Mó-gaung under the amyauk-wún, after placing Mó-gaung in a state of defense, advanced to meet the Chinese army coming in that direction. Learning from his scouts that the Chinese force of 10,000 horse and 100,000 foot under general Tsheng tálôyé, which had been detached towards Mó-gaung, had halted on the east bank of the Irawadi, near Naung-tá-lô island, above Kat-kyo-wain-mô, in order to construct a bridge over the river, which is narrow there, the amyauk-wún rapidly advanced with his whole force and took post near Peng-tháh, an island lying near the west bank, and above and below it along the river, whence he prevented the Chinese from building their bridge or crossing the Irawadi.

The shye-weng-dô-mhú, having crossed the Irawadi river with his 15,000 men, and landed at the landing-place of the Bamoo mart, marched round the north of the Len-ban-gya stream, and cut off the supplies of the Chinese, capturing every convoy of men, horses, and mules which was approaching by the Maing-tein road, and then turned round to attack the rear of the Chinese army; whilst the let-wé-weng-mhú, who had been detached to Mó-meit, having put that town in a state of defense, and placed in it a strong garrison with its chief, was advancing towards Kaung-toŭn with his ten divisions. The Chinese generals, Thú kounyé and A kounyé, hearing that the shye-weng-mhú and let-wé-weng-mhú were advancing in two directions from the rear to attack them, sent out a force of 5,000 horse and 50,000 foot under Yô táyín, the governor of Lhyín-yín, to meet the let-wé-weng-mhú, and another force of the same strength under Ko táyín, to meet the shye-weng-mhú.

As the let-wé-weng-mhú was advancing from Mó-meit, and had crossed to the northward of the Tsín-khan river, he fell in with

5,000 Chinese horse which were preceding the Chinese general Yó táyín, and immediately attacked them with 100 elephants and 2,000 musketeers and dispersed them. He then sent against the right and left flanks of the Chinese force 500 Cassay and 500 Burmese horse, whilst he himself penetrated into the very centre of the Chinese force with the rest of his ten divisions. The Chinese were completely defeated and driven back with great loss, and the let-wé-weng-mhú halted his force, and took post on the north bank of the Tsín-khan river.

The shye-weng-mhú also fell in with the Chinese force sent against him at a spot beyond the Nán-ma-buê river, to the eastward of the great Chinese stockade at Shue-nyaung-beng, and, dividing his force into three portions of five divisions each, received the Chinese attack. The Chinese horse advanced with great impetuosity, but being received by the fire of 3,000 musketeers from the Burmese right and left wings, they were driven back with the loss of 500 or 600 men. The whole Burmese force then advanced and attacked the Chinese, and forced them to fall back to their great stockade at Shue-nyaung-beng with a heavy loss. This stockade being as large and extensive as a city, the shye-weng-mhú halted and took post on the east side of the Nán-ma-buê river.

On the let-wé-weng-mhú then sending out a party of 100 horse to open a communication with the shye-weng-mhú, the latter reported that all the supplies of the enemy had been intercepted, and their communication with the rear cut off, and proposed that the two Burmese forces should make a combined attack on the great Chinese stockades at Shue-nyaung-beng, as, after capturing them, the Chinese army before Kaung-toŭn would be closed like fish in a net. The let-wé-weng-mhú on receiving this proposition, summoned all his officers, and after proposing it to them, advanced with the whole of his ten divisions and joined the shye-weng-mhú's force before the great Chinese stockades at Shue-nyaung-beng. A plan of attack being then arranged, the Chinese stockades were stormed at four points, to the east by six regiments under the shye-weng-mhú, to the south by six regiments under Men-ngay-bala, to the west by seven regiments under the let-wé-weng-mhú, and to the north by six regiments under the Laín-bó. Some of the Burmese entered by ladders, whilst others entered by the openings which were made by elephants employed to butt against and throw down the gates and timbers. Although the Chinese, with their general and the whole of their officers, received the Burmese on the top of their works, and main-

tained a heavy fire, the Burmese urged on by their generals, the shye-weng-mhú and let-wé-weng-mhú, succeeded in entering the works, when the whole of the Chinese rushed out of the western face, and joined the army which was before Kaung-toŭn under their generals Thú kounyé and A kounyé. The Burmese generals, having captured the Chinese entrenchments at Shue-nyaung-beng, with an immense quantity of guns, jinjals, muskets and ammunition, also horses and mules, placed a garrison of 5,000 men in charge of these stockades. The let-wé-weng-mhú with ten divisions then proceeded and took post at Naung-byít on the north bank of the Tsín-khan river, four miles to the northeast of Kaung-toŭn; whilst the shye-weng-mhú with ten regiments took post on the bank of the Len-ban-gya river, opposite to Mó-yú village, and eight miles distant from Kaung-toŭn.

The wún-gyíh then sent eight divisions of his fleet under the mek-kha-rá-bó and seven other officers to attack the Chinese boats which were blockading Kaung-toŭn. This attack succeeded; but the Burmese having returned to the wún-gyíh with the boats and guns they had captured, the Chinese fleet rallied and resumed the blockade. The eight divisions of the Burmese fleet, as soon as they had refitted and repaired, again attacked the Chinese fleet, and after a severe engagement, forced the crews to jump on shore, and leave all their boats, guns, &c., of which the Burmese took possession. The wún-gyíh's army then opened a communication with the garrison of Kaung-toŭn, and the wún-gyíh sent ten regiments under Men-yé-zeya-gyô to cross the Irawadi below Kaung-toŭn to the eastward, and post themselves along the Tsín-khan river to the southeast of that town, so as to communicate with Naung-byit, where the let-wé-weng-mhú was stockaded. The wún-gyíh also sent ten regiments under Men-yé-yán-naung to cross the Irawadi above Kaung-toún, and to place themselves along the Len-ban-gya river to the north of that town, so as to communicate with Mo-yú, where the shye-weng-mhú was posted. The wún-gyíh also, in order to induce the Chinese to believe that strong reinforcements were daily joining him, made large parties of men, elephants, and horses cross over every day from the west to the east bank of the Irawadi, and at night brought them all secretly back again to the west.

The Chinese generals Thú kounyé and A kounyé, then summoned all their officers, and after describing the defeats which both their land and water forces had so repeatedly sustained, and the severe sufferings which their army was experiencing from the want

of every kind of supplies, which the Burmese had intercepted, and observing that even if they succeeded in an attempt to force the Burmese armies around them, the Chinese troops would be unable to go far, owing to the scarcity of provisions, the Chinese generals proposed to depute a mission to the Burmese camp, in order to open a negotiation for peace, and for a passage for their army to China. This proposition being unanimously approved of, the Chinese generals addressed the following letter to the Burmese commander-in-chief:

"The generals Thú kounyé, A kounyé, and Yuon kounyé to the (Burmese) general. When we three, who were appointed to march to Ava by three different routes, were about to commence our march in the year 1129, (1767-8,) the (Burmese) general sent eight Chinese with a letter, stating that all sentient beings desired rest. We therefore delayed our march a year. Even now, we should be happy only to see our dispute settled, which it will not be for years, if we go on fighting. We are not come, because we want the Burmese dominions. If the sun-descended king (of Ava) sends presents, as was the former custom, in the 16th year of the emperor of China's reign, we shall send presents in return. Our master the emperor's orders are: 'Fight, if they fight; or make peace, if they make peace.' We three generals, desirous of settling this dispute, have come with a moderate force only. In our Chinese country we are not accustomed to say more than one word, and are used to speak with truth and sincerity only. The present war has arisen from the circumstance of the chiefs of Theinní, Bamoo, Mó-gaung, and Kyaing-toŭn having come and invited us. We will deliver up the chiefs, subjects of the sun-descended king, who are now in China. Let them be restored to their former towns and situations. And after the (Burmese) general has delivered up to us all the Chinese officers who are in his hands, let him submit to the sun-descended king and great lord of righteousness, and we will also submit to our master, the emperor and lord of righteousness, that the two great countries may continue on the same terms as they always were before; that all sentient beings may be at rest; that there may be no war; and that the gold and silver road may be opened."

The Kue-chow bó coming to the advance of the Burmese army with the foregoing letter on the 3d December, 1769, the wún-gyih sent out some officers with a Chinese interpreter to meet the bearer of the letter. One of the Burmese officers, hearing that the object of the letter was to open a negotiation for peace, told the Kue-chow bó, that in order to establish an important precedent, such negotiation ought to take place on the boundary line between Ava and China. The Kue-chow bó replied, "very true, but only say where the boundary is." The Burmese asked, if Budhist pagodas were not built in the towns of Hó-thá, Lá-thá, Móná, Tsantă, Kaing-máh, Khantí, and Khan-nyen? The Kue-chow bó said that they were built, and that

they are still in existence. The Burmese rejoined, the Chinese do not build or worship Budhist pagodas, but the Burmese do; such buildings are erected throughout the king of Ava's dominions, and their existence in Hó-thá, Lá-thá, and the other towns, is a convincing proof of those places belonging to the king of Ava. The Chinese army ought therefore first to retreat beyond those towns, to the boundary of the Chinese empire at Mó-myín and Lyeng-thi. The Kue-chow bó then asked, if there is not such a place at Taroup-mó (Chinese point) in the king of Ava's dominions; and on being answered that there is, below the city of Prome,— he asked, if the Burmese history and ancient records do not mention, that in a former king of Paghan's time, a Chinese army invaded the country and marched along the Irawadi as far as that place, which was thence called Taroup-mó :— and on again being answered in the affirmative, he observed, an army under the son, brother, and son-in-law of Tshen byú-yen, king of Pegu, only came as far as those towns of Hó-thá, Lá-thá, &c., during the reign of that king, and built those pagodas; but if you refer to the spot only to which an army may have happened to reach, the Burmese army ought, on the same principle, to retreat, as far as Taroup-mó. The letter from the Chinese generals was then taken in to the wún-gyíh, who, after reading a translation of it which was made, sent word that all his officers had not yet joined him, and that the Kue-chow bó must come again in four or five days.

The wún-gyíh summoned thirty of his principal officers and consulted with them as to the answer which should be made to the letter from the Chinese generals. They all recommended that no terms should be given;— but the wún-gyíh observed, that whenever the Chinese had heretofore erred and attacked Ava, the Burmese kings restrained their feelings and granted them peace, recollecting the long friendship which had existed between the two countries;— that even if the Chinese force then before them were entirely destroyed, the empire of China would still possess abundance of troops and population;— that if the Burmese refused to grant terms to the Chinese, when asked by them, and cut them to pieces, such a proceeding would be recollected for many successive generations with feelings of animosity and desire to revenge on their part, and the inhabitants of both countries would continue deprived of peace and quiet. For these reasons, the wún-gyíh gave it as his opinion, that terms ought to be granted to the Chinese,— and declared, that if the king of Ava disapproved of the measure, he would take the whole respon-

sibility of it upon himself. The other officers acquiesced, and the wún-gyíh then addressed a long reply to the Chinese generals, recapitulating the causes and events of the war, and concluding with an inquiry, whether the Chinese generals desired to settle the dispute by arms or by negotiation. The Chinese generals Thú konnyé and A kounyé, (the latter here stated to be the emperor of China's son,) next sent a long letter addressed to the king of Ava, closing with a request, that officers of rank and intelligence on each side should meet and settle all points of difference; and with this condition, that the Chinese army should not retire until after the Burmese army was withdrawn; for, as the Chinese generals said, if we retreat first, we are afraid the Burmese army may follow and attack us, as was done at Theinní. This letter was brought to the outposts of tha Burmese camp by the Kue-chow bó and the interpreter Nga-myat-thunn-aung, on the 10th of December, 1769. The Burmese officers who came out and met him, at first refused to take the letter, observing that the business must be discussed with them; that the king of Ava ought not to be addressed; and that, in fact, they dare not forward any such letter to him. The Kue-chow bó assured the Burmese, that the person who had written the letter from the Chinese generals had made a mistake through ignorance, and that the letter was intended for the Burmese generals and officers. The Kue-chow bó further proposed, that if the Burmese really desired to make peace, they should permit the Chinese army to retire freely to a suitable situation, at which the negotiation might be concluded; and displayed great anxiety for peace as soon as possible. The Burmese officers sent him back with a promise only to report all he had said to their general.

The Kue-chow bó returned to the Burmese camp on the 12th of December, when the wún-gyíh delivered to him a letter for the Chinese generals, expressing his willingness to negotiate a peace. The moment the Chinese generals understood the contents, they sent the Kue-chow bó back to the wún-gyíh, to beg of him to fix the day on which certain officers of the two armies should meet and discuss the matter. The wún-gyíh appointed the following day.

On the 13th of December, 1769, fourteen Burmese and thirteen Chinese officers of rank met in a large shed, which was erected for the purpose at the southeast angle of the town of Kaung-toŭn. On the part of the Chinese, the Kue-chow bó was the principal speaker, and on that of the Burmese, the wún-dauk Ne-myó-mahá-thura. The Burmese demanded, that the chiefs of Theinní, Bamoo, and

Mò-gaung should be immediately made over to them. The Chinese said, that these chiefs were not in their camp, and affirmed with an oath, that they should be forwarded to Theinní and surrendered to the Burmese there, within six months from that date. The following treaty was then written on white paper with ink, and a copy delivered by the Chinese to the Burmese :—

"Wednesday, 13th of December, 1769, in the temporary building to the southeast of the town of Kaung-toŭn. His excellency, the general of the lord who rules over a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs in the great western kingdom, the sun-descended king of Ava, and master of the golden palace, having appointed, [here follow the names and titles of the fourteen Burmese officers,] and the generals of the master of the golden palace of China, who rules over a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs in the great eastern kingdom, having appointed, [here follow the names and titles of the thirteen Chinese officers,] they assembled in the large building, erected in a proper manner with seven roofs to the southeast of the town of Kaung-toŭn, on the 13th of December, 1769, to negotiate peace and friendship between the two great countries, and that the gold and silver road should be established agreeably to former custom. The troops of the sun-descended king and master of the golden palace of Ava, and those of the master of the golden palace of China, were drawn up in front of each other when this negotiation took place; and after its conclusion, each party made presents to the other, agreeably to former custom, and retired. All men, the subjects of the sun-descended king and master of the golden palace of Ava, who may be in any part of the dominions of the master of the golden palace of China, shall be treated according to former custom. Peace and friendship being established between the two great countries, they shall become one, like two pieces of gold united into one; and suitably to the establishment of the gold and silver road, as well as agreeably to former custom, the princes and officers of each country shall move their respective sovereign to transmit and exchange affectionate letters on gold, once every ten years."

The Burmese negotiators, after receiving the above treaty, applied to the Chinese to make over to them such boats as the Chinese still appear to have had near Kaung-toŭn. The Chinese promised to deliver the same after they had been employed in bringing up their stores to Bamoo; but the boats were burnt on the same day by the Chinese generals, and some difference of opinion afterwards took place about them. Presents being exchanged between the Chinese and Burmese generals, and some sent by the Chinese to the king of Ava, the Chinese army began their march towards China on Monday, the 18th of Dec., followed at the distance of a jinjal shot by the Burmese divisions under the lŏt-wé-weng-mhú and shye-weng-mhú, until the Chinese reached the boundary of their country, when the

Burmese retnrned to Bamoo and Kaung-toŭn. At the same time, the Chinese commanders-in-chief having sent the necessary orders to that portion of their army which had marched towards Mó-gaung, that force also retired into China. The Chinese armies having suffered long from want of provisions, those men only who were able-bodied succeeded in reaching China, and the forests and mountains were filled with countless numbers who died on the route from starvation.

When the officers, whom the wún-gyíh sent with a report of the peace which had been concluded with the Chinese, and with a large quantity of silks and satins that had been received from the Chinese generals as present for his majesty, arrived at Ava, the king disapproved of the conduct of the general and officers, for allowing the Chinese army to escape; refused to accept the presents, and ordered that the wives of the general and other chief officers should be placed with the Chinese presents on their heads, in front of the western gateway of the palace; and notwithstanding that the wife of the general-in-chief was a sister of the principal queen, she and the wives of the other officers were exhibited for three days at the appointed place, with the bundles of Chinese silks and satins on their heads.

The wún-gyíh and other officers hearing how highly the king was displeased, were afraid to return to Ava immediately, and determined to go first and attack Manipúr, the chief of which, they heard, had been fortifying himself again. In January, 1770, therefore, the Burmese army crossed to the westward of the Irawadi at Kaung-toŭn, and marched to Manipúr, and although the chief of that place made arrangements for checking the progress of the invaders at every defile and narrow pass, the Burmese army succeeded in penetrating to the capital, when the chief fled with his family and as many of his adherents as he could, and concealed themselves in jungles and high hills. The Burmese army seized the whole of the population and property they found in the country, with the princess of Mueyen, Tuonkô, and princes Hémô and Tsanda-yó-kay, and brought them to Ava, where they arrived on the 23d of March, 1770.

The king, still displeased at the Chinese army having been allowed to escape into China, refused to see the wún-gyíh and other officers of the Burmese army, and ordered them to be removed out of his kingdom into some other territory. They were conveyed to the eastern side of the Myít-ngay, which joins the Irawadi near the northeast angle of the city of Ava; and two other wún-gyíhs were also ordered by the king to be taken to the same place, for having presumed to speak to his majesty in favor of the general and other officers. About

a month after, the king forgave the whole of them, and allowed them to return to Ava.

The two Chinese generals, Thú kounyé and A kounyé, returned and reported to the emperor of China, that having made peace with the Burmese at Kaung-toŭn upon these conditions; namely, that the chiefs of Theinní, Bamoo, and Mó-gaung, subjects of the king of Ava, should be surrendered at Theinní; that the Chinese officers and soldiers taken prisoners by the Burmese in the year 1765, 1766, 1767, and 1769, should be given up; and that embassadors should be sent by both sovereigns once in ten years, the armies of both nations had retired; and that two officers, the Kue-chow bó and Kyín-men-títúha, had much distinguished themselves. The emperor of China was greatly pleased and desired to promote those officers; but two of the imperial kinsmen, Há táyín and Tshín táyín, with two Tartar nobles, the governors of Atsì-kyain and Maing-thín, submitted that they should first be allowed to go down to Mó-myín and see how far the statements of the Kue-chow bó were founded in truth. These four individuals accordingly came down to Mó-myín, and sent a letter to the Burmese governor of Kaung-toŭn, in charge of a subordinate officer and upwards of fifty men; but the governor finding from a translation of the letter, that its contents were very unfriendly, seized and confined the whole of the Chinese mission. A report of the Burmese governor's proceeding was immediately forwarded to the emperor of China at Peking, who ordered the Kue-chow bó to go down himself and see how the matter could be settled.

The Kue-chow bó came down to Mó-wún with upwards of 1,000 soldiers, and sent a very civil letter to the governor of Kaung-toŭn, requesting him to release the Chinese party he had confined, and to send back with them the letter which had been addressed to him by the governors of Atsì-kyain and Maing-thín, by order of Há táyín and Tshín táyín. The governor of Kaung-toŭn immediately complied with this request; and on the Kue-chow bó perusing the letter, which had been sent to Kaung-toŭn, and finding its contents to be not only uncivil, but warlike and threatening, he forwarded it to Peking. The emperor was exceedingly angry, and ordered Há táyín and Tshín táyín, with the two Tartar nobles who had written the letter, to be sent up to Peking in irons. Há táyín died on the road, but on the arrival of the other three individuals at Peking, the emperor ordered them to be executed. In the same year, in Oct., 1770, the caravans of Chinese merchants came down as before to Bamoo, and other places in the Burmese dominions.

ART. II. *Statement of the exports of tea in British and American bottoms, with the amount of silk to England, and the number of vessels reported to the Chinese for* 1836-37-38.

THESE two tables are merely a summary of the exports in tea to England and the United States during the last three years. Since the dissolution of the Chamber of Commerce at Canton in April, 1839, no official statements have been published.

Statement of the export of Tea from China to the United States for the last four seasons, beginning 1st July and ending 30th June.

Kinds of Tea.	1836-37.	1837-38.	1838-39.	1839-40.
Bohea.	—	—	—	14,133
Congou.	168,800	63,600	243,467	306,606
Souchong.	2,331,067	4,110,266	903,866	2,587,733
Pouchong.	309,600	514,667	467,600	569,200
Pekoe.	106,934	212,400	9,467	105,200
Orange Pekoe.	—	—	26,000	—
Oolung.	—	—	—	13,333
Twankay.	424,133	45,600	63,334	175,733
Young Hyson.	8,437,067	6,361,200	5,542,266	10,374,800
Hyson Skin.	1,669,866	1,426,934	533,733	1,464,266
Hyson.	1,332,400	874,133	554,534	1,100,533
Gunpowder	1,038,667	922,000	849,067	1,475,200
Imperial	762,933	654,267	627,733	1,146,800
Total black	2,916,401	4,900,933	1,650,400	3,596,265
Total green	13,665,066	10,284,134	8,170,667	15,737,332
Total pounds.	16,581,467	15,185,067	9,821,067	19,333,597

Statement of the exports of Tea and Silk from China to Great Britain for the last four seasons beginning 1st July and ending 30th June.

Kinds of Tea.	1836–37.	1837–38.	1838–39.	1839–40.	*Shipped to Singapore and India in* 1839–40.
Canton Bohea. -	90,533	—	65,333	223,451	64,000
Fuhkeën Bohea. -	—	—	49,200	—	
Congou. - -	23,819,200	22,624,134	29,292,600	17,259,051	1,875,840
Hungmuey. - -	531,200	384,534	326,266	175,423	56,903
Caper. - - -	596,533	658,667	301,467	274,334	23,250
Ankoi. - - -	164,667	70,667	106,000	—	—
Souchong. - -	2,444,400	1,010,267	866,333	656,575	176,298
Orange Pekoe. - -	943,200	466,000	895,600	535,396	40,778
Campoi. - - -	38,267	28,933	57,200	25,771	—
Pekoe. - - -	393,200	584,266	535,067	197,017	15,900
Twankay. - -	4,136,400	4,249,733	4,051,867	3,284,119	262,839
Hyson. - - -	2,631,600	1,464,267	1,307,600	1,537,487	224,268
Hyson Skin. - -	359,733	238,933	519,066	116,969	3,109
Young Hyson. - -	668,800	853,867	668,133	656,943	218,980
Gunpowder. - -	602,666	458,000	763,867	676,223	86,319
Imperial. - -	419,466	296,533	418,267	344,160	58,514
Total black. - -	29,021,200	25.827,468	32,495,066	19,347,018	2,252,969
Total green. - -	8,818,665	7,561,333	7,728,800	6,615,901	854,029
Total pounds - -	37,839,865	33,388,801	40,223,866	25,962,919	3,106,998
Raw Silk. peculs.	13,762	4,433	3,456	2,057	

The Canton Press, 11th July, 1840, gives the following summaries for five successive commercial years. Of teas, including what were shipped for England in American and other bottoms by way of Singapore and Rhio, in the year ending—

1st July, 1836,	there were	shipped	lbs.	51,195,200
1st July, 1837,	,,	,,	,,	40,170,666
1st July, 1838,	,,	,,	,,	33,416,266
1st July, 1839,	,,	,,	,,	40,678,666
1st July, 1840,	,,	,,	,,	28,712,929

Of raw silk, for England, for the commercial years ending—

1st July, 1836,	these were	shipped	Peculs	9,868
1st July, 1837,	,,	,,	,,	20,397
1st July, 1838,	,,	,,	,,	4,433
1st July, 1839,	,,	,,	,,	3,456
1st July, 1840,	,,	,,	,,	2,314

These statements, from the Canton Press, are taken from the records of the late Chamber of Commerce, excepting those for the year ending July 1st, 1840, which are, we believe, from an authentic if not from an official source.

In a communication laid before the provincial authorities early this year by the sub-prefect of Macao, his honor gives the following as the numbers of vessels, of which the names were entered on his books. For the Chinese years, corresponding to

1836,	the whole number	was 213
1837,	the whole number	was 133
1838,	the whole number	was 165

When it is remembered that the whole English trade with China has been by edicts made null and void during the last year, it seems remarkable that so large quantities of teas should have been shipped for England; but as all this business in exports has been conducted under the immediate inspection of the high provincial authorities, it must by them be regarded as "just and honorable." Goods have come into and gone out of port, to somewhat near the usual annual amount; but how, and to and for whom, we cannot tell. It is satisfactory to know, however, that the losses, in the general trade, have been much less than were anticipated.

N. B. The differences in the statements on this page compared with those on pages 191, 192, we are unable to account for, except it be that they have been in part derived from different sources.

Art. III. *Description of a Chinese anatomical plate, illustrative of the human body, with explanations of the terms.*

The accompanying plate, the explanation of which is the object of the present paper, is copied from the *Kashira Gaki zoü ho*, or First book in Instructing Youth, an encyclopediac Japanese work, containing descriptions, not only of anatomy, but of dress, houses, arts, mythology, &c. Figures of a similar kind are also found in various Chinese medical works. One is contained in the *Luy King*, a book consisting of 20 volumes, a collection of writings on several branches of medical science, anatomy, physiology, practice of surgery and medicine, and hygiene. A similar figure forms one of a series of four large anatomical plates (about three feet long) issued by the Imperial Medical College. It is possible that this Japanese drawing may have been copied from a Chinese original, but it is much superior in mechanical execution to the Chinese plates. The Chinese are by no means ignorant of some of the general principles of anatomy and physiology, though many of their ideas are so much obscured by what is frivolous and absurd, as to be almost entirely undeserving of attention. This is strikingly exemplified in their endless disquisitions on the 陰 *yin* and 陽 *yang*, which foreigners have considered as the female and male principles of nature. Almost every square inch of the external surface of the body, has its peculiar name; and in all their series of anatomical figures, there are some individual plates appropriated to this extreme marking out of the surface, until the whole body is covered with names. In medical practice, they apply their external remedies to these various spots; and Chinese may frequently be seen, with small patches of some adhesive plaster on various parts of the body, on the principle that when there is pain in any particular part of the body a plaster must be applied on one of these arbitrary spots: these are the places where moxas and cauteries are to be applied, and they are called 穴 *heuĕ*. All the prominent parts of the surface, as the shoulder, elbow, trochanter, and knee, are said to be under the influence of the *yang*, or male principle, while the depressions of the surface, as the armpit, bend of the arm, groin, and ham, are under the influence of the *yin* or female principle!

They have some knowledge of the bones, and of their general shape and position, though they are not at all particular as to the

way in which they are joined together, and make sad havoc among what anatomists call the processes of the bones. As to the muscles, they appear to know nothing about them or their use in the system, since they make no other remark upon the muscular substance than giving it the general term of 肉 *jŭh*, flesh. They call the tendons 筋 *kin*, and suppose that the strength of the bodily frame depends upon them; it appears to be applied also indiscriminately to all the fibrous cords. In regard to the blood-vessels, no clear distinction is made between the arteries and veins; there are certainly two names 經 *king*, and 絡 *lŏ*; as also the names 經脈 *king mŭh*, and 絡脈 *lŏ mŭh*, given to these vessels. It would appear that *king* is merely the name of the straight vessels, and *lŏ* of the lateral branches; for in the *Nan King* it is said, "經直行者 *king chĭh hing chay*, the *king* are the vessels that follow a straight course, and 絡傍行者 *lŏ pang hing chay*, the *lŏ* are those that have a lateral direction." Whether there be any other names given to the blood-vessels is uncertain; but the consideration of this subject, as also of the nerves, must be deferred for the present.

In regard to the shape and position of the viscera, they have some general ideas, but as will be seen from the wood-cut, these ideas are far from being correct. It appears as if some person had seen an imperfect dissection of the interior of the body, and then had sketched from memory a representation of the organs, filling up parts that were obscure out of his own imagination, and portraying what, according to his own opinion, the parts ought to be, rather than what they in reality are.

The following is the description of the plate, beginning at the top; the Chinese characters, which occur in the description, correspond to those in the diagram. The explanation of the characters is drawn from Chinese sources.

The title of the plate is 臟腑 *tsang foo*, the organs of the human body. These organs are divided into two classes. The *tsang*, 臟 or parenchymatous viscera, of which there are five, viz. the lungs, heart, liver, spleen, and kidney; 腑 *foo* or membranous viscera, of which there are six, as the large and small intestines, the stomach, bladder, gall-bladder, and the 三膲 *san tseaou*, the three passages.

Naou, 腦 the brain.

Suy hae che yin, 髓海至陰 reservoir of the marrow, and the abode of the *yin* principle in its highest perfection.

臟腑

腦
髓海
玉陰
通瓶
咽通食
喉通氣
膻中
肺
肺
肺
肺
肺
肺
心
包
膈
膜
脾
脂
腰
肝
肝
肝
肝
胃
膽
腎
大腸
小腸
膀胱
命門
直腸
丹田
尻
穀道
精道
溺道

Tung te, 通 䯒; it has communication with the sacral extremity of the vertebral column.

How tung ke, 喉 通 氣 the larynx, or passage for the breath.

Yen tung shĭh, 咽 通 食 the pharynx, or passage for the food.

Shen chung, 膻 中 the sternal region, or centre of the thorax; it is the space situated between the mammæ, is the seat of the breath, and has the office of envoy or imperial servant; joy and delight emanate from it. It can distinguish between the *yin* and *yang*, and, being the source of change, cannot be injured without danger.

Fe, 肺 the lungs; they are placed in the thorax, resemble the flower of the water-lily, and are suspended from the spine; they are divided into two portions, and subdivided into six (葉 *yĕ*) lobes, four being on the left side, and two on the right. There are holes in them, out of which the sound comes; phlegm is produced in them; they are of a white color, and correspond to metal. They have the office of transmission, and rule the various parts of the body.

Sin, 心 the heart, is situated in the thorax, and holds the office of prince, or lord and ruler in the body; the spiritual intelligences (the thoughts) emanate from it.

Sin paou, 心 包 called also 包 絡 *paou lŏ*, the pericardium; it comes from, and envelops the heart, and extends to the kidnies.

Pe he, 脾 系 the bond of connection of the spleen.

Kan he, 肝 系 the bond of connection of the liver.

Shin he, 腎 系 the bond of the connection of the kidnies.

Wei he, 胃 系 the œsophagus.

Kĭh mŏ, 膈 膜 the diaphragm, is situated below the heart and lungs, and has its several connections with the spine, the ribs, and bowels; it prevents the fetid exhalations from ascending.

Kan, 肝 the liver, is placed on the right side; it corresponds with wood, and is of a purple color; it has seven lobes, and has the office of generalissimo; the 魂 *hwăn*, or soul, resides in it; schemes and plans emanate from it.

Tan, 膽 the gall-bladder, is placed below the liver, and projects upwards into it; it has the office of judge; determination and decision proceed from it; when people are angry it ascends or expands.

Pe, 脾 the spleen, is situated near the stomach, corresponds to earth; it assists in digestion, and is of a yellow color.

Wei, 胃 the stomach.

Fun mun, 賁門 the cardiac extremity.

Yew mun, 幽門 the pylorus.

The stomach is connected withthe spleen, from which the food passes through the stomach into the large intestines; the spleen and stomach have the office of storing up; the five tastes emanate from them.

Che man, 脂膜 the omentum.

Tse, 臍 the navel.

Tan teën, 丹田 the 'vermilion field,' or pubic region.

Seaou chang, 小腸 the small intestines, are connected with the heart; the urine passes through them into the bladder, and is then expelled. They have the office of receiving abundance; digestion of the food is carried on in them.

Lan mun, 闌門 the caput coli, is between the small and large intestines. Here a separation of the contents of the intestines takes place; the watery secretions flow hence into the bladder, and the grosser parts or fœces pass down into the large intestines.

Ta chang, 大腸 the large intestines, are connected with the lungs, are situated in the loins, and have sixteen convolutions; they are of a white color, and have the office of forwarding. Transformation is produced in them.

Chih chang, 直腸 the rectum.

Kŭh toau, 穀道 or *kang mun* 肛門 the anus.

Kaou, 尻 or *te*, 骶 the sacral extremity.

Shin, 腎 the kidneys, are situated in the loins; correspond to water, are of a dark color, and resemble an egg or bean in shape; they have the office of producing power and skill; ingenuity proceeds from them, and the subtle or generative fluid is eliminated by them; above to the brain and below to the sacral extremity they are the rulers. (The urine is not supposed, by the Chinese, to be produced by these organs, but by the separation of the fluid from the solid parts of the food.)

Ming mun, 命門 the gate of life; in this plate the *ming mun* is placed between the bladder and rectum, but in other plates the right kidney is called the *ming mun*. It would appear that the right kidney is the *ming mun* in the male, for they ascribe to the kidneys the office of storing up the subtle fluid, while in the female the same name is applied to the uterus.

Pang kwang, 膀胱 the bladder, is placed below the kidneys and

is the reservoir of the urine. There is an aperture in the large intestines (namely the iliac valve), where the excrementitious matters are separated; the fœces go into the large intestines, and the urine into the bladder; this organ has the office of a local magistrate.

San tsaou, 三 膲 literally, three passages.

San tsaou chay, shwuy kŭh che taou loo yay, 三膲者水穀之道路也. The exact meaning attached to these *san tsaou* is not very evident, but apparently the Chinese and Japanese attribute all the more obscure functions of the viscera to them; they are supposed to encircle the cavities of the thorax and abdomen, and thus to connect the various viscera together. One description of them is as follows: "they are three in number, the upper, middle, and inferior. The upper one terminates in the superior orifice of the stomach, and governs the ingesta, but not the egesta. The middle one is in the central arch or bend of the stomach, and governs the fermentation and digestion of the food, it sends forth the watery secretions, and elaborates them into the lighter and more subtle fluids, which flow upwards to the lungs, where they are converted into blood, and thus support the animal frame. The lower one commences below the caput coli, and governs the egesta, but not the ingesta." All this is a mere speculation or dream, there being no such organs or functions as those now described. Indeed in the Nan King it is said, "they have a name but no form or figure."

Tsing taou, 精道; the remark in the large plates on this passage is, "agitate the heart, the subtle essence is set in motion, the life gate (命門) imbibes and takes it up, and the subtle humors of the three *tseaou* are hereby shed forth."

Neaou taou, 溺道 the urethra.

"The twelve offices or functions above enumerated must on no account have their relative connection disturbed, or great injury will assuredly arise in consequence. The emanations or vapors being changed, tears are produced."

The Japanese description of the wood-cut concludes with the following remarks on the fœtus. "It is said of the fœtus that in the 1st month, it is like a pearly dew-drop; in the 2d, it resembles a peach flower; in the 3d, the sexes can be distinguished; in the 4th, the form and figure can be perceived; in the 5th, the flesh and bones can be seen; in the 6th, the hair and down on the skin appear; in the 7th, the 魂 *hwan,* or soul enters, and the child moves its right hand considerably; in the 8th, the 魄 *pih,* or mind enters, and the child

moves its left hand; in the 9th, it turns itself over three times; in the 10th, the 氣 *ke*, spirit or subtle fluid enters, and the fœtus is then born."

The purpose for which such communications as the present are made, is not that we may acquire any increase to our present stock of anatomical or medical knowledge, but that we may know exactly what are the ideas which the Chinese themselves have on these subjects, and to ascertain the names they apply to the parts of the human body, the names of diseases to which the body is liable, and the names and qualities of the plants and minerals they use as remedies. And before we can in anywise attempt to improve the state of medical and surgical knowledge among the Chinese, it is of the utmost importance, that we first obtain a distinct knowledge of their own opinions and theories, vague and indefinite though most of them be. It is not to be supposed, that all the opinions they entertain on medical subjects are mere nonsense, for some of their works have evidently been written by men possessed of considerable talent, and who have carefully examined into the nature and causes of disease; and the rules and precepts given for the management of some affections are by no means to be despised. Still, the whole system of medicine is very defective; thus disease is supposed to arise in consequence of the fanciful accordance between the viscera, the pulse, metals, earth, color, sound, &c., being destroyed; and then fever and other disordered actions are produced, and the remedies given are intended to restore the natural harmony between the organs and these elements,—which being accomplished the health will be recovered. It is requisite in reading Chinese medical books, to ascertain the accordances which are supposed to exist between the organs, and various external objects, otherwise the idea intended to be conveyed to the reader will not be ascertained. It must always be borne in mind that although the Chinese reasoning on physiological subjects is in many cases erroneous, still the language in which those theories are expressed is accurate, and the descriptions so far as they go, clearly convey the intention of the author. L.

ART. IV. *Æsop's Fables, written in Chinese by the learned Mun Mooy seënshang, and compiled in their present form (with a free and literal translation) by his pupil Sloth. Printed at the Canton Press office,* 1840.

SLOTH — an odd misnomer for our indefatigable compiler — by the publication of Æsop's Fables in their present form, affords us another opportunity of commending the study of the Chinese language to all foreigners, who come to reside in this country. Mr. Thom, as most of our readers know, is a British merchant; and during his residence here of some five or six years, has been always engaged with commercial affairs, in the house of Messrs. Jardine, Matheson, & Co. To the senior members of that house—William Jardine, James Matheson, and Henry Wright, esquires—"by whose bounty the entire expense of his Chinese education was defrayed," Mr. Thom has inscribed his present work —"the first-fruits of a long course of study." Liberal as was the bounty enjoyed by Sloth, we have no doubt his generous patrons feel themselves abundantly compensated in the services they have received by his translations, often made for the sole purpose of facilitating their commercial business. We state these particulars here in order to show, that expenditures of time and money for the acquisition of the Chinese language are not unprofitable. As affairs have been hitherto, and as they are likely to be for a long time to come, every commercial house in China, having extensive business, would, we doubt not, find it profitable to support each its own translator — if such could be found. As demands for translators and interpreters increase, and the aids for the study of the language multiply, we hope to see the number of students rapidly augmenting. If new marts are opened, and commercial intercourse is extended, as many expect, then surely a knowledge of Chinese will become more and more important. Foreign governments, as they come into contact with the Chinese (whether in a hostile or friendly manner), will also need interpreters of their own, and in considerable numbers.

To the student in the language, this joint production of the Grecian fabulist, the learned Mun Mooy, and his pupil Sloth, we can recommend as a work well calculated both to amuse and to instruct, and thus facilitate the acquisition of this language. The body of the work is comprised in 104 demy-folio pages: and each page is divided into three columns,—one for the Chinese, one on the right of it for

the sounds of the same both in the court and Canton dialects, and one on the left of the Chinese for the English version. The number of fables is eighty-one, well selected, and preceded by the following 'prefatory discourse,' adapted for both Chinese and English readers.

"I have composed this little work, with no intention to attract men's praises for the beauty of my composition; for alas! my fellow-countrymen of England, as well as those of all other foreign countries whatever — who feel anxious to thread the mazes of Chinese literature,— are only beating about the door, as it were, trying in vain to find an entrance. For instance, with reference to the Chinese and English Dictionary, compiled by our late learned scholar Morrison: this is most assuredly a book of great importance; but then, it merely communicates to the student the meaning of each particular character, and no more! Thus, as regards the formation of chapters and complete sentences, we are without any work to which we may refer as to a standard; and forasmuch, when any piece of fine writing is laid before us, we are utterly lost amid doubt and perplexity, how then under such circumstances, can we hope to wield the pen, and compose with classic elegance?

"For this reason it is, that I have specially drawn up the present little work, in order that the student may first acquire beforehand, some knowledge of the general principles (of this difficult language); and afterwards, by taking this in his hand, and turning it over and selecting its good portions with the greatest care, he may gradually arrive at a perfect understanding of the subject; and still further, this mode of study will be preferable to the oral instructions of a teacher, whose words, often falling on the ear unheeded, the memory cannot always retain, not yet the understanding fully comprehend them. Of those students who constantly keep this little book lying on their tables, and who incessantly exercise themselves with its contents, there will not be one — who in the course of time — would not completely understand, and be perfectly master of the object of his researches; in this point of view then, it may truly be considered, as a ladder to climb the heights, and as a boat to cross the rivers, that lie in the path of him who wishes to travel in the highway of the Chinese language.

"It is to be hoped then, the gentle reader will not suffer himself to treat it with contempt, because that the matter may be light, and the style vulgar."

Having first given this brief account of his design — he adds —

"*A brief introduction to Æsop's Fables.* Æsop was originally a slave, belonging to an ancient country called Greece; and flourished about two thousand five hundred years ago. Although humpbacked, and of a disagreeable visage, yet he was possessed of almost divine intelligence; and his countrymen, compassionating deeply that so much genius should be buried in a servile condition, had his person ransomed, and appointed him to fill one of the chief offices in the state. Under such circumstances, he drew up these fables, intending to govern his people by their application:— and his fellow-countrymen, getting thereby daily more enlightened, honored and revered him as a sage. Afterwards, having received orders from the authorities of his native land to proceed on public business to another country — the people of the country being envious of his superior talents—thrust him over a precipice when he died! His works (or sayings) having been transmitted to us of after ages — as, in the case of England, Russia, France, Spain, and all the nations of the western ocean — there is not one which has not

had these fables transmitted into the vulgar language of the country, and which does not use them for the instruction of pupils:—they being easily understood, and still more easily remembered."

After noticing, in a spirited manner, the great neglect of Chinese literature by "his countrymen, and complimenting some of his predecessors," in the path leading to the secrets of this language, Sloth thus modestly speaks again concerning his own work.

"Revolving within an infinitely more circumscribed orbit, and at an immeasurable distance from the galaxy of bright names inscribed above—the compiler has yet dared to borrow from their lustre a feebie ray, which he now emits in the shape of the present little work; a work, whose sole merit consists in this, that it has been compiled with some little care and attention; and whose sole claim to public notice rests upon the fact, that, like the widow's mite—it is all he hath to contribute:—thus, though humble the offering, yet being given freely, it may possibly become useful to an extent, far beyond its lowly pretensions! The following fables were selected indiscriminately from Æsop, Phædrus, Ananius, Barlandus, &c., but all published under the general name (used for the sake of briefness,) of Æsop's Fables. They were delivered orally at different times, in mandarin Chinese, by the compiler to his native teacher; who being a good penman, found little difficulty in writing them off, in the simple easy style in which they are composed. This style comes under the class of 雜錄 *tsă lŭh*, being the 文字之末 *wăn tsze che mŏ*, or lowest and easiest style of Chinese composition. (By making himself master of this style, the student will find little difficulty in understanding the various 小說 *seaou shwŏ*, or popular novels of the day, and it may serve as a stepping-stone to much higher literary attainments.) This method of dictation employed towards our teacher, may remind the reader of what was the custom in our own country some centuries back, where the person so dictating would speak in the native English of the period, and the transcriber (commonly a priest) would write the substance of the same in Latin. Composing in Chinese after this manner, has both its advantages and its drawbacks. The advantages consists in these, that, the document thus produced will be purely idiomatic Chinese, free from those blemishes of style, redundancies, and other mistakes, into which even our best sinologues sometimes fall. The disadvantages are—that it encourages slothful habits on the part of the student, and by accustoming him to rely upon his teacher for assistance, renders him almost impotent when cast on his own resources.

"When first published in Canton 1837-38, their reception by the Chinese was extremely flattering. They had their run of the public courts and offices, until the mandarins—taking offense at seeing some of their evil customs so freely canvassed—ordered the work to be suppressed. It is not the first time that we have elucidated a disputed point—by referring to one of these fables having analogy to the question in hand—nay, we remember once

stopping the mouth of a party of mandarins, who insisted that England desired to quarrel with China, by reciting the story of the goose that laid the golden egg. The application was at once perceived—and the justice of the remark admitted immediately. No man can help feeling an interest in the progeny of his brain, as well as in the posterity of his body—and we plead guilty to a certain feeling of pride and satisfaction in relating this anecdote of our Chinese offspring;—for though certainly not the principal party to whom it owes its being—we may nevertheless justly lay claim to a share in the ushering of the Græco-Sinico compound into the world. The good natured reader may thus even feel disposed to admit—that, it is quite possible for so paltry a publication to be useful in its way.

"Our relations with this vast empire have been hitherto purely commercial. The scene, however, is about to change, and we are now on the eve of a crisis, of which the wisest among men cannot foresee the results. The din of war is already heard in the distance, and perhaps ere this little work shall have seen the light, the powers of the east and the west may have come into collision, and a shock may have been given causing all Asia to vibrate to its centre! Heretofore we have known the Chinese merely as a semi-civilized nation, to whom we sell broadcloth, and from whom we buy tea. Hereafter we shall know them as a great and mighty people, forming a third part of the family of man;—a nation, whose territory occupies nearly a half of the immense continent of Asia;—whose influence prevails with, and whose written character is understood by, many of the surrounding nations of the far east;—a people, whose country opens up an unbounded field to commercial enterprise, and missionary zeal, whose ancient laws and maxims may form a subject of interest for the sage, and whose lighter literature may delight and instruct the general reader; and a people, who although perhaps inferior in that daring energy of character, the peculiar attribute of the Caucasian race alone, are yet in mildness of demeanor, submissiveness to the laws, industry in their vocations, honor to their parents, and respect for the aged, capable of setting a bright example to the most polished countries of Europe. Yet a gulf exists between them and us, a gulf across which long time and unwearied application are requisite, and that gulf is their impracticable language!

"It would be amusing to sum up all the opinions which have been given from time to time, on the nature of this laborious study. While some have glibly asserted that there is no great difficulty in the matter, others have represented the difficulties as almost altogether insurmountable. Dr. Morrison has recorded his opinion, that, though a smattering of Chinese may be easily acquired, yet he considers it very difficult to attain to a perfect knowledge of the language! and adds, that, "such a perfect knowledge of the language, is what he views as an object yet afar off!" If this be the language of a Morrison, who is he that shall presume to call it an easy study? Judging from the length of time that natives themselves require to give it their attention, and that few among the many rise to any celebrity at all, we cannot but come to the conclusion, that, for any foreigner to read, write, and

speak the Chinese language like an educated native, is indeed the business of a long life.

"But though we admit the perfect acquirement of the Chinese language to be a matter of extreme difficulty, and further, that no efforts of our's or of any man's can ever render it easy, yet much may be done to clear away those superfluous difficulties which continually beset our path, and to make the outset of his career, less discouraging to the young student than it has hitherto been. It is partly to fulfill this object, and partly from having observed during our residence in this country, that a knowledge of their language is a ready introduction to the confidence of the natives, that we have resolved to publish a series of elementary works (of which this is the first), comprising the various styles in which the Chinese language is written. Looking upon it as work that may perhaps be of service to our country, we shall not stop to consider the relative chances of gain and loss, but shall willingly submit to give up a very considerable portion of our time and slender fortune, towards the accomplishment of so desirable an object."

The introduction to the fables contains some well-selected remarks, on the written character of the Chinese, on the different styles of their language, on particles, and on the mode of spelling adopted by Mr. Thom. On this last topic, we have somewhat to advance in opposition to Sloth. His remarks, however, shall precede our own. He says—

"It has often been regretted by students of Chinese, that there is no uniform mode of spelling this language, that every country has got a different orthography, which is a sad annoyance,—above all to the beginner. The complaint is, we confess, perfectly just; but we must add, that, it appears to us to be without remedy. When Europeans first commenced the study of this difficult language, had a congress of lettrés from all the different countries of Europe, determined upon a certain system of orthography that was to be uniform and permanent, then, the violator of these rules ought to be punished as if he tried to introduce a new way of spelling Greek, Latin, or any other tongue, whose orthography is irrevocably fixed during the lapse of ages. But here the case was different. Every foreign missionary as he arrived in this country, and applied himself to the study of Chinese, on hearing certain sounds, immediately wrote these down in Roman letters, giving very naturally the same power to such Roman letters while transcribing Chinese, that they had in his own native idiom. Thus, in respect to the character 是, the Portuguese wrote it *xi* and *xe;* the Italians, *sci* and *sce;* the Germans, *schi* and *sche;* the French, *chi* and *che;* while the English write it *she* and *shee;* the character 聖 is in like manner, à la Portugaise, *xim;* à l' Italienne, *scign';* à l' Allemande, *sching;* à la Française, *ching;* à l' Anglaise, *shing;* and so on with many others; indeed their systems of spelling are so exceedingly dissimilar, that they appear like so many different languages. Such being the case, only one of two things remain to be done.

"1st. That a system of spelling Chinese with Roman letters, (which shall be permanent and uniform) be established by a deputation of learned men, from all the different countries of Europe:—or,

"2dly. That the Chinese scholars of each particular country, continue to spell for the students of each particular country, according to the power given to the Roman letters (or as nearly as possible) in each particular country.

"We see numerous objections to the first plan. Had it been done (as we remarked above) about thirty years ago, there would have been no great difficulty about the matter; but now, which country is to lead the others in its train? Which countries shall be willing to give up their already received system of orthography to adopt that of the favored nation? Or shall a system be established partaking of all, even at the risk of being intelligible to none? Viewing it in every way this plan appears to us to be surrounded with difficulties.

"There only remains the second mode, which is, that every man give to the Chinese characters, sounds represented by the Roman letters, as analogous as possible to the power that these have in his particular country. This is also quite reasonable; for, if a foreigner makes use of an English book whereby to study Chinese, it is to be presumed that he already understands English; and understanding English, he must surely know the power that the English give to the Roman letters? Or, granting that he does not, the task would not be a difficult one, a single lesson or two would make him quite *au fait*. In another point of view, we cannot but come to a similar conclusion; viz, we frankly confess, that in drawing up this, or any other work, while we hope that its use may be as general as possible, yet our primary object is to assist or instruct our own countrymen; and we humbly conceive, that if a foreigner can condescend to study by means of an English book, he may also condescend to learn the power that the English give to the Roman letters! This subject however has been much more learnedly discussed by Dr. Morrison in his preface to the Syllabic Dictionary than we can pretend to do, and if the reader is still unsatisfied with the arguments we have produced, we beg to refer him to the dicta of our great master.

"We cannot let this opportunity escape, without adverting to the new system of orthography, introduced in the Chrestomathy of the Canton dialect. While we deeply respect the acquirements of those learned gentlemen who gave it being, and confess that the system itself is wonderfully ingenious, circumstances entirely put it out of our power to adopt it. Wishing to make this little work as useful to the beginner as possible, we first adopted Dr. Morrison's system of spelling the mandarin, as fixed in his excellent Syllabic Dictionary in order that the student might have an immediate reference, should the meaning put down against each character in italics, seem obscure or incorrect. Having thus first adopted an English system for the mandarin, it would have been doubly perplexing to the student had we adopted an entirely different system for the Canton; there was therefore no help for

it; with a bold hand we ventured to make some innovations in our master's method of spelling the Canton, in order that it might resemble his mandarin system as much as possible. We dare not, however, assert that our alteration is an improvement. While engaged in this task, we were not above receiving many excellent hints from the Canton Chrestomathy.

"We venture to differ (tho' with much humility) from the learned editor of the Chrestomathy, as to the stress he lays upon the four tones at the outset. We humbly think that marking the sound of each character 1.2.3.4 to denote whether it be *ping*, or *shang*, or *keu*, or *juh*, is just so much time and labor thrown away; nay more, it fatigues the eye, and serves only to perplex the student. We would no more think of requiring the beginner in Chinese to master the four tones, than we would take a boy who had just commenced his Latin rudiments, and smother him with the Gradus ad Parnassum! There is, by the way, this resemblance between the Chinese tones and the work just mentioned, viz. we employ the Gradus to compose verses, and no Chinese youth can write poetry who is not well acquainted with the four tones. But we conceive these to be an affair for a student somewhat more advanced than a mere beginner. In our own language, we have certain difficulties, which are quite as much a stumbling-block to the stranger, as the Chinese tones are to us. Thus, we bother a Frenchman with our *th* in *think*, *thin*, and our *th* in *than*, *thee*; we perplex a Spaniard in drawing a marked difference between the *b* and the *v*; the German is brought up by *f*, *v*, and *w*; while all foreigners whatsoever exclaim against us for our four sounds of *a* and as many of *e*. Mounseer in his turn, laughs at poor John Bull trying in vain to pronounce *feu*, *peu*, *l'un*, *lune*, *œuf*, *bœuf*, &c., or sets him by way of exercise to distinguish between the sounds *de*, *des*, *dès*, *du*, *deux*, *d'eux*, and enjoys himself at poor Bull's bewilderment! But we do not extinguish a beginner's hopes with exercises such as these; we are aware that by *frequently mixing* in native society, and by *constant practice*, we shall be able to distinguish *in good time*. In proof of the uselessness of directing the beginner's attention to the four tones, we may state a fact which any one who has resided long in China cannot but be aware of, and that is, that the Lascars who sail the passage-boats, and the Parsee cooks and servants, speak Chinese *very much better* than we European students do. We have been assured by intelligent natives, that, when some of the Lascars and Parsees speak, they cannot distinguish them from the own people! With us Europeans, on the other hand, it is *very* different indeed; *our* foreign accent, and out-of-the-way expressions are detected at once; yet why should it be so? Among *us* there are some who can read and write Chinese pretty well, while the Lascars and Parsees do not know a single character! *Our* vocabulary is perhaps ten times more extensive than *their's*; some of *us* can discourse learnedly enough upon the four tones, while *they* never heard of such a thing in their lives! Yet here is a *stubborn fact*, account for it as you may, that while *they* find no difficulty whatever in understanding, and making themselves understood to the Chinese, *we*, in most cases, neither can ap-

prehend what they are saying, nor succeed in making ourselves intelligible! We presume the solution of the mystery is simply this, that, while *we* are poring over our books and discussing the tones *theoretically*, *they* are learning the language *practically* from the mouths of the natives.

"In another point of view, the four tones may be compared to the notes of the gamut; *we* thus resemble persons who try to sing *by notes*, while the Parsees and Lascars are like those who learn *by ear*. Let us suppose the following case by way of illustration. Suppose that a foreigner were to sing "Auld Langsyne," and that he sang out of tune; suppose that a Scotch boy were standing by, *he* would find no hesitation in telling the foreigner that he was wrong. Upon this, the foreigner might ask the boy what note it was that he had sung out of tune? whether it was B flat, F sharp, C natural, or indeed any other. If the boy had never seen a page of written music in his life, it is probable that he would gape and stare with astonishment at the question; in short, it would be quite incomprehensible to him; *nevertheless the testimony of his ear that the foreigner had sung out of tune would not be a whit less true.* On the other hand, if he knew music scientifically, he would not find it difficult to run over his gamut and tell the foreigner upon what particular note he had erred. This case is very nearly parallel to the subject in hand. If a European is speaking Chinese, and pronounces erroneously, *any native*, no matter whether he be a coolie, a tanka boatman, or what, can tell him that he *is wrong*, but it is only an educated Chinese, who by running over his tones, can tell him *where* he has erred, and which is the *correct* sound of the word.

"We are aware, that from the exclusive nature of the Chinese government, few opportunities are afforded Europeans of mixing in native society: still we must endeavor to make the most of our position, and turn all circumstances to account as we best may. We read in the "old books," that the Romans built their fleet after the model of a foreign bark that fortune or misfortune had stranded on their coast. We read further, that, having no other means of training and drilling their sailors, they trained them and drilled them *on dry land;* and yet when reading on, we find to our utter astonishment that these along-shore men of the Romans, beat the Carthaginians on their own element, though then reckoned the best seamen in the world! In like manner should we recommend the student, if he cannot at all times mix with the natives, to get a teacher with a good pronounciation as his model; to make him talk and read colloquial Chinese for some hours a-day, and talk or read after him as the parish-clerk does after the priest; and not content with this, to read *to himself*, and talk *with himself* (when there is no other person to talk to), even at the risk of being deemed a little so so *non compos.* It is only following the old Roman system as quoted above, and

Nil desperandum Teucro duce, et auspice Teucro!

in this case, however, the Chinese student must be principally *his own* Teucer.

"We repeat, that all the diacritical marks in this world will never teach a

man to pronounce Chinese correctly, there is only *one* way of learning this, and that is stated above; *by constant practice with natives.* Well doth the Chinese saying express the same idea —

拳不離手, 曲不離口
三日不彈, 手生荊棘
而三日不談, 口生荊棘矣

"Let not the fist leave the hand (i. e. desist not a moment from playing), nor let the song leave the mouth for a moment:

"If in three days you do not play (on the stringed instrument), your fingers will produce thorns and briars,

"And if in three days you do not converse, your mouth (or tongue) will no less produce thorns and briars!"

Though hitherto, in the Repository, we have used the "mode of spelling adopted" by Mr. Thom, yet we cannot recommend, nor approve of it, for new books on the language. Nay, we protest against its use. It wants precision, and is not consistent with itself: it is not English, nor French, nor German, nor Italian. In the use of the vowels, its deviations from Morrison's Dictionary (which was taken as its basis) are almost as numerous as its coincidences. These deviations, which Mr. Thom thought it *necessary* to make, show very clearly the badness of the system. We "dare not assert," as he says, that his alterations in the system of his "great master," are improvements. On the contrary, in several instances, the changes are for the worse; and he has marked distinctions where none exist. Thus in 之 *che*, 理 *lé*, 知 *ché*, 知 *chee*, the vowels are all marked by Mr. Thom as being unlike, while by Dr. Morrison no distinction is indicated. So in 有 *yew*, and 猶 *yëw*, and other examples. His list of vowels and diphthongs, strange to say, runs up to *sixty*. That given in sir John Herschel's treatise on sound in the Encyclopædia Metropolitana is less than one third of that number! "*That the Chinese scholars of each particular country continue to spell for the students of each particular country, according to the power given to the Roman letters (or as nearly as possible) in each particular country,*" is a proposition which we did not expect, and are sorry to see brought forward and advocated by Mr. Thom. The other system, that of sir William Jones, is the one we prefer; and we prefer it because of its intrinsic excellencies, and because it is now so extensively approved and adopted.

Mr. Thom virtually admits that it is necessary to attend to the tones; but, as to the manner of doing it, he differs from Mr. Med-

hurst and others who argue in favor of their being marked and early attended to by the student. He does not, however, differ so much from the Chrestomathy as he would fain have his readers believe. "Constant practice with natives," is the best way of learning the language. The reasons why the Lascars and Parsee cooks speak so well, is because, learning wholly from imitation, they necessarily acquire the tones at the same time they learn the language. As far as practicable, every student should learn it in this way — by imitation; and in doing this he may no doubt receive essential help, by the use of books with diacritical marks. Mr. Thom's allusion to the gamut is apposite, but not so, however, his application of that illustration. As the Chinese youth usually learns the sounds of the words solely by imitation, he needs no marks to indicate the tones; so, to one who cannot read music, and makes his limited acquisitions solely by rote, the gamut and all its marks and directions must be useless. In these two cases,—the learning of Chinese tones and the learning of music, the advantages derivable from the use of notation, are the *same* in *kind*, though *different* in *degree*. Both are very useful.

ART. V. *Biographical Notices of Szema Tan, and his son Szema Tseën, Chinese historians.* Translated for the Repository from the French of Rémusat.

SZEMA TAN, a Chinese historian of the second century before our era, was descended from a family which had furnished historiographers to the Chow dynasty. When Woo te of the Han dynasty, wished to complete the restoration of letters, commenced under the reign of his predecessor, in order to collect around his own person the ablest men of the empire, he commanded their attendance with the promise to find employment for them, and a provision for their families. Szema Tan was of this number. He received, in the years from 140 to 135 B. C., the title of *sze ling*, which may be translated by that of first historiographer.

The emperor, by the promise of reward, engaged all those persons who had historical memoirs in their possession to bring them to him. He likewise ordered the strictest search to be made among those families whose ancestors had belonged to the tribunals of history;

and the documents brought to light by these means were submitted to severe examination and criticism. Szema Tan, placed at the head of a sort of academy to which this special duty was confided, began by putting in order the chronicles written by Confucius, the commentaries of Tsokeaou Ming and his historical discourses, all of them works which may be considered as forming a continuation of the Shoo King, or Book of Records; this work being the first and most important of these monuments of past ages which had escaped the great destruction of books ordered by Che hwangte. Szema Tan then undertook to arrange, according to the order of time, the histories of the different states which had disputed among themselves the monarchy of China. He was still occupied by these preparatory labors, or at least had scarcely commenced the great work which was to be the result of his personal inquiries, when his career was closed by a premature death. He left behind him a worthy successor, his son and disciple Szema Tseën, for whom was reserved the glory of becoming the founder of historical science in China. Szema Tan is frequently quoted by Szema Tseën, who ascribes to him the merit of those recapitulations or summary observations, placed at the end of each of the books of the Sze Ke. The son there designates the father by the title of *ta sze kung*, or great prince of history.

Szema Tseen, the most celebrated of the Chinese historians, who has been called the father of history and the Herodotus of China, was, as we have seen, the son of a man, himself distinguished as a writer of history; an art in which many of his countrymen have since excelled. He was born at Lungming* about the year 145 B. C. His father, foreseeing that he might become his successor in the labors and duties of his office of historiographer, gave him a suitable education, and directed the attention of the young Tseën from his earliest childhood, towards the objects which were to form the occupation of his life. It sometimes happens that plans formed by parents for the benefit of their children, but without consulting their dispositions, are productive of injury rather than advantage to them, but this was not the case in the present instance. Tseën soon showed himself worthy of entering into his father's views. When only ten years old, he could already read those literary remains of antiquity, the Book of Records, the commentaries of Tsokeaou Ming upon the Chun Tsew, or Spring and Autumn Record of Confucius, the Kow Yew and He pin. Much is said of the application, docility, and intelligence of

* Lungming is a celebrated mountain to the north of the district of Lungming in Sengan foo in the province of Shense.

which he gave proof in early youth, and by which he attained early distinction. His studies were finished when he had reached the age of twenty years, and he had besides made himself acquainted with all the historical materials amassed by his father. Many things, of which he had read, appearing to him incredible, he determined, when only twenty years old, to verify the traditions, with his own eyes, as far as they were capable of being submitted to such proof, and most particularly to examine all that remained of those labors in leveling lands and digging canals, which in the Shoo King are attributed to the great Yaou. He visited with this intent, the northern and southern provinces of China, and carefully examined the courses of the principal rivers.

At the end of a few years, the command of a military expedition, with which he was intrusted, carried him into the countries answering to the present provinces of Yunnan and Szechuen. He was in the midst of this expedition, and entirely occupied with the objects of it, when he heard that Szema Tan was dangerously ill. He lost not a moment in returning, but was only in time to see his father die.

Even on his bed of death, Szema Tan retained the sentiment of his duties, and the journey which his son had just made interested him both as a father and the historiographer of the empire. He desired to receive a detailed account of it, and after having listened with great attention, he delivered a discourse which Szema Tseën has preserved entire. "The great historian," says his son, "took my hand in his, and, with tears in his eyes, spoke these words. Our ancestors, since the time of the third dynasty, have rendered themselves illustrious in the academy of history. Is it left to me to be the last of this honorable succession? My son, if you succeed me, study the writings of our ancestors. The emperor, whose glorious reign extends over all China, has sent for me to assist at the solemn ceremonies which he is about to perform on the sacred mountain. I cannot obey his command: you perhaps may be called on to take my place. In this case, remember my wishes. Filial piety shows itself first in the fulfillment of the duties which we owe our parents, next in the services which are due to our sovereign, and lastly in the care we take of our reputation; for is it not the perfection of filial piety to render the names of our father and mother illustrious by the glory of our own?"

Szema Tan continued his instructions to his son, and explained to him, in detail, the nature of the materials which he had amassed.

He finished by reminding him in what consisted the duties of a historian, and by conjuring him to have them ever present to his thoughts. Szema Tseën prostrated himself before his father's bed, and promised, with tears in his eyes, that, should he ever be honored by a summons to fulfill the duties which his ancestors had so long and honorably performed, he would hold in constant recollection the virtuous counsels of his father. He had, therefore, as a motive to acquit himself worthily, not only his own natural disposition aided by an excellent education, but the profound and religious impression which the words of a dying father could not fail to leave on the mind of a pious son.

During the three years of mourning prescribed by the customs of his country, Tseën could neither engage in public duties of any kind, go into any society, nor seek any amusement. This was for him a time of reflection and preparation, and he took advantage of it to arrange the notes which he had made during his journey through the provinces. He even continued his researches two years longer, and it was not until the year 104, B. C., that he began to write the history he had so long projected. He had then held for five years his father's place of historiographer. These labors, to which he entirely devoted himself, would have soon produced the results to be expected from them, if the honorable rank to which from his childhood he had been destined, had not drawn him from his retreat, against his own will, and thrown him into the midst of the existing world, in which he had less experience than in the writings of the ancients. The office of first historiographer has never been in China, what, in Europe, we might suppose it to be. He, by whom it is exercised, is not only the historian of past ages, living among the dead, and exclusively occupied with recollections and traditions; but he is a magistrate of the time being, obliged to take an active part in affairs, and compelled by many cares devolving on him, to keep his attention fixed on passing events. Moreover, his first duty and his greatest risk lie in the necessity on his part of the most rigid adherence to truth; and this to be observed, not only with his master and the courtiers his cotemporaries, but in his judgment of those ancient worthies whose lives and actions it is his business to record. Szema Tseën was incapable of sacrificing to his own safety those duties of his office which compromised it.

In the year 99 B. C. Le Ling, one of the generals of the empire, after having been beaten by the Huns, revolted to their side with all the troops remaining to him. This at least was what he had been

accused of by the voice of public opinion. The indignant emperor, not only caused Le Ling to be condemned by the utmost severity of the law, but ordered that his family should be involved in the punishment from which he had himself escaped.

Szema Tseën dared to hold a different opinion from the public, the court, and the emperor himself. Not satisfied with excusing Le Ling, he undertook to justify him; and after openly pronouncing a panegyric on this general, he dared to maintain that Le Ling had feigned a surrender to the Huns in order to preserve, for the service of the empire, the wreck of an army, victorious over the enemy, and only conquered by the climate. A statement so bold, and perhaps, not well timed, excited to the greatest degree the anger of the emperor. The courageous defender was involved in the disgrace of him whose cause he had espoused. Szema Tseën was tried and condemned to death. The emperor thought himself acting mercifully, when he substituted for the punishment of death that of perpetual imprisonment.

This enforced seclusion, in removing Szema Tseën from the sphere of active duty, enabled him to devote himself again and entirely to study and research. It was in this second half of his life that he brought into use the materials collected during the first, and that he erected for himself the monument which has given him immortality.

The times were just then favorable for historical as well as for other studies. It was the moment of the restoration of letters. The old chronicles had perished in the general conflagration of the year 213 B. C. This destruction had been the work of an innovator, who, feeling that he could not control the present without destroying the recollections of the past, had, however, overrated his own power in believing it possible for him to triumph over the recollections and habits of a great nation. All his efforts to annihilate the ancient annals had only served to inflame the zeal of men of letters into an enthusiasm, which had rendered them all worthy of the honors of persecution. He had failed in his wish to efface the example of the ancients, and the traditions which he desired to get rid of, but he had, without particularly intending it, given a deathblow to chronology.

When the storm had spent its force, then reäppeared on all sides, wrecks of ancient monuments, but lopped and mutilated and deprived of the props which had supported them. The recollection of great events remained, but of the intermediate details, which established and connected them, and explained the contradictions of evidence,

no trace was left. We may imagine what would be the difficulties of those persons who undertook to become the founders of a new history. They must seek for every vestige of the ancient annals, collect the fragments, bring together the scattered shreds of chronicles, imperial, provincial, or municipal; examine all those material witnesses which, without being history, furnish its most authentic monuments, such as vases, articles of furniture, instruments, ruins, &c.; they must study sculptured images, and decipher inscriptions. All this must be done; and more difficult and more important still, they must lose no time in collecting all such fugitive indications as might enable them to appreciate the relative value of the written documents, according to their nature, origin, age, and the circumstances by which they had been preserved. The thing had become already difficult in China, a century after the burning of the books. Two hundred years later it would have been impracticable, and we cannot but wonder at the boldness of those western critics, who undertake to reform the labors of the Chinese critics, two thousand years farther from the time, in Europe, with an imperfect understanding of the language, and sometimes without having studied it at all.

We must acknowledge that here are many conditions to be fulfilled, and we should not be surprised to find them occupying a succession of learned men for many successive years. Szema Tseën accomplished the whole himself; and he who first, after the revival of letters, seriously engaged in historical researches, was also the one who had the glory of giving to his country a new body of annals; for we cannot compare with him the obscure persons to whom had been assigned the purely mechanical task of collecting materials, not even Szema Tan himself, who, as we have seen, had not time to make use of them. This is a thing, however, which the mosdesty of Szema Tseën, and his filial piety, would not permit him to acknowledge. On the contrary, he often ascribes to his father all the honors which he might deserve from the composition of his book. "My small talents," says he, "make it a duty for me to conform to my father's well arranged plans."

He made use of all that remained of the classic books, those of the temple of ancestors of the Chow dynasty, the secret memoirs of the Stone House, and the Golden Coffer, and the register called *Yüh Pan*, or Plates of Jasper. It is said that he took from the *Leaou Ling* what concerned the laws; from the tactics of Hansin all that relates to military affairs; whilst the *Chang Ching* of Chang Tsang furnished him with the details relative to science and literature, and the *Le Yih* of Shóo Sintung those which belong to custom and ceremonies.

It was in this way that he composed the great work to which he gave the modest name of Sze Ke, or Historical Memoirs. This work, divided into a hundred and thirty books, and containing five hundred and twenty-six thousand and five hundred characters, is in five parts. The first, called the Imperial Chronicle, comprehends twelve books. It is consecrated to the actions of the emperors, and to the events in which the whole empire took part. The facts are chronologically arranged, and referred to their respective dates. The author has commenced his recital with the reign of Hwang te (2697 B. C.), and terminates it with the reign of Heaou woo, of the dynasty of Han, in a year rendered remarkable by the discovery of one of those wonderful unicorns, the appearance of which the Chinese consider the best of omens. This year was the hundred and twenty-second of the Christian era. The two last books of this part of the the Sze Ke are lost, and have been supplied by the additions of Choo Shosin.

The second part, consisting of ten books is called 'Chronological Tables,' and contains nothing but tables, in form very much resembling our historical atlases. Each year occupies a vertical column subdivided into as many squares as there were feudatory states, or great offices, the holders of which are named. The last book which contained a catalogue of the great vassals of the Han dynasty, is lost. The same Choo Shosin undertook to supply the place.

The third part, in eight books, has the name of Pă Shoo, or 'eight branches of sciences.' The author treats successively of all that relates to rites, music, tones considered as the types of measures of length, the division of time, astronomy (comprehending astrology and uranography), religious ceremonies, rivers and canals, weights and measures. Szema Tseën gives an account in separate dissertations, of all the variations through which these different subjects had passed during the twenty-two hundred years, the history of which is embraced in his work. Four books relating to the arts, to music, to tones, and to the calender, have been lost, and replaced by the treatises of Choo Shosin on the same subjects.

The fourth part, in thirty books, gives a genealogical history of all the families possessing territory, from the great vassals and the dynasty of Chow to the simple ministers or generals of the dynasty of Han. The family of Confucius is admitted as an exception on account of his great celebrity. The last book of this part has been lost and supplied like the others.

The fith and last part consists of seventy books; one part is given

to memoirs on foreign geography. The rest to biographical sketches of greater or less extent, upon all such men as had made themselves remarkable in the sciences, or in the different branches of administration. The author concludes it by an abridged history of his own family, and it is there that he renders an account of his father's labors and his own, in the composition of the work to which this notice forms a sort of epilogue. Of this part of the Sze Ke, all the books from the thirty-eighth to the sixty-eighth are lost.

Such, in a few words, is the plan of the monument erected by Szema Tseën. One of its least merits consists in that arrangement of parts which we cannot fail to admire. The multitude of facts contained in this work, the clear and animated manner in which they are presented to us, the noble simplicity of the style, are quite enough to justify the high esteem in which it is held, and the praise bestowed on the author by two masters of the art, Lew Heäng and Yang Heung, who consider him possessed of the true genius for history.

The arrangement adopted by Szema Tseën in the Sze Ke, has ever since served as a model for all writers of authentic history in its different branches, or what they call, the great annals of the empire; the works of these different authors form the vast body of history known under the name of the 'Twenty-two Histories.' This classification has the advantage of separating the principal narrative from the details which encumber its progress, and at the same time of preserving these details, so important for enabling us to judge of the manners of an age, or the genius of a nation. We are, however, compelled to acknowledge that in dividing the annals of the state from the history of institutions and of individuals, Szema Tseën has eluded rather than surmounted one of the great difficulties in the art of the historian. The plan he has adopted makes his narrative dry and incoherent, and necessarily produces much repetition, since the recital of the same fact is often cut up and divided between the chronicle and the individual histories, as one or more persons have taken part in the same event.

We must not reproach the author with the great number of fables which he has collected from the books of the ancients and introduced into his. He shows clearly enough that he does not give these fables as realities, but only from a desire to preserve ancient traditions and curious stories.

We know no other work of Szema Tseën, than the Sze Ke. Father Amiot supposes him the author of seven, having, with an inconceivable degree of carelessness, mistaken the different parts of the

Sze Ke for different works. Probably on this occasion, as on many others, he derived his information from the bibliography of Ma Twanlin, or from the notes of Yun Szekoo upon the history of the Han dynasty by Pan Kew, in which case he has misunderstood what was said by these writers, and not taken the trouble to examine the original works. In this way he has transformed the ten chronological tables of Szema Tseën into 'ten models of good government;' and his uranography into 'a sort of astronomical romance, composed to celebrate such great generals as during their lives filled the earth with the fame of their exploits, and after death deserved to continue illustrious by giving their names to the worlds which shall, until the end of time, roll their orbs through the vault of heaven.' There is not in the writings of Szema Tseën, anything resembling this idea, which father Amiot finds in his own imagination.

Notwithstanding the decree which condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, Szema Tseën was after a time restored to the emperor's favor, and nominated to a sort of literary chancellorship. He exercised this employment until his death, the precise time of which is not known. The Sze Ke was not published during his life; but after his death this book began to be known, and under the reign of Seuen te, (from 73 to 40 before the Christian era,) a nephew of Szema Tseën, named Ping Tunghow, took upon himself to publish it.

Some years after, under the reign of Wang Mang (A. D. 9 to 22,) the posthumous title of *Sze Tung Tsew*, one of the dignities of the imperial college, was conferred on Szema Tseën. We are, however, surprised to find that the man, who of all others contributed most efficaciously to the restoration of letters in China, by the composition of one of the finest works in the language, has not obtained a place among the great men to whom honors, almost divine, are rendered in the temple of Confucius. Should it be said that his having fallen into disgrace with the emperor was the cause of this exclusion, we can only reply that, in such case, posterity has proved itself more severe in its judgments than the emperor who condemned him. He at least revoked a decree more disgraceful to himself than to the great man who was its victim, and the nation which profited by the labors of Szema Tseën, has permitted the continuation of an injustice that should and might be repaired. Pan Kew, one of the most celebrated of the imitators of Szema Tseën, has consecrated to him the sixty-second book of the 'History of the first Han dynasty.' It is principally from this source that father Amiot has drawn in the compilation of an incomplete and inaccurate article upon the great

historian, which he has inserted in his collection of portraits of celebrated Chinese. (Portraits des Chinois celebres. Mem. Chin., tom. III. page 77.)

Besides the notice of the Sze Ke given by Szema Tseën himself, in the epilogue which we have already cited, we should read the judgments pronounced upon it by the most able of the Chinese literati, as they are found in the 'Library' of Ma Twanlin. We may also consult father Amiot's memoir upon the antiquity of the Chinese (Mem. Chin. tome II., p. 126 et suiv.), and Gaubil's treatise on Chinese chronology (page 123 of the same work).

The king's library possesses many editions of the Sze Ke. One of them is remarkable for its typographical execution; the volumes are of that size which the Chinese call 'sleeve gems,' because they carry them in their sleeves as we should do in our pockets. Another edition printed under Keënlung, in thirty volumes, contains the notes of the various commentators, and all the explanations necessary to obtain a full and entire understanding of the text.

Note. On page 216, line 13, our author is in error, as the Sze Ke was completed *prior* to the commencement of our era.

ART. VI. *Hostilities with China: communication for the emperor's ministers; the queen's plenipotentiaries; British forces; the white flag; and the occupation of Chusan.*

"COMMUNICATION, not hostilities, was the word I used," said viscount Palmerston, when in the House of Commons, on the 12th of March last, he replied to sir Robert Peel, who was calling for information to be laid before parliament,—calling for it because, in the heat of debate, "the noble lord had stated that hostilities were to be carried on at the charge of the country, and in the name of her majesty." *(Hear, hear!)* "I used the word '*communication*,' not 'hostilities,' replied the viscount." *(Laughter!!)*

There can be no doubt that both the ministry and the parliament of Great Britain have been very much in the dark up to this hour, as to what kind of communication is to be had between their government and that of China; and the effusions of the periodical press in their metropolis show, that the ignorance is not confined to those in authority. We do not at all wonder that ministers wished to give

a pacific character to their expedition. Had they moved earlier in this direction, and years ago made their friendly communication, then it might have succeeded. For such we often pleaded; and now it has come,— but at an hour too late! The gauntlet has been thrown; the flag of truce disregarded; forts and batteries demolished; territory occupied; neutrality violated; captives taken; and men left dead and dying on the battle-field. However peaceful they may desire to be, the good people of Great Britain, after a friendly intercourse of more than 200 years, now find themselves at war with the Chinese. Hostile elements, long buried up and concealed from the public, have taken fire and burst forth. *War has begun!* But who can tell when and how it will end?

Concerning the appointment of plenipotentiaries, and the tenor of lord Palmerston's communication for Peking, little seems to have transpired either in England or in China. Very much, however, is depending on that communication, and its reception or refusal by the emperor. The plenipotentiaries were probably at the mouth of the Pei ho by the 4th or 5th instant; and a few days will be time sufficient to show what course the celestial dynasty will pursue towards these "outside barbarians." It might have been well to have had the pacific communication of H. B. M.'s foreign secretary proferred to the emperor's ministers at Teëntsin prior to any acts which could by any means be regarded as hostile. And this we thought there was reason to expect; first, from lord Palmerston's remarks in parliament, and from the fact that the forts at the Bogue were left unmolested by a force, which, if disposed, might have leveled them to the ground in an hour. Almost every foreigner in China hoped and expected they would have been demolished. Such were not our own views, and we were glad to see them spared, since their destruction and a move on Canton would have cost immense suffering and loss of life,— and all without any certain prospect of affecting favorably the counsels of the imperial cabinet. But to such a pass have affairs now come, that peace or war are the only alternatives. And if the queen's representatives are expelled from the north, it will be the signal for active and extensive hostilities. The Tiger's Mouth may yet be stopped.

With the Chinese, the object will be, as it now is, to stay the introduction of opium, and to expel from their country those who are not reverently obedient to their laws.

With the English, the object will be, as it now is, to obtain reparation for losses and injuries suffered, and to seek those rights and immunites due from one independent and friendly nation to another.

The following is a list of the forces of H. B. M. now in the Chinese waters.

Her British Majesty's Ships.

MELVILLE, 74, bearing the flag of rear admiral the hon. George Elliot C. B., captain, the hon. R. S. Dundas.
WELLESLEY, 74, bearing the broad pennant of com. sir J. J. Gordon Bremer, C. B., Thomas Maitland, esq., captain.
BLENHEIM, 74, Sir H. S. Fleming Senhouse, K. C. B.
DRUID, 44, H. Smith, Esq.
BLONDE, 44, F. Bourchier, esq.
CONWAY, 28, C. D. Bethune, esq.
VOLAGE, 28, Geo. Elliot, esq.
ALLIGATOR, 28, H. Kuper, esq.
LARNE, 20, J. P. Blake, esq.
HYACINTH, 20, W. Warren, esq.
MODESTE, 20, H. Eyres, esq.
PYLADES, 20, T. V. Anson, esq.
NIMROD, 20, C. A. Barlow, esq.
CRUISER, 18, H. W. Gifford, esq.
COLUMBINE, 18, T. J. Clarke, esq.
ALGERINE, 10, T. S. Musson, esq.
RATTLESNAKE troop ship, Brodie.

Hon. Company's Armed Steamers.

QUEEN, captain Warden.
MADAGASCAR, captain Dicey.
ATALANTA, captain Rogers.
ENTERPRISE, captain West.

Transports and Troops.

Allalevie,	Ernaad,	Mermaid,
Blundell,	Futtay Salam,	Mahomed Shah,
Bremer,	Hooghly,	Nazareth Shah.
Clifton,	Kite,	Rahamany,
David Malcolm,	Indian Oak,	Rustomjee Cowasjee,
Defiance,	Isabella Robertson,	Stalkart,
Eagle,	John Adams,	Sulimany,
Edmonstone,	Marian,	Victoria,
Elizabeth Ainslie,	Medusa,	William Wilson.

Three regiments, the 18th Royal Irish; the 26th Cameronians; and the 49th Bengal volunteers; a corps of Bengal engineers; and a corps of Madras sappers and miners—say, about 4000 fighting men, comprise the land force.

With the usages of other nations, civilized or savage, at war or in times of peace, the Chinese have had little acquaintance or concern. In the business of national intercourse they have much to learn. The character of the *white flag* it will now be well for them early to understand and respect. Their childishness in crying "off!" "off!" whenever a stranger approaches their coast is contemptible, and deserves correction. The "flag of truce," of which hitherto they have known nothing, a few lessons, such as that received from the Blonde, will most likely induce them to treat with due respect. Mr. Thom's narrative of the visit to Amoy, and his account of the white flag, will be read with interest; we copy it entire.

"On Thursday, 2d July, at 9 A. M., having been ordered, with captain Bourchier of H. M. S. Blonde, to repair on board the admiral, a dispatch said to be of great importance was delivered to us, which we were instructed to deliver into the hands of the Chinese admiral of the station, or, supposing him to be absent, to deliver the same into the hands of the highest local authority resident at Amoy, so as to secure its safely reaching the dignitary for whom it was intended. The letter was addressed, 'From the imperial appointed naval commander-in-chief of the Great English nation, to his excellency the imperial appointed admiral of the Chinese nation, for H. E.'s inspection, &c.' It must be borne in mind that the officers of the celestial empire only permit foreigners to address them in the style of *petition*, or as *inferiors*, whereas this dispatch was called a *letter*, and addressed on a footing of perfect *equality*.

"With a view to fulfill the admiral's commands, the Blonde cast anchor off the port of Amoy about mid-day; a battery built for 5 guns, none of which then appeared mounted, and which guarded the entrance to the inner harbor, bearing from the ship N.N.E. ½ E., distant about a mile. When we had been at anchor nearly an hour, a boat, resembling those used by the hong-merchants on Canton river, and boaring a red flag with the characters *Heä fang ting seun chuen*, or 'cruizing boat of the Amoy district officer,' came alongside. Within were five or six low followers or servants, who on coming aboard said that they had been dispatched by the magistrates to inquire who we were, and what we wanted. They were told briefly in reply, that we had an important communication for the admiral of the station, and that if he came on board to see us, he should be treated with kindness and courtesy, but that if he declined doing so, we should lose no time in waiting upon him. To this they replied, that the admiral was at Chinchew, and requested us to go thither in search of him. We then inquired who were the principal mandarins of the district; and they answered that the chief civilian was a *fun foo*, or subgovernor of a district of the first order of the surname *Tsae*, who wore a light blue button, and the highest military officer was a *chung ying* or principal military commaadant, surnamed *Chin*, who wore a crystal button: there was also a *taoutae*, or intendant, surnamed *Lew*, who occasionally visited Amoy, but was at that time absent. We therefore determined to deliver the document formally into the hands of the first two.

"Before leaving the Melville, the admiral commanded me to draw up a few lines in Chinese, explaining what was meant by a 'flag of truce,' and stating that such was held sacred by all civilized nations. The following document was drawn up to answer this end.

"'The commanding chief of the Great English nation addresses this to the honorable officers presiding over this district, in order that peace and harmony may be kept, and war and calamity avoided.

"'Behold! it hath been said by the ancient sages,—'the ten thousand kingdoms of this earth form but one house, and all mankind are but one great family of brothers: thus although they may at times

have their differences, yet in the end all hope to drop their enmity and love each other as before;'—this is a principle of human nature, applicable alike to all countries. The object of this, then, is to say, that a misunderstanding having unfortunately arisen between the two great nations of England and China, in order to restore their brotherly harmony as of old, it will be necessary for quiet, peaceably-disposed people to be continually coming and going between both parties for the purpose of speaking kind words, or delivering letters or such like. These people go utterly unarmed, and carry a white flag, which, with the exception of savages, is looked upon by all nations as a sacred sign. No violence is ever offered to their persons: on the contrary, all mankind look upon them as good men, and treat them accordingly: it answers very much the same purpose as a *meën chen pae* (board having the characters 'avoid fighting' on it) in your own honorable country. We therefore beg that you communicate the same to all your fellow-officers that they may know accordingly. At the same time distinct warning is hereby given, that if any of your people fire off guns or muskets at such white flag, it will be impossible for me, the great English chief, to prevent my people exacting a most fearful vengeance! Beware, therefore, beware!'

"This document was delivered *open*, and in order to avoid all mistakes, was read to the official people at the capstan. They were asked again and again if they understood its purport; they replied as often that they understood perfectly that the white flag was to be held sacred. With this document and verbal message they departed, promising to return with an immediate answer. Within an hour, they came back, accompanied by another person of good address, apparently a head servant, who pulling out the document which the others had taken ashore, presented it to me, saying, 'that the district magistrates had taken a copy of it for their superior officers, but as they did not dare to hold communication with outside foreigners, they begged to return the original document whence it came.' To this he was answered, that, 'in writing this document for the magistrates, we were merely fulfilling the commands of our superior officers, and therefore he *must* take it back.' Upon this he said a few words to his followers to convince them of our reasonableness, and quietly put the paper in his bosom. Still anxious to know if he was indeed aware of the contents, we cross-questioned him, and found him quite aware that the white flag was to be regarded as a sign of truce and duly respected. He then asked the captain's name, &c., to all of which we replied, that we should inform the mandarins fully when we landed, and as *they* did not like the idea of coming *on board*, *we* should have the pleasure of calling upon them *ashore* immediately after dinner; and begged him in the meantime to present our very kindest regards to them. When just going over the the ship's side, we asked him which would be the better place to land, the pagoda or the fort? And after a moment's hesitation he replied, that he thought the fort would be the better.

"At 3 P. M., accompanied by the 2d lieutenant, sir Frederic Ni-

cholson, we went into the cutter and pulled right for the beach close beside the fort. We had a white flag flying at the cutter's bow, and were quite unarmed. To our amazement, insted of the kind reception which we had counted upon, we found the beach lined by about half a dozen officers, and from 200 to 300 soldiers drawn up in hostile array, and manifesting the most unfriendly disposition. We run the cutter's bow on the beach, when myself and the 2d lieut. went forward, and pointing to the white flag, said that we had a letter for the admiral, and wished to land in order to deliver it. In reply they said that the admiral had gone to Chinchew, and that if we dared to set a foot on shore they would kill us, or bind us hand and foot, and send us to Foochow foo. They showed that they were prepared to support what they said by deeds, for their spearmen and matchlockmen approached the water's edge until their weapons were within a yard of our bodies, and we could not have jumped ashore without literally rushing upon them. The conversation on our part was confined to begging them to receive and forward our letter, as they would thereby avoid a great deal of trouble, all of which was done with perfect politeness, and their only reply was, "off! off! Get you gone!" to which were superadded sundry abuses and imprecations. Finding it impossible under these circumstances to deliver the dispatch, we pulled off again for the frigate. In the meantime, captain Bourchier had seen our hostile reception from the ship, and had sent the 3d lieut., with an armed boat's crew to take possession of a large junk that was just leaving port. When the junk anchored under our stern, the captain of her was brought on board, who presented a written paper saying that he was only a merchantman bound for Chinchew, and did not know for what reason he was thus detained. We endeavored to explain that we merely wished him to carry a letter on shore for the magistrates, and that the moment he returned with an answer, that moment his junk should be restored to him. Upon this a paper was drawn up addressed to the officers, stating, that having sent a flag of truce to deliver a letter, it had been repulsed with threats and rudeness, and that we had determined to seize their junks, and stop their trade until they should consent to receive it. No reply was ever brought to this note, and the junk slipped away in the gray of the morning. Early on Friday morning we hoisted sail, resolving to stand in shore, and to make another attempt to deliver the dispatch under cover of the frigate's guns. It being perfectly calm, we could not weigh till 11 A. M., and at mid-day anchored close to the shore, the Chinese battery bearing off our larboard quarter distant about 500 yards. In order to explain our object clearly, a document had been written out in the morning in large Chinese characters on a piece of calico to the following effect.

"'A clear and distinct notice. Behold! I the foreign *employé*, have received orders from my superior officer to land here and deliver an important dispatch to the honorable officers of this district, who in their turn are to hand the same up to H. E. the admiral of the station, which being done, we depart hence immediately, having in fact no other business here.

"'Now this is to say, that having received such a commission from my commander, I dare not do otherwise than execute it, and am determined, therefore, to deliver the said dispatch into the very hands of the honorable officers of this district, and as for your threats of killing me or binding me, I regard them not! If you consent to receive this dispatch, you will thereby avoid giving birth to a very serious affair; if you decline to receive it, you will thereby bring upon yourselves a great calamity: lo! happiness and misery are in your own hands; say not that we failed to give you due warning beforehand. These words are true.'

"With this hung out so as to be legible at a great distance, and with the white flag flying as before, we went to the same place to repeat the experiment in the little jolly-boat, with five men and boys *utterly unarmed.* It may here be mentioned that the officers had been busy all day making warlike preparations; their best guns had been placed in the battery, three pieces more were mounted at the landing-place, the beach had already become an encampment, being covered with soldiers' tents, and it would appear that they did not contemplate confining themselves to the *defensive*, for several large junks had been towed down from the harbor in the course of the morning, and were being mounted with cannon and soldiers, no doubt with the intention of attacking the frigate. Everything in fact denoted the most determined hostility.

"When we reached the landing-place, the officers and troops were drawn up as on the day before, and a considerable crowd of spectators had assembled, no doubt from curiosity, to witness the scene. Fearing some treachery, I had ordered our men to back the boat to the beach, and, in the event of the Chinese seizing me, to make the best of their way to the frigate. When about 5 or 6 yards off shore, I sat over the boat's stern, and holding out my "notice" to the mandarins requested them to peruse it. Their fury was beyond all bounds, and seemed to be aggravated by the surrounding people reading it as well as themselves. I told them that being most friendly disposed towards the Chinese, I had come at great hazard to speak to them words of peace and kindness, as I could not bear the idea of injuring them. They replied with threats and curses, making the well known sign of cutting off the head, &c., &c. At this time we were scarce a couple of yards from the beach, and our men called my attention that their soldiers were wading into the water to seize the boat, upon this I told them to pull a stroke or two, and when 8 or 10 yards off stood up in the boat, and said with a loud voice, 'I now ask you for the last time, will you receive it or not?' 'No!' they all roared simultaneously, 'we fear you not;' and other expressions of defiance. Seeing all hope of delivering it gone, I ordered the men to pull back to the ship, and they making the boat spring with the force of their oars, I lost my balance and fell: a most lucky fall! as just *at that very moment* a well directed arrow flew over the spot I had quitted, and struck the bottom of the boat with such force as to shiver its head to pieces; *one moment* sooner and it had passed through

my body. A matchlock bullet hit the stern of the boat a couple of inches from the coxswain's back, two or three more passed close by our heads, a couple of Chinese field-pieces were discharged either at us or at the ship, and the troops were getting realy for a general discharge which would certainly have killed the whole of us, when a circumstance took place which completely turned the tables in our favor, and most justly punished the Chinese for their cold-blooded cruelty. Captain Bourchier had been observing the hostile attitude of the officers and soldiers, and being apprehensive for our safety, had got the after guns of the frigate to command the beach, so that when the Chinese troops were just on the point of firing the fatal volley, a couple of 32 pound shot came bowling in among them, which soon make them quit the jolly-boat to attend to their own safety. I had scarce recovered from the momentary stupor into which amazement at the barbarity of the Chinese had cast me, when a confused crowd of officers, soldiers, and spectators, each flying for his life danced before my eyes! A few moments before, they had, in defiance of the law of nations, attempted to take *my* life; *now* the same measure they had meted out to *me*, was being amply measured out unto *them* again! Scarce had they finished their menaces aud loud protestations of defiance, ere they were scattered like chaff, every one seeking safety in flight, save some ten or a dozen, whose carcasses remained on the beach, never to fly more!

"On returning to the ship, as many guns as possible were made to bear on the fort, and those junks which had in the morning been filled with soldiers, and we battered them at intervals for nearly a couple of hours; the fort was riddled and nearly unroofed, but being well built, we could not succeed in battering it down. In the meantime, the noise of our firing had attracted people from far and near, and the tops of the hills and all high places were crowded with men, women, and children, as far as the eye could reach!

"By orders of captain Bourchier, the following document was drawn up in Chinese.

"'The English military chief ——— hereby addresses this to the common people of Amoy, that they may thoroughly understand.

"'Whereas I, the said military chief, having received orders from my commanding officer to repair hither from the purpose of delivering an important letter, which they ought in their turn to hand up to H. E. the admiral of the station, and fearing lest they might not understand our foreign manners and customs, did first upon my arrival address them a letter, stating, that among all foreign countries a white flag was the emblem of peace, that the people making use of it were respected as good people and never injured, and that therefore relying upon this universally admitted law of nations, I should send some unarmed people ashore with a white flag to deliver the said letter, whom I expected to be treated with kindness and respect. At the same time I gave them to understand distinctly that if they dared to fire upon my flag of truce, or otherwise injure my defenceless people, I should exact at their hands a dreadful vengeance.

"'This, then, is to state that yesterday, when I sent my first flag of truce, it was repulsed with threats and curses, a procedure quite unworthy the majesty of a great nation! But what is still worse, this day when I sent an officer in a little boat with five unarmed men, to deliver the said letter, and speak words of peace and kindness, your officers fired at them, and were within an ace of murdering the whole party. This is indeed most detestable! I, the military chief, could not but fire in return in order to save the lives of my own people, and avenge the unprovoked hostility of the mandarins. But I have no enmity against you, the common people of the land, and if any of you have suffered injury from the fire of my ship most sincerely do I lament it; and you must rather impute this to the mistake of your own magistrates, than to any bad intention on my part. Had I had any wish to kill you, what difficulty should I have had in slaughtering you by tens of thousands at a time? But such is far from my wish, and you have seen with your own eyes that I have confined my fire to the forts and war-junks. This is issued for the right information of all the Chinese common people.'

"This document was sent by the 2d lieut., with two armed cutters, to be pasted upon the wall of the fort, but before it could be done, the party who had landed were attacked by the Chinese soldiers, and captain Bourchier, feeling anxious lest the boats' crews should be cut off, hoisted the signal for their recall. They came back bringing with them the shields and spears of those who had been killed, and the above notice was afterwards put into a bottle, and cast overboard, when a fisherman was observed to pick it up. An armed boat was next dispatched to cut the cable of a large junk lying near us (one of those which had been taken up for their troops), and set her on fire. This was done but the fire went out ere she had drifted half way up the harbor. The ship was then ordered to be got under weigh, and about 4 P.M., we resigned the large town of Amoy once more to its amazed and panic struck inhabitants.

"I consider this affair which took place off Amoy as likely to produce several important consequences. The common people witnessed our pacific but ineffectual attempts to deliver the letter intrusted to our charge, and they also witnessed their own magistrates and soldiers fire upon our unarmed boat's crew. They heard the loud note of defiance set up by their own troops and officers, the next moment they saw them flying before a despised, barbarian ship, each more anxious than the other to save his life. They saw their immense town at the mercy of the foreigners, and the perfect inability of their own soldiers to drive them away, and yet they saw victorious foreigners spare the town, and confine their vengeance to those cruel rulers who commanded the affray. It is only to be regretted that we had not had a steamer which by being lashed to the Blonde might have taken her up in front of the town, when selecting the different public offices, we might have battered them down one by one or blown them up. This would have served still more strongly to show the people, that our quarrel was with the rulers *alone*, and not with *them*. Perhaps,

however, this was not absolutely necesary in our case, for it was no deed done in a corner, having been witnessed by at least a hundred thousand spectators. Moreover, the quarrel having originated concerning "a white flag," this will now be recognised all over the empire as the foreign emblem of peace.

"As to the wisdom or propriety of delivering a communication of the kind at Amoy, that is not my province to discuss, but as to the *necessity* of doing what we did, I hereby solemnly declare and aver, that but for the merciful providence of almighty God, and the well-timed and well-directed fire of H. M. S. Blonde, myself and every individual in the jolly-boat had without doubt been most barbarously murdered. The above narrative is true according to the best of my knowledge and belief.

"On board H. B. M. frigate Blonde, 7th July, 1840.

(Signed). "R. Thom."

Concerning the occupation of Chusan by the queen's troops, we will here introduce such information as we can collect both from private letters and public journals. The first authentic account of this event was brought to Macao by the steamer Enterprise, which arrived off Macao on the evening of the 31st ult.

Saturday, July 4th, sir Gordon Bremer, having preceded H. B. M. commissioners, appeared before Tinghae, on board the Wellesley, and demanded the surrender of the town. Some further communication followed: the Chinese officers said they were weak, and the English strong, yet they could not surrender, nor promise not to fire — the English must come and take them, while they must fight.

On Sabbath morning, it was observed that the Chinese had been, during the night, throwing up some defenses; and they were then told, that till 2 o'clock P. M. would be allowed them as the limit of the time for surrender, at which hour a gun would be fired from the Wellesley, and if replied to, that reply would be the signal for opening a fire on their junks and defenses. At 2 o'clock, the Wellesley fired, and, having taken aim, fired *truly*. Immediately the fire was answered from the junks and from ten or twelve guns on shore — one a long brass piece, made by Richard Philip, in 1601. They all were soon silenced, and the debarkation of the troops commenced. As they reached the junks a dozen men were seen on board, some dead and some dying. Among the former was one, an officer, who had, the previous day, been on board the Wellesley. And another military and naval officer, the chief in command, was said to have died the next day. Two or three wounded persons were carried on board the ships, in order that they might be taken care of, and their wounds be

dressed. The chop-house, at which the first shot was directed, was knocked to atoms, and many other places were much injured.

In the course of the afternoon, the troops having posted themselves on a piece of rising ground commanding the city, the British flag was hoisted under a royal salute, and, we suppose, formal possession of Chusan was then and there taken in the name of her Britannic majesty, queen Victoria.

Thus, on the 5th of July, A. D. 1840, being the 7th day of the 6th month in the 20th year in the reign of Taoukwang, a part of the dominions of the Great Pure dynasty fell into the hands of a foreign power. "China must bend or break."

The darkness of night approaching, and the Chinese having broken down one of the bridges, and thus obstructed the road to the city, it was concluded to postpone a formal entrance till the next morning; and, having thrown a few shells and shot over the walls in order to silence some small guns and matchlocks, the work of the day — on the part of the assailants — then closed.

On Monday, the 6th, at 3 A. M., unfortunately a fire broke out in the suburbs of the city, "and," says a correspondent, "it probably arose from the carelessness of our people quartered there, though it might have been caused by incendiaries." At daylight, when the troops marched up to enter the city, on opening the gates they found it deserted — the people having fled, excepting a very few servants who had shut themselves up in the houses and shops of their masters. In the course of the day, efforts were made to quiet the fears of the people, and to induce them to return to their houses.

Admiral and captain Elliot arrived this day, the 6th, and the Melville having struck on a rock, they were obliged to quit her for the Wellesley. She was being towed astern of the Atalanta, when she struck. Some of the other vessels also grounded on rocks while going into Chusan.

On the 7th, Messrs. Morrison, and Gutzlaff and Clarke (the latter having been named civil governor) went to the office of the chief magistrate to search for and examine all its records, to hear complaints, &c. The furniture of the establishment was found all situated as if the occupants had fled without a moment's warning. The Blonde arrived in the evening. Mr. Clarke having declined the governorship, brigadier Burrell was made governor of Chusan.

On the 9th, the Melville was towed into harbor, in order to be cleared and hove down, for the purpose of repairing injuries sustained by striking on a rock when near Chusan. This day a party was

dispatched to the mouth of the Ningpo river, in the Blonde, the Queen steamer, &c., and were there in correspondence with officers on shore, endeavoring to procure provisions.

On the 10th, an attempt was made to deliver into the hands of the high officers a copy of lord Palmerston's letter designed for the perusal of H. M. and his ministers at Peking. A small trading junk was taken, and a note sent by her desiring that officers might come off. A polite answer was received from the lieut.-governor and tetuh, promising to send a deputation *after* one had first waited on *them*. This answer was given on the 12th; and in the afternoon of the same day, a deputation, consisting of Messrs. Morrison, Clarke, and Astell, and captain Bethune, was sent to the shore, who delivered into the hands of two officers, wearing blue buttons, an open copy of the translation of the letter.

On the 13th, captain Elliot went, in the steamer Queen, to confer with the admiral, and in the afternoon they both in company returned in the Atalanta. During his absence, the lieut.-governor and tetuh sent a letter, and with it returned the copy of lord Palmerston's communication, which latter was not received on account of the plenipotentiaries' absence. A deputation then followed, but did not come on board ship. An attempt was also made to return the communication by the junk which had carried in the orignal note on a previous day. This slight was duly noticed.

The following letter, dated at Chusan on the 15th, we copy from the Canton Register.

"On the evening of Wednesday, the 8th July, I landed at Chusan; at the landing-place there is a town consisting of one large, and two or three small streets, (not unlike part of the Honan suburbs,) which is called the outer city. This is joined by a paved road to the city of Tinghae, which is about three quarters of a mile from the beach.

"It seems that on the 5th instant, the Chinese admiral and other officers had been invited on board the Wellesley, when —— pointed out to them her large guns and explained the irresistible effects of the broadside of a man-of-war; to all of which the admiral (being a dull, stupid man, as —— says) merely replied, 'it is very true, you are strong and I am weak; I know it is of no use resisting, still I must fight.' Or words to that effect. On the morning of the 5th, as the troops were preparing to land, the Wellesley fired a shot, calling the Chinese admiral to surrender, but the admiral returned his fire from his junks and a few wretched guns on shore, with considerable spirit. Some say he only fired one round, other say more, but the guns were badly served, and though many of the shot struck the ship, yet they did no execution. The fire was then returned from the Wellesley, Conway, Alligator, and Cruizer, and in one minute more all the Chinese troops had disappeared. The English then effected their landing without opposition, and the officers commenced destroying the wine stores, in order to prevent the soldiers and sailors from getting intoxicated. The outer city appears to have been a perfect depôt for samshoo: in fact, this seems to be the great product of the island; for though the officers broke several thousands of large jars, until the liquor 'flowed through the streets in sounding torrents,' yet plenty

remained to make several sailors drunk, and these, chiefly men of the transports who rowed the troops on shore, setting to work with a will, and being zealously seconded by the Chinese boat-people and peasantry, in the course of a few hours the outer city was literally gutted. I passed through the place on the 8th, all the shops (there are few dwelling-houses in the outer city,) had been broken into and plundered; the streets were still flooded with stagnant wine, which emitted an intolerable stench. I felt a strong inclination to vomit as I passed through the disgustingly filthy streets; never did I behold a place so likely to produce the yellow fever or the plague. I have since been down there several times, and every time the stench appears to get more intolerable. Some people say that it is perfectly impossible to clear out these worse than Augean stables, and that the best plan will be to set fire to the whole concern, and begin anew. But to return to our tale.

"On the 5th, a couple of shells were pitched into the city, but still there was no flag of truce held out; on the contrary, they kept firing with their matchlocks on our piquets.

"On the morning of the 6th, our troops advanced to storm the city of Tinghae; they found the bridge over the canal, or moat, that extends nearly all the way round, broken down; the gates were shut, and not a soul upon the ramparts. Some of our soldiers clambered over the walls, and opened the gates, when they found the city utterly deserted by its inhabitants. All the houses were shut up, and the silence of death reigned through all the streets. The people had availed themselves of the breathing-space allowed them on the previous night to remove their families and valuables into the interior, and we think that by far the greater part of them have since crossed over to the main land.

"The Chinese, no doubt, expected to be put to the sword, and their women abused; this, indeed, is as they would have treated us, having no idea of what we call "civilized warfare." No one has been killed in cold blood that I am aware of. Our European soldiers, especially the 26th, have conducted themselves very well; and all the excesses that have taken place at Tinghae are chiefly laid to the door of the Bengal volunteers; indeed, the Chinese get on very much better with the Europeans than with the native troops.

"Since our arrival here, the government has been directed by brigadier general Burrell, who has taken up his quarters at the military commandant's. Under him Gutzlaff has managed the civil department pro tem. and lives with your humble servant at the chief magistrate's public court. ———, it is said, *will* assume the duties of chief magistrate to-morrow; even I felt anxious to be "dressed in a little brief authority," and actually played second to Mr. Gutzlaff for two or three days, but found it to be such a thankless office — that of a *mandarin* — that I was infinitely better pleased to get rid of it than ever I was to get into it. For instance, if a man could speak good mandarin I would listen to his complaint; but if he could only speak the patois of the place — which none of us can understand well — I was obliged to dismiss him with his grievances unredressed. The Chusan people are quiet and inoffensive; they like anything better than hard blows; but a more subtle, lying, and thievish race it never was my luck to live amongst. E. g. — A fellow petitioned me, saying that his old mother was dead and begged permission to carry out her coffin. His petition appeared to me to be perfectly reasonable, and I concluded that this man was a model of filial affection. But when the coffin was passing through the gate, one of the sentries lifted up the lid with his bayonet, and found it full of the richest silks.

"Another time, a dyer by profession petitioned me, saying that he had been carrying out his wife's and mother's clothes, when they were taken from him by the guard at the north gate. My heart was touched; I saw in "my mind's eye" the poor females shivering with cold and wet on the tops of the hills, and actually walked a mile and a half with the man — leaving my business for the express purpose — to get him back his wife's and mother's clothes. When we got to the north gate, we found a great many clothes which had been detained during the day. I told my friend to select his wife's and mother's from among the lot; the rogue lost no time in helping himself to some of the best, and the theft was discovered too late to be remedied. The real Simon Pure, who had lost the good clothes, worried me with his petitions for two days, praying me to get them back, but I could do nothing for him.

"On another occasion, when passing before the eastern gate, I saw a simple-looking fellow carrying out two large panniers full of ashes. It struck me—'thou must be a very honest innocent fellow indeed to carry dust and ashes when others wo n't look at less than silks and satins.' So I put my fan into one of his panniers, and found it filled with beautiful silk and fur clothes and money at the bottom, and the other pannier contained the same things. His worship gave the simple-looking fellow 24 hours fast and confinement for the trick, and the clothes and money were restored to the rightful owner.

"Such are a few specimens of the Chinese people, at least of such as are left to us,—for I believe that every respectable individual has left the place."

The accounts we receive of the natural scenery, the agricultural productions, and commercial advantages of Chusan vary very much. Sometimes, "the country is delightful, and the people mild, quiet, industrious, and enterprising, their well-cultivated soil yielding them an abundance of rich produce," &c. At other times, everything is in the opposite extreme—most positively bad. For the present, it will be safest to assume the mean of the two extremes to be the truth. The following extract, dated the 19th, we copy from the Canton Press.

"On Friday morning, the 17th, we started on a sort of exploring expedition to the interior. The party consisted of 4 officers, 20 Cameronians, and some Bengalee camp followers. After marching abuut 7 miles, we came to a large farm, the landlord of which was good enough to lend us his temple of ancestors where we breakfasted, and passed a few hours till the sun began to descend, when we marched home again, very much to our landlord's satisfaction, for he seemed vastly well pleased to get rid of us. We found the interior beautifully fertile and most highly cultivated. The paddy is superior to anything that I ever saw at Canton, and will be ripe for the sickle they tell me in about 20 days. We saw no towns, and I rather think that with the exception of Tinghae and the outer suburbs no town properly speaking exists on the island. Every farm has got a cluster of cottages around it, forming as it were a little hamlet, where they live as one large family. The farm we stopped at seemed a very large one, and might contain 200, perhaps 300, inhabitants. They did not seem to possess any great overplus for the purposes of trade, for when we called for provisions for breakfast, and offered money for them, the utmost the whole hamlet could muster for sale were 2 fowls and 62 eggs! There was an officer from the commissariat with us who wanted to buy cattle for the army—but though each farm had its bullock, or perhaps 3 or 4, yet these animals were used for tilling the ground, or grinding the corn, and they would on no account consent to sell them. In all the march the commissariat officer could only manage to purchase one large bullock for $20, and cow with her full-grown calf for $ 30. I, at the same time, purchased a milk goat and her kid for $5. It is hard to say whether the people in the country were kind or unkind to us. The ignorant peasantry, the regular clodhoppers of the land, gaped and stared and laughed as Chinamen laugh, and then went to hoe their fields again. At every little hamlet we passed we stopped to read and paste up a copy of our proclamation taking possession of the island in the queen's name. The country-people did not seem to care, or more likely, they did not understand what we were about. Like to the citizens of London when Buckingham tried to persuade them to proclaim Richard, duke of Gloster, king, they

'Like dumb statutes or like breathless stones stared at each other'—

And we may add, (though not in the original) laughed, and laughed, and laughed again.

"With the educated people it was different. They offered no opposition, as it would be inconvenient to come to blows, but in spite of my most honied expressions, and my most persuasive arguments, I could plainly perceive that

they were dissatisfied. I do not now hesitate to call the idea, that the Chinese (especially of this quarter) are displeased with their own government, and would join us from choice the moment that the British flag was unfurled — an idle dream. The people of this place seem to be peaceable enough, for I walked yesterday and the day before, quite alone, 3 or 4 miles into the country. True I was armed, but if they had any positively hostile intentions, they might have made minced meat of me had they chosen. They seem to stand in great awe of our fire-arms. I would not estimate the whole of the population of the Chusan group at over 50 or 60,000 souls, and the greater part of these are miserably poor and half naked. All that I can make out of their commerce is that they distill their surplus grain, and ship the spirit to Ningpo, returns for which are made in silks, stuffs, earthenware, &c., &c., which are retailed here to meet the limited wants of the islanders. I question much if a lac of dollars was turned over here in the way of business in the course of a whole year. Almost every farm has a little cotton planted for domestic use, and a little tea for home use; but I have not yet seen any native silk, and I rather think that there is none. I send you herewith four musters of native Chusan tea quoted to me at 170, 160, 240 and 320 cash, per catty. I had some intention of buying it all up, hoping that from the novelty of the thing, it might perhaps fetch as good prices as the Asám tea in the London market. The quantity however is certainly not much. The only dealer in the article thinks he might procure for me a hundred, or possibly two hundred catties. In short, everything here is on the most dwarfish scale, and many years must elapse before that this can become a great commercial place, and the ideas of the people, and the class of inhabitants must undergo a total change. The revenue is not very large, some 15,000 taels in money, and about double that in corn. I feel sorry to add that since the date of my last letter matters here have rather gone back than improved. It is said that disguised soldiers have been here from Ningpo, taking down the names of those who traded with the English; the consequence is, that many of the traders here being Ningpo people, or having relations at Ningpo, have been frightened, and some of the shops formerly opened are now shut up.

"The admiral and Morrison started this morning for Ningpo, and will be back to night. They are blockading all that line of coast, but vessels from Tinghae with English passes will be allowed to go up—i. e. by our squadron, but of course, all such people if seized would be hanged as traitors by their own government."

One of the objects of this visit to Ningpo, as well as of that of the 9th, was the establishment of a blockade, to extend from Ningpo to the mouth of the Yangtsze keäng. The Chinese law had been declared in force in Chusan for natives, and consequently opium was forbidden within the port; outside, however, the drug was selling freely, and "it was hoped it would act as a magnet to concentrate there a general trade." The latest date we have seen from Chusan is the 6th August, down to which time "the city was deserted, and the shops shut as much as when the troops first landed."

ART. VII. *Journal of Occurrences: attack on two British officers; abduction of Mr. Stanton, with correspondence relative thereto; hostile movements of the Chinese; attack on the Barrier; neutrality of the Portuguese: tsotang's edict; foreigners in Canton;*

foreign commerce; U. S. ships; blockading squadrons; lord Palmerston's communication at Teëntsin; H. B. M.'s reinforcements; state of the country, &c.

1. *An attack on two officers,* belonging to one of H. B. M.'s ships, was made during the evening of the 4th instant, by a gang of Chinese robbers, six or seven in number. It occurred about half past 9 o'clock, in a street not far from the office of the British superintendents in Macao. While passing down to the Praya Grande, the two officers were suddenly seized upon at the same instant: one by three or four stout Chinese ruffians, who threw him to the ground, jumped on him, pulled off his shoes, rifled his pockets of seven or eight dollars, and a watch, which they obtained by wrenching it from the chain. Disengaging himself from their grasp, he sprang for the rescue of his fellow-officer, who had been accosted by three or four of the same gang. On seizing him, they threw a chain around his neck, and bringing him to the ground, hauled it taut. In this position they took from his pockets whatever of money they could find; and one of them had prudently taken himself away, when the first officer coming up laid another one prostrate, and the other fled. The gentlemen then both proceeded to the Portuguese guard-house, and obtained from the officer on duty a corporal and six soldiers, and went in pursuit of the robbers. But the search was fruitless, for nothing could be found of the Chinese who made the attack.—We have been the more particular in giving the details of this case, because the reports, concerning the attack, have been contradictory. Through the kindness of a friend, the preceding particulars were obtained from a source that warrants us in giving them to our readers as perfectly authentic and true.

2. *The abduction of Mr. Stanton,* on the morning of the 6th instant, is a melancholy case. He is a young man, about 23 years of age, a student of divinity from Cambridge university, England,—remarkably amiable, and the enemy of no one. He arrived in China in the winter of 1838–39, as private tutor to the sons of Mr. Turner. On the decease of Mr. T., it became necessary for the two sons to return with their mother to England. Mr. Stanton, in the absence of a chaplain, had been called on to conduct divine services in the British chapel; he had also given his leisure hours to the study of the Chinese language; and on the departure of the Turners, he remained behind, with the intention of making himself master of the language, in which he had already made considerable proficiency, studying the Fuhkeën dialect.

For a long time, it seems, he had been in the daily habit of bathing, at an early hour, with some others, at Cassilha's bay; and had agreed, on the evening of the 5th, to meet his friends at daylight on their way to the beach, that they might bathe together, as they had often done before. But so early was he out, on the morning of the sixth, that when the others came to the beach, nothing was seen of him, or of aught else to excite suspicion—for he had often come and returned before the others reached the place; and it was near noon

before the people in the house where he was residing, became aware of his not having returned. The fact being known, at once excited alarm and concern; and messengers were hastily dispatched to all parts of the town, while his friends scoured the beach from one extremity of the bay to the other. Nothing at all could be heard of him in the town, or in the villages, or at the Barrier. It seemed certain that the Chinese in Macao had no knowledge of the manner in which he had disappeared. He might have been drowned, but it was more probable that he had been abducted. Fearing the former, fishermen were sent in their boats to drag for his body. Thus passed two days and two nights—Thursday and Friday—without anything transpiring to indicate what might be his fate. But on Saturday, the 8th, a rumor was abroad of his having been seen, badly wounded in the head, and his clothes bloody, in custody of the notorious Wongchung, near the Bogue, at a place called Stone-house. In the afternoon of the 9th it became known in Macao, that he was in the custody of the Chinese government in Canton. We forbear, for the present, to give the rumors which have been circulated concerning his examination by the provincial authorities. He is, we have good reason to believe, retained as a prisoner of war; is well provided with clean clothes, wholesome food, a servant, and a good supply of Chinese books—but entirely cut off from all communication with his friends. There is nothing, that we know of, to indicate in the slightest degree, what may be the probable length and termination of his captivity.

On Thursday afternoon an express was sent over to H. B. M.'s squadron at Kapshuy Moon; and next day the steamer Enterprise came into the Roads, with captain Smith on board. The following correspondence evinces the interest that was taken in Mr. Stanton's case by that officer, and by the British community generally.

(No. 1.)

To captain Henry Smith, R. N., senior officer of H. B. M. squadron. } Macao, 9th August, 1840.

Sir,—We now address you in consequence of the disappearance of a British subject, Mr. Vincent Stanton, officiating clergyman in the English chapel, who has now been missing since the morning of Thursday, 6th inst., under very mysterious circumstances.

His friends, deeply distressed at the event, have been most active in their endeavors to ascertain his fate, which they felt rested unfortunately only between two alternatives, drowning or seizure by the Chinese; the result of their inquiries is an almost general conviction that Mr. Stanton is in the hands of the Chinese. We have therefore earnestly to beg you will take such measures with the Chinese as may attain the release of our fellow-countryman.

When thus soliciting attention to the individual case at present the subject of our sympathies, we would take the opportunity of requesting your serious consideration may be bestowed on the position in which British subjects and British property are now placed here.

The well known edict, issued by the viceroy of the province, offering rewards for the seizure or assassination of British subjects, and which was stuck up in Macao—the notorious lurking about in the neighborhood of the gang who burned the "Bilbaino" and committed the atrocities on the "Black

Joke"—the assembling of a large fleet of war junks, full of soldiers, close to the shore in the Inner Harbor—the large bodies of Chinese troops quartered not only at the Barrier, but actually within the precincts of Macao, coupled with frequent insults and robberies; all these facts prove very evidently that the seizure of Mr. Stanton is only a further step in the system so long threatened, and which can alone be checked by energetic measures; whereas, any delay or impunity will embolden the Chinese, and we may soon have outrages of a more sweeping nature to lament.

In applying to you as senior officer of the station, we feel bound to state that his excellency the governor of Macao has shown every desire to afford us all protection in his power, and we doubt not you will find him ready to coöperate in any measures that you may deem advisable.

We have the honor to be, Sir, Your most obdt. servants, &c.

Signed by all the British subjects in Macao.

A. R. Johnston, esq. (No. 2.)
Deputy Super't. of British Trade in China, Macao.

Sir,—We inclose a letter addressed to captain Henry Smith, senior officer of H. B. M.'s, squadron in this neighborhood, which we will thank you to hand that officer. We leave the letter open for your perusal, and trust you will support its prayer.

We are, sir, your most obedient servants,

Macao, 9th August, 1840. Signed as above.

(No. 3.) Macao, 11th August, 1830.

Gentlemen,—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 9th instant, acquainting me of the distressing circumstance of the mysterious disappearance of Mr. Vincent Stanton; since the date of your letter authentic information, as you are aware, has been received that this unfortunate gentleman is in Canton in the hands of the Chinese authorities.

The deputy superintendent has addressed his excellency, the governor, demanding his interference for the restoration of this individual, and I have myself had an interview with his excellency on the same subject, who I am convinced will use every effort to obtain his release; and I will continue to press upon him by every means in my power the necessity of taking some immediate steps for the prevention of the recurrence of so gross a breach of neutrality as the seizure of unoffending persons residing within the limits of the territory of Portugal, and under protection guarantied by various treaties.

In the meantime the British community residing in Macao may rest assured that their situation shall not be neglected by me.

I have the honor to remain, gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) H. Smith, Captain and Senior Officer.

To the British subjects residing in Macao.

The following letter, addressed by capt. Smith to ——, and other British subjects in Macao, was circulated for general information on Monday the 17th, on which day it was dated.

(No. 4.)

Sir,—As the British community residing in Macao must be deeply interested in the fate of Mr. Stanton, lately seized by the Chinese, I have now to request you will be pleased to make known to them, that assurances have been received from the governor of Macao by H. M.'s officers, that the taoutae *Yih*, left Macao at 7 P. M., on the 11th instant, for the sole purpose of laying before the viceroy, Lin, the strongest demands for the release of the aforesaid British subject;—and H. E. has been kind enough to state that he will make known at the earliest period the result of this officer's mission.

I have, &c. (Signed) H. Smith.

3. *The hostile movements of the Chinese,* now more than ever before, assumed a threatening aspect. It was evident that there was something musty in the camp—"some foul play brewing somewhere." The taoutae (or the intendant of circuit) returned from Canton, or wherever he had been, on Monday night. Strange rumors had preceded him: and on Tuesday some additional troops were seen collecting in the vicinity of Macao.

For the sake of our readers abroad, it may be necessary here to remark, that Macao is the extreme southern part of the island of Heängshan extending from N. E. to S. W. about two miles, and is connected with the island by a long narrow neck, three quarters of a mile in length, and twenty rods broad. Across this neck, there was built centuries ago a strong high wall, partly of stone and partly of brick, forming a *Barrier,* beyond which foreigners are not allowed to pass. It has one gate, usually guarded by a few soldiers, and is the only entrance into Macao by land, being a great thoroughfare for the people of Heängshan. Within this Barrier, the ground (so far at least as foreigners are concerned) is under the jurisdiction of the Portuguese, and is regarded, we believe justly, as neutral territory. Cassilha's bay is far within this limit. Macao Roads are off east from the Barrier and the town; on the south side, off the Praya Grande, is the channel between the town and the Typa; on the west, between the town and the Lappa, is the Inner Harbor, the waters of which set back along the neck on which the Barrier is built, and beyond it to Tseënshan (Caza Branca), which is the residence of the keunmin foo, or sub-prefect of Macao. The waters of the Inner Harbor have also been regarded as neutral ground. About one half of Macao—the southern part, is defended by a wall, running from the east end of the Praya, including St. Francisco and the Monte forts, over to the Caza Gardens. The Portuguese inhabitants, say 5000, live within this wall: they have several churches, schools, and hospitals, a custom-house — with six forts, mounting about 150 guns, and troops to the number of four or five hundred. Of Chinese, in the town and villages within the Barrier, there may be 30,000; the tsotang, or under-magistrate (till the coming of the taoutae, the chief and the only Chinese magistrate) resides inside the walls. Near by his office there is a custom-house, connected with the provincial government in Canton. The original seat of the tsotang was at Mongha. The taoutae has his nominal residence at the custom-house near the tsotang's, though he has usually resided at the New Temple (otherwise called *Leënfung meaou)* a hundred rods this side the Barrier, at the end of the neck, under the brow of a hill. Since the arrival of the taoutae, in January last, there have been under his command, about two hundred troops quartered in Mongha, a hundred or two more beyond the Barrier, with a small detatchment at the New Temple, and in the Inner Harbor there were likewise eight large war-junks—comprising a land and naval force, amounting to, say 2000 fighting men. These on the tuoutae's return had been considerably augmented, some say to the number of four or five thousand, including a regi-

ment, or part of a regiment at Tseënshan. Singularly it occurred, that during the night of the 18th, all the junks and the troop-boats were hauled far up into the Inner Harbor, and ranged along the west side of the neck, off the New Temple and Barrier, and as near as possible to the shore.

4. *The attack on the Barrier* we are now prepared to understand. The taoutae not only did not obtain the release of Mr. Stanton, but on the contrary was soon, if we must judge from his conduct, to react, with increased severity, the scenes of last year. Expulsion, or extermination, was to become again the order of the day. The movements were too distinctly marked to be mistaken.

About midday on Wednesday, the 19th, H. B. M. ships Larne and Hyacinth, with the Enterprise steamer and the cutter Louisa, began to attract notice, as they were seen moving north from the place where they had been, with the Druid and one of the transports, sometime previously anchored in the Roads off Macao. Having run his ships well towards the Barrier, nearly opposite to it and the temple, and distant perhaps six hundred yards from the neck, captain Smith commenced action. The fire was promptly returned by the Chinese from a battery of seventeen guns, on the beach just north of the Barrier. At the same time the soldiers were seen mustering from the temple and troop-boats, and endeavoring to conceal themselves in little squads, with their rusty swivels and matchlocks, just behind the ridge of the neck, between the Barrier and the temple. The troops in Mongha now began to bestir themselves, and to gather up their arms and accoutrements, and hasten round the hill to support their comrades behind the temple. By this time too several heavy shot, passing over the ridge of the neck (rising perhaps ten feet above high water mark,) evidently rendered very uneasy those in the war-junks—so safely moored in the mud, that they could neither be moved, nor their guns worked, to any advantage. A brisk cannonading had now been kept up for an hour, and the guns beyond the Barrier (27 in all) were silenced, when the armed boats approached the shore.

A single piece of artillery hoisted out upon the beach, at no great distance to the north, began to rake the Barrier on that side; nor did it, or the marines and sipahies, who had been landed, cease firing, until every living man had fled from the batteries, the barracks, and the field adjacent. While the assailants were in this position, (it was now past 4 o'clock,) having spiked the guns and mounted the walls of the Barrier, several shots were fired on them, some from the junks, and some from a small piece which the Chinese had hauled on shore and planted near the temple. A few round and random shot came also from one of the hill-tops off towards Cazá Branca. The latter could do no injury on account of the distance; and the fire from both the other directions was shortly silenced by volleys of musketry, and the discharge of the piece of artillery, which (for the purpose) had been brought this side the Barrier. That purpose accomplished, they immediately retired to the north of the boundary, and in a few moments more, while the balls from the ships

were still whizzing over the temple and lodging thick among the troop-boats and the junks,—all the barracks were on fire. It was now 5 o'clock; and the crowds of eager spectators that had gathered on every summit and house-top, immediately began to scatter in consternation. They saw the day was lost, and they knew not that the foe was merciful as well strong — and could spare as well as destroy. In a little time more, the firing ceased, and before 7 o'clock all the troops had reëmbarked.

The conduct of captain Smith on this occasion was, we think, equally politic and effective. As a British officer, longer he could not have foreborne to act, nor sooner commenced, nor, when at work, done less or more, than he did. The force employed on shore was 380 strong — 110 royal marines led on by lt. W. R. Maxwell, 90 sailors from the Druid headed by lt. Goldsmith, with 180 Bengal volunteers (sipahes)—the whole under the command of captain Mee of the latter corps. The number of shot from the Larne and Hyacinth could not have been less than 600. Our post of observation, on the northern wall of the Caza Gardens, just beyond the range of the shot, enabled us to see where almost every one struck. The Chinese say they had only 7 or 8 men killed, but others engaged in the action think 100 or more fell. The British had only 4 men wounded—one by a round shot, one by a musket ball, and two were scorched by the explosion of a magazine at the Barrier. Next day, and to the present time, no soldiers have been within or at the Barrier.

5. *The neutrality of the Portuguese*, in this very delicate state of affairs, has been scrupulously maintained; and no one of the foreign residents can be insensible to the prompt and generous conduct exhibited on the part of the government and people. This public expression of our feelings is but a poor tribute for the nightly watchings—not of the soldiery only, but of his excellency and the good citizens of Macao—large numbers of whom, in small companies, have kept up a vigilant patrol during many successive nights, thus securing peace and preventing every kind of disturbance.

6. *Edict from the tsotang*. Many of the Chinese, however,—fearful of they knew not what—fled with their families, following the example of their worthy magistrate, Tang, the tsotang. They continued to withdraw for nearly a week, until the appearance of the following edict, on the 28th instant, published without date.

Tang, &c., &c., under-magistrate of Macao, issues this proclamation. It is well known that foreigners and natives reside together at Macao; the Portuguese fully understand the great principles of right, and have been regarded as reverently obedient for the last three hundred years; each one has his family and his property, being without any other concern. And let all you natives who carry on trade at Macao make yourselves easy, and pursue your usual occupations without apprehension. The high officers are, moreover, well aware that they are perfectly able to protect and defend themselves; and that they will not order a single officer or soldier into the place is also very well known. I have lately heard that there are lawless fellows who spread idle reports, and disturb the minds of people, that they may take advantage of the opportunity to rob, and thus cause the people's minds to be unsettled and full of appre-

hension: whenever I think of them, my indignation is without bounds. I, the under-magistrate, was early concerned lest there should be such persons, and did dispatch the constables to convey my orders, most distinctly to every store-house, shop, and household, that they must themselves engage strong men to act as a patrole night and day, in order to guard against people lurking about and spying. It is very necessary that you hire stout men, by whom being heartily assisted, you can mutually guard and portect yourselves. If you meet with any one raising idle rumors to disturb people's minds, that they may take advantage of them and plunder, you are permitted to sieze and bring them before me. I will immediately lay their case before the intendant of circuit, and that he may humbly request the death-warrant, in order that the laws may be maintained; no favor will be shown them.

Besides enjoining the police to make strict examination and seizure of [the guilty], I, as is right, also issue these commands. According to their tenor, you must all obey, and in future as you have ever done, follow each his own calling without the least apprehension. These commands are urgent.

7. *Two foreign merchants*, both of them American, remain at Canton; and only two foreign ships, the Panama and Kosciusko, are at Whampoa.

8. *Foreign commerce*, with the provincial city and the notable cohong, is of course, almost null and void, pro tempore; nor is the trade outside very great; and the prospects, for the next commercial year, are certainly not very inviting.

9. *Three ships belonging to the U. S. A. navy*, the Constellation frigate, with the sloops Concord and Preble — according to the latest dates from America — were fitting out with all possible dispatch, at the navy yard in Charlestown, Mass., for the East Indian station — ordered out on account of the troubles in China.—Since the above was in type, we learn, by the overland mail of June, that the Independence, a 54 gun frigate is to join the squadron, under command of commodore Warrington.

10. *The blockading squadrons*, of H. B. M. forces, are now at the mouth of the Canton river, at Amoy, and at the mouth of the Min. The particulars of their movements we are unable to report.

11. *Lord Palmerston's 'communication,'* (according to our latest accounts from Chusan, brought by the Isabella Robertson.) was at last — the 30th ult., after having been rejected at Amoy and Ningpo, on its way to Teëntsin. The plenipotentiaries sailed in the Blonde, accompanied by the Volage, Modeste and steamer Madagascar — intending to negotiate, if possible, with the court at Peking, or to act otherwise as circumstances might render expedient.

12. *Reinforcements*, we are informed, are expected daily to arrive from India, to join H. B. M.'s forces now on the coast. Unless the 'communication' be favorably received at Teëntsin, and favorably entertained by the emperor and his ministers at Peking, these forces will be much needed.

13. *The general state of the country*, so far as we can learn, is peaceful and prosperous — excepting the hostilities with Great Britain,— the engrossing subject of concern. From Szechuen, a cadet has gone to Peking and presented to the emperor three plans for pacifying the English, and the same has been submitted to the proper tribunal for consideration.

THE

CHINESE REPOSITORY.

VOL. IX.—SEPTEMBER, 1840.—No. 5.

ART. I. *War with China: order in council, presented to parliament by her majesty's command, April 4th; parliamentary debate on its policy, with remarks on the same from the Friend of India.*

WAR against China being now fully undertaken,—though it seems not to have been openly declared, by Great Britain,—its causes, the mode and manner in which it is carried on, with the ways and means by which it can be brought to a proper termination, all alike demand *much* more consideration than they have yet received. No war in modern times, or perhaps in any age since the world began, has involved the weal or woe of so many human beings, as are now likely to be affected for good or for evil by the present struggle; yet never was there a war undertaken, about which there was so much ignorance as to its causes, its objects, the manner of its being conducted, &c., as there now is with regard to this war. It is on a new theatre of action. Even her Britannic majesty's ministers directing this war *seem* to be in doubt how to act, and how to direct. Witness the conversation which took place in the House of Lords, May 5th.

"The public having been left more in the dark respecting the expedition to China than had ever been the case respecting any expedition of equal importance and strength," said lord Ashburton, "and he therefore wished to know under whose guidance and command it was intended to place the ships and men. The armament being a joint naval and military one, he thought it important that the public should know who was to have the conduct of it."

"The general conduct of the expedition," answered viscount Melbourne, "would undoubtedly be under the governor-general of India."

"And will the governor-general act on his own discretion, or from instructions sent out from England," asked the earl of Ripon.

"Instructions would be sent of course," it was replied, "but still the governor-general would act as circumstances might require."

"Will he accompany the expedition?" asked lord Ashburton. "No, No," answered the viscount.

"The object of this expedition being to obtain reparation, to establish courts of judicature, and to conduct negotiations," lord Ashburton said again, "he wished to know who was to have the conduct of these negotiations."

"The naval officers, I apprehend," was lord Melbourne's reply.

"Does the noble viscount mean captain Elliot?" "No," was again his reply.

Public journalists, it is commonly and rightfully expected, will not keep silence respecting such momentous interests as those now here at stake; and in speaking they are bound, in justice to the public — so far at least as its interests are concerned — to tell the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth: and it should always be "the truth in love." This high obligation we acknowledge, and would gladly discharge. But here in matters of fact and of opinion, so difficult is this task, that we must often be allowed to refer to others, and call on them to speak,—especially when the facts or opinions in question concern themselves, whoever they may be, whether Chinese or foreigners.

Acting with these views, we here introduce, H. B. M.'s order in council referring to China, with remarks on its policy by some of the leading members of parliament. The queen's first speech regarding Chinese affairs will be found on page 107, of this volume. The following is the

Order in council,

Presented to Parliament by her majesty's command, April 4th.

At the court at Buckingham palace, the 4th day of April, 1840. Present the queen's most excellent majesty in council. Whereas there was this day read at the board the annexed draft of a commission, authorizing the commissioner for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain to will and require the several courts of admiralty to take cognizance of and judicially proceed upon all captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals that have been or shall be made of ships or vessels belonging to the emperor of China or his subjects;

her majesty, taking the same into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of her privy council, to approve thereof, and to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the right hon. viscount Palmerston, one of her majesty's principal secretaries of state, do cause the said commission to be prepared for her majesty's signature, with a proper warrant for the immediate passing the same under the great seal of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

G. C. GREVILLE.

VICTORIA R.—Victoria, by the grace of God, queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our right trusty and right well-beloved cousin and counselor Gilbert, earl of Minto, knight grand cross of the most hon. military order of the Bath; our trusty and well-beloved sir Charles Adam, knight commander of the most hon. military order of the Bath, vice-admiral of the blue squadron of our fleet; sir William Parker, knight commander of the most hon. military order of the Bath, rear-admiral of the white squadron of our fleet; sir Edward Thomas Troubridge, bart., captain in our navy; sir Samuel John Brooke Pechell, bart, captain in our navy, and Archibald Primrose, esq., (commonly called lord Dalmeny,) our commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and the dominions thereunto belonging, and to our commissioners for executing that office for the time being, greeting. Whereas, we have taken into consideration the late injurious proceedings of certain officers of the emperor of China towards certain of our officers and subjects; and whereas we have given orders that satisfaction and reparation for the same shall be demanded from the Chinese government: and whereas it is expedient, with the view to obtain such satisfaction and reparation, that ships, vessels, and cargoes belonging to the emperor of China and to his subjects shall be detained and held in custody; and, if such reparation and satisfaction be refused by the Chinese government, the ships, vessels, and cargoes so detained, and others to be thereafter detained, shall be confiscated and sold, and that the proceeds thereof shall be applied in such manner as we may hereafter be pleased to direct: we, therefore, are pleased, by and with the advice of our privy council, to order that the commanders of our ships of war do detain and bring into port all ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the emperor of China or his subjects, or other persons inhabiting within any of the countries, territories or dominions of China; and in the event of such reparation and satisfaction as aforesaid having been refused by the Chinese government to bring the same to judgment in any of the courts of admiralty within our dominions. These are, therefore, to authorize, and we do hereby authorize and enjoin you, our said commissioners, now and for the time being, or any three or more of you, to will and require our high court of admiralty of England, and the lieutenant and judge of the said court, and his surrogate or surrogates, and also the several courts of admiralty within our dominions, which shall be duly commissioned, and they are hereby authorized and required to take cognizance of

and judicially to proceed upon all and every manner of captures, seizures, prizes, and reprisals of all ships, vessels, and goods already seized and taken, and which hereafter shall be seized and taken, and hear and determine the same according to the course of admiralty and the laws of nations, and to adjudge and condemn all such ships, vessels, and goods as shall belong to China, or subjects of the emperor of China, or to any others inhabiting within any of his countries, territories, or dominions. In witness whereof, we have caused the great seal of our united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland to be affixed to these presents, which we have signed with our royal hand.

Given at our court at Buckingham palace, the 4th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1840, and in the third year of our reign.

This was on Saturday; on the following Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday, the 7th, 8th, and 9th of the month, the subject was debated in parliament, by sir James Graham, Mr. Macauley, sir W. Follett, sir George Staunton, Messrs. Herbert, Hawes, Thessiger, C. Buller, E. Gladstone, Ward, Palmer, Hogg, Dr. Lushington, lord Sandon, sir John Hobhouse, sir R. Peel, lord Palmerston, &c. The following paragraphs, selected from the papers of the day, may be regarded, we suppose, as fair specimens of the debate.

Sir James Graham rose to bring before the House a subject of the deepest importance—in which immense national interests were at stake—the subject of our relations with China. The House had not been invited by the crown to express an opinion on this subject, but it could not, consistently with its duty to the public, forbear the expression of such opinion. One-sixth of the whole revenue of England and India is involved in our relations with China. China annually remitted to India 1,700,000*l.* in specie, and the tax on tea alone was last year upwards of 3,000,000*l.* The inhabitants of China are 350,000,000 of souls, all under one man's will, obeying one law, and speaking one language. We judge of China from our experience at Canton, as a foreigner suffered to anchor at the Nore, and afterwards imprisoned at Wapping, might speak of the resources, genius, and character of the British isles. The Chinese boast of education, painting, and the arts of civilized life as familiar to them, while western Europe was in a state of barbarism They have a regularly collected revenue of 60,000,000*l.* a year, and no debt; one of their works is a canal 1200 miles in length. Is it not wiser to trade than to quarrel with such a nation? They are jealous of strangers, but especially of Britons, for they look across the Himalayas, and see, in one century, all India subdued to our power under the pretense of trade. They saw our first factory become a garrison; they saw a Clive and a Wellesley complete their triumphs, and they are naturally jealous of such a people. They now see us pass the Hydaspes, and on our passage through Candahar, see Central India tremble. Is it surprising that they will not allow us to settle among them? He touched on the policy of the E. I. Company, and read a letter to the supercargoes, dated in 1832, urging the most pacific course. He then read the resolutions of sir G. Staunton, and said they had not received the attention they merited. In spite of the advice of that right hon. baronet, lord Napier was sent out with positive orders to fix himself at Canton, without any previous communication with the imperial government

of Peking. He (sir J. Graham) pleaded guilty to his full share of that transaction. The British superintendent was required to place himself at Canton, which was wrong, and then communicate his presence to the viceroy, which was wrong too. Then the attempt to transfer the power of the supercargoes under the East India Company to the superintendent was an error, for that power had been previously revoked. Again, the order that British subjects should be protected, had never been enforced. The mission of lord Napier was one grave error. The India Company had warned the government of the necessity of an understanding with the court of Peking, and so had the duke of Wellington in his memorable memorial to his colleagues on quitting office in 1835. All that the noble duke had recommended was disregarded, and the noble lord the secretary for foreign affairs continued to act, and force others to act, on the order in council of 1833. Sir G. Robinson remained two years in the outer waters, and during that period all went well, but sir George expressed a wish to let well alone, and he was instantly recalled. (Hear.) He further charged lord Palmerston with founding his bill for regulating the China trade on extracts, which the now entire correspondence proved to have been faithless. He knew at the time of the difficulties that were arising out of the opium trade, but he concealed them. He was repeatedly warned, but in vain. The emperor never sanctioned opium trading, but corrupt viceroys did; the question was discussed at Peking, and a prohibitory law passed by a majority of one in the Chinese cabinet,—(hear)—from that moment affairs were changed at Canton. But were we on our guard against the change? For forty-five months no ship-of-war was seen in the Canton waters, and not until captain Douglas, at his own expense, bought guns at Singapore and manned his ship, had they any defensive means. (Hear.) Captain Elliot had hitherto conducted himself with discretion, but now he attacked the war-junks; hauled off after a hard fight for want of ammunition; brought the "Volage" next day, but sailed away again without a shot; proclaimed a blockade—repealed it. He again attacked the war-junks without a plea and without a result. Now he begged to say the war approaching was no little war of peace establishments and brief duration. The distance, the climate, the monsoon, and the apathy of the soldiers would make the war heavy. Was such a war necessary? He believed not, and he supported his belief by moving a resolution to the following effect:—

That it appears to this House, on consideration of the papers relating to China, presented to this House by command of her majesty, that the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with that country, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly to be attributed to the want of foresight and precaution on the part of her majesty's present advisers, in respect to our relations with China, and especially to their neglect to furnish the superintendent at Canton with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium, and adapted to the novel and difficult situation in which the superintendent was placed.

Mr. Macauley said it was almost tantamount to approval of the course of ministers, that an opponent so willing to charge should have found so little to bring against them. It referred to past transactions, and did not censure present policy. His charge was for omissions, not for committed faults. As India could be governed only in India, so the resident in China was left a large discretion. The government had failed, it appeared, to give instructions to the superintendent in China as precise as if he were going to Brussels or to Paris. Why that was the policy of Lord Grey's cabinet—they gave principles and avoided details—and the only dispatch of the duke of Wellington was a reference to the instructions of lord Palmerston. (Hear.) There were four charges.—1st, the government omitted to correct the order

to reside at Canton; 2d, to correct their order for the correspondence with Peking; 3d, their neglect of the Wellington memorandum; and 4th, they did not give power to put down the trade in opium. Now the residence of the superintendent was conceded by the Chinese, and was never made a question. The second point was never urged as an objection. As to the third charge, the duke had suggested that a frigate should be on the coast during the then suspension of the trade, and so there was. But he did not ask that an armed naval force should always be found on the coast of China. As to the opium trade, the government here had not tried to stop it because they expected that it would be legalized by the Chinese government. The duke of Wellington, in 1835, had not attempted to stop that trade. The trade could not have been suppressed without the aid of the Chinese themselves. In England we had a preventive service which cost half a million of money, which employed 6,000 effective men, and upwards of fifty cruisers; and yet every one knew well every article which was reasonably portable, which was much desired, and on which severe duties were imposed, was smuggled to a very great extent; 600,000 gallons of brandy were smuggled; and quite as much tobacco as paid duty was contraband. (Hear, hear.) Could it be supposed even that, if the orders of Elliot had failed, the preventive service of China, had it been as effectual and trustworthy as our own, would have been able to overcome the affection of the opium-eater for the drug upon which he feasted, or the longing of the merchant for the profit which he obtained? (Hear) No machinery, however powerful, had been sufficient to keep out of any country those luxuries which the people enjoyed or were able to purchase, or to prevent the efflux of precious metals, when it was demanded by the course of trade. But when the Chinese government, finding that by just and lawful means they could not carry out their prohibition, resorted to measures unjust and unlawful, confined our innocent countrymen, and insulted the sovereign in the person of her representative; then, he thought the time had arrived when it was fit that we should interfere. (Hear.) They began by a demand of a vast amount of property which was in Canton, and next they required the sacrifice of innocent blood. (Cheers.) Now, the English in China felt that, although far from their native country, and then in danger in a part of the world remote from that which they must look for protection, yet that they belonged to a state which would not suffer the hair of one of its members to be harmed with impunity. He felt bound to declare his earnest desire that this most rightful quarrel might be prosecuted to a triumphant close—that the brave men to whom was intrusted the task of demanding that reparation which the circumstances of the case required might fulfill their duties with moderation, but with success—that the name, not only of English valor, but of English mercy, might be established; and that the overseeing care of that gracious Providence which had so often brought good out of evil, might make the crime which had forced us to take those measures which had been adopted, the means of promoting everlasting peace, alike beneficial to England and China.

Sir W. Follett quoted several dispatches, in one of which captain Elliot said, "If every commander of a British merchant vessel, moved by his own particular and transient interests, has indeed full power to enter into and conclude separate negotiations with the officers of this peculiar government upon subjects of great general importance, and involving the abandonment of principles that her majesty's government has always steadfastly maintained, the British trade with China must soon cease to exist." Could there be a greater censure on the government than this dispatch from their own officer? (Cheers from the opposition.) The noble lord had been told of the piratical nature of the trade—of the probable danger of its consequences—of the edicts of the Chinese emperor—of the fact that the lawful legitimate trade was threatened with an imminent peril

—and, under all these circumstances, it was incumbent upon the government to have done something towards the removal of these difficulties and dangers, and the only instruction he gave was to press for a character of more consequence than that of "*pin*" on the superscription of the correspondence. (Laughter.) Now, if the House were called upon to decide, aye or no, whether the occurrences in China were attributable to the neglect of her majesty's ministers, it was impossible to read the dispatches without coming to the conclusion that they had most culpably neglected British interests in China. The Chinese had been described by captain Elliot as a people looking only for justice; and he (sir William Follett) confessed he should be very sorry to give his consent to our letting loose upon them all the horrors and calamities of war, unless the justice of our resort to hostilities was clear and undisputed. (Hear, hear.) He thought the charges, which amounted to a censure upon the government for its past conduct in reference to the Chinese, were fully and completely made out. (Cheers.)

Sir G. STAUNTON was as strongly opposed as any member of that House to the opium trade, but he maintained that the Chinese in their recent efforts to put it down had far exceeded what in all previous times had been the acknowledged and well-known law of the land. In the present struggle he conceived that our commercial relations with China were not alone at stake. He was satisfied that if we quietly submitted to a commercial degradation in that country, the time would not be distant when much of our political ascendency would be lost in India. (Cheers.) The motion now before the House entirely evaded the question of whether the contest upon which we were about to enter with China were a righteous and a just one, or an unrighteous and a cruel one. He thought it a just and fitting war, and he would support the government.

Mr. HERBERT supported the motion, and the debate was adjourned.

Dr. LUSHINGTON gave credit to sir J. Graham for having constructed his motion on the principle of the drag-net—to catch the large fish, the little fish, and the loose fish. He admitted that China was no party to the law of nations, commonly so called, but she could not be exempt from the great obligations of ordinary justice. Considering the peculiarly mischievous properties of opium, and the extensive growth of it in our Indian dominions, he might have acknowledged that China would have been entitled to call on us for the suppression of its sale within her limits, if she herself had been making genuine efforts for that suppression; but while she was urging this demand on us, herself was conniving at the trade. Suppose, however, that instructions had been sent to captain Elliot to put down the traffic, and that the merchants, which was not very likely, had submitted to leave Canton; the only result would have been that they would have diffused it over other parts of the coast. Thus the mischief would have been kept alive, and yet the Chinese would have been taught to believe that your superintendent had powers to put it down. It had been said that omission was as culpable as commission. But to establish that culpability, you should show that some specific act had been left undone which was dictated by a plain duty. At all events, however, the conduct of the Chinese was incapable of any justification; the seizure of our traders, the expulsion of our people from the Portuguese settlement of Macao, the poisoning of the waters,—astonishingly vindicated by the member for Newark—for these outrages England was entitled to demand reparation, and, if not otherwise attainable, to effect it by force.

Lord SANDON said, that though a contraband trade might have evaded all detection while confined to about 6,000 chests, it became much less secure against the pursuit of the authorities when it increased to 20,000. And the authorities, who had been remiss while the traffic was a small one, might be disposed *bonâ fide* to assert their restrictions when they saw the alarming increase of the evil. He showed, by extracts from the published papers, how frequently and ineffectually the attention of ministers had been called to the growing mischief. He contrasted their neglect with the diligence and fore-

sight evinced in the duke of Wellington's memorandum. The conduct of China in enforcing her demand of the opium by the seizure of persons not engaged in the importation of it had been the subject of much animadversion; but our own law recognized the principle of making the innocent civilly answerable for the acts of the guilty, as in the common instances of the liability of a hundred, or other local divisions, for damage done to property by rioters. Great stress was laid on the poisoning of the waters; but those who expressed their horror at this, seemed to reconcile themselves with perfect ease to the poisoning of millions of people with this destructive drug.

Sir JOHN HOBHOUSE contended that if there was ground for this motion there was ground for a much stronger vote. But the present proceeding was not a practical one; it proposed no suspension of the hostilities which it condemned; it was a mere party matter, brought forward without the slightest care for China, and calculated, like the wisely abandoned motion of last year, to damp the energies of those who were to fight their country's battles. The various speakers on the other side had agreed in no definite opinion about the justice of the war with China; yet surely, before they sought the removal of the present ministry, they should have made up their minds whether they would support that war, if conducted by another cabinet. With respect to the opium trade, its enormities had long since been exposed to Parliament; and none of these whose consciences were now so tender on this topic had then stepped forward to express their disapprobation. But now it seemed to be made matter of blame that the British ministry did not introduce a bill for making it penal to smuggle opium into China. He then entered into various details to show the impossibility of preventing this description of contraband. What, he asked, was the effect of commissioner Lin's own measures? He had received a letter from the governor-general of India, and another letter, both of which showed the little effect to be expected from repressive measures. Lord Auckland, in his letter dated the 13th of February, said: "In the meantime our opium trade is rising in price, and some of our merchants are making fortunes by sales on the eastern coast of China." He begged to call the particular attention of the House to the next statement in the letter, which was so startling, that without such high authority, he could not believe it. Lord Auckland said: "One small cruiser came in last week with 70,000 pounds of sycee silver." He defended the conduct of captain Elliot, and concluded by expressing a hope that the circumstances of the case would be found to justify ministers in the responsibility they had undertaken.

Sir R. PEEL pointed out that, though the crown had sent no message to the House on the affairs of China, and invited from it no opinion, the country was, by the confession of ministers, on the verge of war with a region inhabited by almost one-third of the whole human race. And the objection of those ministers to this motion on so momentous a subject was, that its proceedings had ever been usual under a free constitution, and were inseparable from it. But the present case, it had been said, was of too great magnitude to be canvassed by a party motion. That is, your impunity is to be in proportion to the greatness of the interest you endanger. Your war, however, may be an unjust one with reference to its causes; and yet it may have been rendered a necessary one, by the gross neglect and misconduct of the ministers who have brought it on. The charge against them was, not that they did not foresee what the emperor of China would do, but that, in the new state of things arising out of the opening of the trade, they sent out a superintendent furnished with no instructions, and strengthened with no moral force from the presence of naval support. The distance was set up as a reason for their meagre and contradictory instructions; but they might, without fettering him by specific orders, have possessed him of their general

views, as to the place of residence, the mode of communication, and the traffic in opium. The moral effect of a naval force might have been secured without stationing it so near as to give umbrage to the Chinese. He referred to the papers, and pointed out what the act allowed the ministers to do. They sent out imperfect orders; they extended what did not exist; they introduced first one bill and then another, and suffered both to be delayed till nearly the end of a session; they neglected to establish a criminal jurisdiction by order in council; and he pointed out intreaties and remonstrances which, he contended, had been neglected by the noble lord. Had his only object been to obtain a majority, that object would probably have been accomplished by a motion simply condemning the war and the traffic in opium. But he could not conscientiously say that some further continuation of hostilities, however culpably they were originated, might not, in the actual state of things, be now unhappily necessary. Still, he was anxious to prevent the unfair excitement of the public mind against the Chinese. Some of their acts were indefensible; but our provocations, and the general humanity of the people, ought not to be forgotten. If war was necessary, let it not be conducted in a revengeful spirit, but rather with a disposition for reöpening the way to a permanent friendship. Let it be remembered that success itself might lead to fearful consequences—perhaps to revolution and anarchy among 350,000,000 of men. Let it be considered that the interests of other states might be so effected by our hostility, as to involve us in difficulties with their governments also. The late blockade had lasted only five days, but it had produced a remonstrance from the American merchants. He concluded by an earnest prayer that heaven might avert from this country those evils to which the misconduct of her rulers had justly exposed her.

Lord PALMERSTON rose at a quarter before two o'clock, to make a brief statement. If, indeed, the resolution of the right hon. baronet had not been pointedly directed against that department of the government which he had himself the honor to conduct, he should undoubtedly, after what he must—without meaning any offense—be allowed to call a feeble conception of a motion, and a feeble enforcement of it in debate—(loud cheers)—have left the case to the eloquent defence of his honorable friends. He admitted that a person might approve of the vigorous prosecution of a war and hostilities in which the government might be engaged, and yet that he might disapprove of the conduct of the government which he might think had led to the hostilities in which they were engaged. Had the hon. baronet (sir J. Graham), however, met more encouragement from the enemies of opium and the enemies of war, his motion would have tended somewhat more directly to the end he sought, that end avowedly being to transfer power from the hands of those who now held it into the hands of honorable gentlemen opposite. (Cheers.) The motion said that "the interruption in our commercial and friendly intercourse with the Chinese, and the hostilities which have since taken place, are mainly attributable," and so forth. Why the papers which had been laid on the House showed that, whatever might be the interruption in our intercourse with China that might be produced by the temporary hostilities that where about to arise between us and China, yet, up to the latest period at which we had received any advices, there had been no permanent interruption of our commercial relations, and that the truth was, that those relations in the year that had passed had been more prosperous, more profitable, and more successful than in any former year. (Loud cheers, and some ironical opposition cheers.) He meant, of course, the legal trade, he was not speaking of the trade in opium. (Cheers.) All the speakers said instructions were wanting, but no one attempted to describe what those instructions should have been. He was glad to see that captain Elliot was

not censured, for he thought that whilst they were struggling for that power which it was an object of honorable ambition to possess, and, whilst they were making attacks on one party or on the other for that end, that none should endeavor to make the servants of the public on foreign stations, who were acting up to their instructions, and to the best of their ability, the victims of the struggle. (Cheers.) Captain Elliot had not encouraged the opium trade, he had not offered to protect the opium ships, nor need he, for they were armed and could protect themselves. His commencing action was justified in the one case to prevent the people from starving, and in the other to protect the "Volage" from threatened attack. As to lord Napier, he thought the sacrifice of his life in the performance of his duty should protect his memory. (Hear, hear, hear.) With regard to the poisoning of water, as defended by Mr. Gladstone, he was ready to believe, from his heart, from his knowledge of the character of the honorable gentleman, that he was the last man in the House who would upon reflection stand up in his place to defend a doctrine so monstrous—(cheers)—but he regretted that he had not immediately explained away his statement. Mr. Thessiger had given tremendous back-hand hits to his friends; he imputed all the evils to instructions emanating from a cabinet of which sir J. Graham was a member, and did not spare even sir R. Peel. He had studied the Blue Book like a brief, and made a speech out of it. With regard to the Wellington memorandum, it was unnecessary to say one word in allusion to the promptitude of the noble duke in performing all the duties which he was called upon to go through in any office which he might hold, or to attempt to raise his reputation as a man of business, by saying that he answered the letters which came to him on the day after they reached him. But what was the substance of the letter written by him, on which so much stress had been laid, and which was so much depended upon as exhibiting the noble duke's aptitude for business? It was this:—"I refer you to the instructions and orders in council given by the preceding government; I have nothing better to tell you, than that you should strictly follow them" (Cheers.) Now as to the conduct of the debate. If an accusation of the sin of commission were intended, he granted that the statement of the matters complained of, without any suggestion being thrown out as to what ought to have been done, was necessary; but when the offense alleged was omission, the case was reverted—(loud ministerial cheers)—and the persons who brought forward the accusation were bound to state the grounds on which it was made, and to point out what, in their opinion, ought to have been done. (Renewed cheers.) The general instructions given to the superintendent were the same as those always given to every consular officer appointed to a foreign station. He was instructed to acquire all possible information—to protect all British subjects—to mediate between British subjects and the government of the country. (Cries of hear, hear) They who charged that no court had been established could not have read the papers, because, if they only cast their eyes on the order in council of 1833, they would see that it did establish that very court of admiralty and criminal jurisdiction, which they were charged with not having established; and the bill to extend its powers, the China trade bill, was withdrawn, on a statement by lord Ellenborough, that he meant to object to the bill, and to sustain his objections at great length. The duke of Wellington had recommended a frigate, and he (lord Palmerston) had acted on that opinion, and wrote directions to the admiral commanding-in-chief on the India station, not only to send a ship-of-war as often as he could, and to remain as long as was necessary, on the China station, but he directed the admiral, also, to do that which was rather an extraordinary thing, namely, to take the earliest opportunity of going himself

in a line-of-battle ship to the China station, in order that, by communicating personally with the superintendent, he might obtain that information and make those arrangements which would secure a ready communication between the superintendent and the admiral and the naval force under his command, in case of necessity. As far then as regarded the constitution of the court, and the protection of the trade by ships of war, he (viscount Palmerston) did more than others expected to accomplish. It was complained that his instructions were not long enough. Some persons seemed to think that a letter to China ought to be as long as the voyage. (Laughter.) He thought if it was clear, it was the better for being short. The Chinese were not in earnest in the wish to prohibit opium. Why had they not put down the cultivation of the poppy in China? (Hear, hear.) No, it was with them a bullion question, and there was perhaps a poppy agricultural interest concerned in excluding foreign opium. (Cheers.) It had been said that he ought to have sent an embassador to China. Certainly that was a proposition not undeserving of consideration. Hitherto it had been vain. His lordship read the document of the American merchants approving captain Elliot's conduct, and then an address, signed by British merchants, concluding thus:—"We disclaim all pretensions of dictating to the Chinese the mode in which the British trade with China shall be carried on; but we cannot refrain from expressing our deliberate opinion that unless the measures of the government are followed up with firmness and energy, the trade with China can no longer be conducted with security to life and property, or with credit and advantage to the British nation." (Loud cheers.) No country, he submitted, should ever be deterred from enforcing a just demand by the difficulties which might probably be in the way of its attainment. (Hear, hear, and ironical cheers from the opposition.) But feeling, as he did, that the object of this expedition would probably be accomplished without resorting to warlike operations, and that the demonstration of the British forces acting on the mind of the emperor of China might bring him to a sense of that justice which was said generally to inspire him, he (lord Palmerston) could not help hoping that these disputes might yet be brought to an amicable and happy termination. He had the utmost confidence that they would, upon this occasion, receive the support of the house, as he felt that they fully deserved it, in negativing the motion of censure which had been brought against them. The noble lord sat down amidst loud and protracted cheering.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM then rose to reply, but the noise in the House, and the impatience of members were so great, that very few of his sentences reached the gallery. The House divided, and there appeared—For the resolution 262, against it 271; majority for ministers 9.

The result was hailed with loud cheers from the ministerial benches. The other orders of the day were then disposed of, and the House adjourned at half past 4 o'clock.

Three or four more short extracts from the remarks of lord Stanhope, lord Melbourne, the duke of Wellington, and lord Ellenborough, (made May 12th) shall close our extracts from the parliamentary debate.

Lord STANHOPE presented an address to her majesty, expressing the deep concern of the House on learning that an interruption had occurred in our friendly relations with the Chinese empire, representing that it had been occasioned by the perseverance of British subjects in taking opuim to China; and praying that her majesty would be pleased to take measures for the prevention of such proceedings. Whether the motives which had actuated the

Chinese government were moral, political, fiscal, or capricious, he apprehended that it was still incumbent upon every foreigner to render absolute and unconditional obedience to the laws of the country in which he resided, and whether therefore the importation of opium was prohibited because it debased the intellect, and depraved the character of the Chinese, or because it produced a scarcity of the circulating medium, we were equally bound to respect their laws. It had been said that the prohibition existed only in theory, while the opium was in practice freely admitted if not subjected to a stated impost, and that the edicts of the emperor were mere waste paper. Venality and corruption were indeed as prevalent in China as elsewhere; even in this country, contraband goods could be insured for 10 per cent; but the villany of inferior mandarins by no means proved the connivance of the imperial government, whose policy had been always most decided, who had imposed the most rigorous prohibitions on the trade, and had punished most severely those officers who had neglected their duty. It had been stated that the superintendent was only bound to prevent smuggling within the Canton river. He was unaware of any such nice geographical distinction, but he thought we could not permit a fleet of smugglers to rendezvous at Spithead, although their boats were not allowed to land at Portsmouth. The disposition of the Chinese had always been to conciliate; edicts had been passed to prevent the exactions of the hong merchants; captain Elliot spoke of the increasing desire to come to an amicable arrangement; and their humane treatment of shipwrecked seamen proved that implicit confidence might be placed in their good feeling. A corresponding policy was not, however, acceptable to the English residents who had repelled all advances by the most insulting and offensive conduct, and by threats of an appeal to force. A great deal had been said of the imprisonment of our embassador; but it would appear that it was at most but a short detention; that he was at best but a consular agent, with none of the privileges of an embassador; and that he had only been detained because he chose to force a passage up to Canton to join the merchants who were most justly imprisoned there, and who had no reason to complain of their treatment, as by the Chinese law they would have been capitally punished, and by the English law they would have been fined treble the value of the contraband goods which were simply confiscated. It might be impossible to suppress the opium trade, and it was so in the case of the slave trade; but no exertion should be wanting to restrain a traffic which had already proved so detrimental to our commercial interests.

Lord MELBOURNE, in his reply, entirely agreed with the noble lord as to the duty of foreigners to obey the laws of the country to which they traded; but although it was unquestionable that a country should not abet its subjects infringing the laws of another, it was by no means necessary that it should take upon itself the charge of enforcing them. It had been for some time clear that matters were coming to a crisis in China, but it was impossible to foresee whether importation of opium would be legalized upon payment of a duty, or whether it would be altogether prohibited; and, in fact, circumstances were such, that at no period could the government at home have sent out instructions which would not at the time of their arrival have found matters in a state wholly different from that to which they were intended to apply. The noble lord had only attacked the government through its agent, captain Elliot, but he thought, that, considering the difficulty of the circumstances he had to deal with, the novelty of his situation, and the danger to which he was exposed, he had acted with the greatest prudence and resolution. The firing on the junks had been complained of, and it was not perhaps the most prudent course he could have adopted; but making allowance for the want of supplies and the circumstance of irritation, his error should be

overlooked both in this case and the blockade. The address proposed by the noble lord would only have the effect of embarrassing all operations, whether of the nature of negotiations or of hostilities, and would hold out to the Chinese expectations which could not possibly be realized of the suppression of the trade. We possessed, moreover, immense territories, peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though he would wish that the government were not so directly concerned in the traffic, he was not prepared to pledge himself to relinquish it.

"It is perfectly true," said the duke of WELLINGTON, "as it has been stated by the noble earl, that the trade in opium has been carried on contrary to the laws of China. But then it was carried on with the knowledge of the local authorities on the spot, who received large payments, otherwise bribes, or in the way of duties, possibly in both, for the import of this opium—the trade was forbidden by the law of China; but practically it was allowed—it was known to the authorities in China—to the emperor himself, and to all the servants of the government for many years; and the question had been debated, whether the trade *should* be allowed and continued upon a duty, or whether it should be discontinued altogether. Allow me to ask the noble earl, who has contended so very strongly for the morality of the emperor of China, if that morality was so very great when he allowed that trade to be continued, or whether his morality could be improved in any respect by opium being introduced upon the payment of a large duty, instead of its being introduced by means of smuggling, and under bribes paid to the officers of the government, and even, as it has been shown from the exterior waters, into the interior of the country in the mandarin boats, that is, in boats either in the service of the country, or at all events under the charge of officers of the government; I really cannot see the force of the noble earl's arguments with respect to the illegality of the trade, when it is as clear as possible that it was well known to the government of China, and that no step was ever taken to put it down; but, on the contrary, the means of continuing it, and of requiring a large duty upon it, were under consideration; and, in point of fact, the trade was finally put down and discontinued because it was supposed that it occasioned the export of a large quantity of native silver—that which is called sycee silver—it being the silver of the country."

"Further," his grace observed—"with respect to the trade in opium, we must, as British subjects, look at it in another view. It is a trade perfectly well known to the government of India; it is perfectly well known to parliament; it is perfectly well known to her majesty's servants, to the East India Company; and it was known to the government previous to the existing administration. I sat as a member of a committee of the House of Lords to inquire into this, among other branches of trade, and I remember that evidence was received upon this subject; and I saw that it was a great object that this very trade in opium should be continued after the monopoly by the East India Company had been done away with. Questions were put to witnesses, whether trade could not be extended, but more particularly in this very branch—the trade of opium; and in the report of the committee of the House of Commons, it will be found, that it is particularly observed that it was desirable that it should be continued. Really, then, under these circumstances, it is rather a little hard to come down upon these men, and to say that they have been guilty of an offense, for which they are not only to be punished with a loss of their property, but to be absolutely abandoned; and then to have told to them—'You have been the cause of this war—you have been the cause of this great misfortune, and you therefore, never shall have any redress whatever.' That is a course to which, I, for one, never can be a party to." * * *

Again. "I say that it would have been most unjust if he had given up these men to be dealt with according to the laws of China, for the putting to death a Chinese, when he was convinced, upon inquiry, that no charge of guilt could be made out against them."

And again, said the duke —

"I should, my lords, be ashamed of the name of Englishman if there could be found one in her majesty's service capable of acting otherwise than the British superintendent did, under such circumstances. It was his duty to protect Mr. Dent, even to the spilling of the last drop of his blood. He had no right to give up Mr. Dent, who was living under the protection of the British government. It was his duty to protect Mr. Dent, and for his doing that I do most highly approve of his conduct. I say that it would have been a total dereliction of his duty to give up Mr. Dent to be destroyed by the Chinese. I should be ashamed of the very name of an Englishman if he had done so. But then the noble earl has said that a great deal of difficulty would have been got rid of—that the Americans had also given up a seaman to be dealt with according to the Chinese laws."

Lord ELLENBOROUGH insisted upon the extreme inexpediency as well as the inefficiency of any attempts to prevent the growth of opium in our Indian possessions. The sum at present received as revenue from that source amounted to upwards of a million and a half, which was in effect a tax upon foreigners, and if that were lost, the deficiency would require to be supplied by a tax on our own subjects, while all endeavors to suppress the trade from other parts would be entirely fruitless The cry that had been raised against the importation of opium, proceeded in a great degree from the impression that broadcloth might be imported instead, but no idea was more completely unfounded.

In the preceding debate, and in the extracts from the Friend of India which we are about to make, there are some errors in facts which deserve correction, and some arguments and opinions advanced which ought not to be passed over unnoticed. To these we will return in a separate article, concluding this with extracts from the Friend of India, for July 9th. The editor says—

"The last mail has brought us the debate on the opium question, and on the war with China. When we first heard that the present hostilities were to be discussed in the great council of the nation, we naturally supposed that the debate would have turned upon high moral principles, and have reflected honor upon the character of the august representatives of the most enlightened, moral, and benevolent people under the sun. We thought that it would elicit such an expression of public opinion, on the growth and smuggling of opium,—which were acknowledged to be the occasion of the war,—as to lead to some decisive resolution, which should embrace the future welfare of England, India, and China. We find, however, that it was a debate got up clearly and unequivocally for party purposes; and that its object was simply to trip up the heels of the ministry. It was an attempt on the part of sir James Graham to oust his old friends, and seat new ones, in Downing street. It is singular, that on so momentous a question as a war which involved the interests of one third of

the human race, and of which our rapacity was the occasion, though not the proximate cause, not one generous, noble or exalted sentiment appears to have escaped the lips of the speakers. The consequences of weakening the government which keeps the passions of so vast a multitude in check; the indirect, but inevitable result of our success, in giving an irresistible impulse to the consumption of opium, and thus riveting the chains of a deplorable habit on the Chinese, engaged no attention. It was a grand field-day, in which the strength of the two parties in the state was to be tried. The debate was as stupid as the drug to which it alluded, and as factious as the spirit of party, could make it. To us, who, at the distance of half the globe, are accustomed to contemplate and admire the wisdom of Parliament, it appears scarcely less than a miracle, that such arguments as were brought forward, could have commanded such a majority. The charge against the ministry is, that they have brought on this war by their omissions. And what did they omit?

"*First;* they omitted to rectify, says sir James, the mistake made by the administration, of which he was one of the chief ornaments, of ordering the superintendent to reside at Canton. But this mistake had already been rectified by the superintendent himself, who had for some time ceased to reside there, and was absent from it when the disturbances broke out. If his residence at Canton had really given umbrage to the Chinese; and induced them to adopt those measures which have ended in the war, the commissioner Lin, who has raked together in his proclamations, all the sins of the English barbarians, would not have omitted to notice this transgression of the celestial empire.

"*Secondly;* the ministry omitted to give captain Elliot a stout frigate, and a brig of war. If he had possessed these two vessels, would the misunderstanding with the Chinese have been prevented? Where was captain Elliot to have placed them, that they might have been available for any sudden emergency? The Chinese would not have allowed him to have kept them 'prowling about' in their waters. The *Wellesley*, a stout seventy-four, had visited China a little before the disturbance; and the Chinese authorities gave the English no rest till she had 'hoisted her sails and gone away.' Even the little steam packet, established by the merchants to ply between Canton and the outport, the Chinese would not allow to advance up the river, till she had taken out her 'fire guts.' So far is it from the truth, that the want of a stout frigate and a gun brig brought on the war, that their constant presence would have been been a perpetual blister, a cause of unceasing mistrust and irritation, and would have served, more than anything else, to hasten these hostilities. But if these vessels had been at the disposal of captain Elliot, and if, while we were at peace with that jealous government, he had used them in the defence of our interests, and war had ensued, who would have been louder in denouncing the ministry for having left such instruments of mischief at the command of such a superintendent, than sir James?

"*Thirdly;* the ministry had omitted to send an autograph letter to

the emperor. And would an autograph from our gracious queen to her imperial brother at Pekin, have really averted the war? Had the emperor shown any such remarkable deference for our royal autographs in times that are past, as to have encouraged a repetition of the experiment? But, was the ambassador, who conveyed the letter, to perform the *kowtow* or not,—that is the question? If he was instructed to do so; that is, if he was ordered to do that which all preceding ambassadors had refused to do, would not the arrogance of that supercilious cabinet have been sublimated to such a degree, as to have entirely neutralized the effect of the correspondence? If, on the contrary, he had not, would the letter have been noticed at all? Let us suppose, however, that the genuflections had been dispensed with; that the ambassador had been received with grace; and that the Chinese ministers had condescended to negotiate with him, how would he have disposed of the opium question? It must be borne in mind, that he would have reached Peking just at the time when this question had acquired a most intense interest; when the cabinet was eagerly engaged in devising ways and means to arrest the importation of opium. The very first demand made of him would undoubtedly have been, that the queen of England should *prevent* all farther introduction of the drug into China; and when the minister plenipotentiary was forced to acknowledge that such a measure was beyond the power of his sovereign, would not the embassy have been brought to an abrupt and disgraceful termination? and would not our position in China have been rendered more precarious and humiliating than ever?

"*Fourthly:* 'the ministry neglected to furnish the superintendent at Canton, with powers and instructions calculated to provide against the growing evils connected with the contraband traffic in opium.' But the opium monopoly is under the safeguard of an act of parliament. When the question of the new charter was discussed in 1832, it was the parliament of Great Britain, king, lords and commons, who, knowing that the article was contraband by the laws of China, directed that it should be grown exclusively by the government of India, expressly for shipment to Canton; upon the plea, that a million sterling of annual revenue would thus be obtained from foreigners; and this provision was made with the advice, in special committee, of lord Sandon, sir James Graham, and others, who are now loud in denouncing the opium trade. Is it fair, is it honorable to charge upon the ministry, the mischievous consequences of a trade, which parliament had thus fostered and encouraged? If anything like a tangible idea can be extracted from the generalities of the resolution, it is this, that the ministry should have intrusted capt. Elliot with power to suppress the opium traffic; that is, to seize and confiscate vessels bearing parliamentary opium to China, in order that they might bring back a return cargo of Indian revenue. Supposing capt. Elliot had done so, and had endeavored to preserve peace with the Chinese, by cutting off the million sterling of revenue which parliament had settled for twenty years on the East India

Company, would he not have been liable to a prosecution? It is in vain that these efforts are made to cast the mischiefs which have grown out of this traffic on the shoulders of the ministry. The sin lies at the door of the honorable Company and Parliament.

"*Lastly;* the ministry is charged generally with a want of precaution and foresight. But could the whigs, could the tories, could any one in England, or even in China, have foreseen the disastrous events of March, 1839; the confinement of the British minister; the detention of all the foreign merchants; the seizure of the opium, and all the calamities which followed? If the mind had not been blinded by party zeal, it would have been self-evident, that the most farseeing statesman could not have anticipated these events without supernatural aid, so suddenly, so unexpectedly did they follow each other. With equal justice might the government of Calcutta, in 1756, have been considered guilty, in not foreseeing the sudden resolution of the nabob; his march to Calcutta; the sack of the town; and the tragedy of the Black Hole. It was well known that the opium question had engaged the most serious attention of the Chinese cabinet; that all the great ministers of state at the metropolis, and in the country, had been commanded to send in their opinions; and that those opinions were contradictory; some advising severer measures; others counseling that the trade, as a necessary evil, should be legalized. The imperial mind wavered; nay, it was generally reported that his majesty was rather inclined to admit the opium on the payment of duty; and well do we remember how high the hearts of the opium merchants in Calcutta beat at the time, the golden prospect thus opened to them. Suddenly, at the beginning of the past year, the resolution was taken to make one more effort, one last, dying effort, to remove the evil; and Lin, the governor of Hookwang, was selected as the instrument for putting the plan in execution. The emperor issued a proclamation to his subjects, stating that his 'own peace of mind' required that the practice should be stopped. On the 31st December, 1838, the commission was issued to Lin, to proceed posthaste to Canton, invested with the power and seals of an imperial envoy, to carry the imperial will into execution. He arrived at Canton, on the 10th of March; on the 27th, Capt. Elliot was a prisoner in his hands, and twenty thousand chests of opium had been extorted. Could these measures have been foreseen? And is it not the merest spirit of faction, which condemns men for not having provided against that which no man could have foreseen?

"We rejoice to find that *all* the speakers on both sides the House condemned the opium traffic. When all were thus agreed in fixing upon this disastrous trade, as the occasion of this war, why was there not one man found with moral courage enough to propose that Parliament should cut off all future occasion of war, as far as lay in its power, by rescinding that part of its former act, which identified the growth and trade in opium with the resources of India?"

ART. II. *Account of two festivals given to the old men of China by the emperors Kanghe and Keëntung.*

OLD age generally is regarded by the Chinese with peculiar reverence, but the deference paid is more respectful towards an aged man than an aged woman. The young are taught habitually to do them honor, and by the moral code of Confucius, and the law of public opinion, they can exact certain tokens of respect from their juniors. This feature of Chinese society is highly commendable and worthy of imitation, by which those who have exceeded the usual limit of life are honored among their fellowmen, as they have also been distinguished by the Preserver of their days. The two festivals given in honor of the patriarchs of the empire, of which we here give some account, could only have taken place in China, whose civil polity is theoretically an imitation of the domestic circle, where the emperor is the father of his people, and his ministers their older brothers. Legal provision is made for the relief of old persons; but we have no other data than the imperfect table here quoted to show how much aid is actually afforded. By the LXXXIXth section of the Penal Code it is ordered that, "All poor destitute widowers, the fatherless and childless, the helpless and infirm, shall receive sufficient maintenance and protection from the magistrates of their native city or district, whenever they have neither relations nor connections upon whom they can depend for support.—Any magistrate refusing such maintenance and protection, shall be punished with 60 blows. Also, when any such are maintained and protected by government, the superintending magistrate and his subordinates, if failing to afford them the legal allowance of food and raiment, shall be punished in proportion to the amount of the deficiency, according to the law against an embezzlement of governmental stores."*

The XXIIIrd section makes an exception in favor of the aged and infirm: "Whoever is ascertained to be aged or infirm at the period of trial for any offense, shall be allowed the benefit of such plea,

* "Agreeably to the tenor of this law, there are at Peking, and in other parts of China, certain establishments for the support and education of foundlings, and for the maintenance of the aged and destitute; but the sacred regard which is habitually paid by the Chinese to the claims of kindred, operates more effectually and extensively in the relief of the poor, (except in the seasons of scarcity and distress from accidental causes,) than almost any legal provision could be expected to do in so vast and populous an empire." *Note by translator.*

although he may not have attained the full age, or labored under the alleged infirmity at the time the offense was committed."

The Asiatic Journal for Oct. 1826, notices an edict issued in the 27th year of the reign of Kanghe (1687), for regulating the aid given by government to people of the lower orders above 70 years of age. The septuagenarians were exempted from service, and had food allotted to them; those of 80 years had a piece of silk, a catty of cotton, a stone of rice, and ten catties of meat; those of 90, double the rest. The following table was drawn up at that time, showing the number who enjoyed the benefit of the edict.*

Provinces	70 *years and upwards.*	80 *years and upwards.*	90 *years and upwards.*	100 *years and upwards.*
Cheihle	—	11,111	535	0
Leaoutung	244	88	5	0
Kansŭh	41,991	9,043	250	0
Shantung	65,225	26,067	1,330	9
Honan	8,132	3,651	451	5
Keängnan	—	34,088	1,065	3
Chĕkeäng	—	21,866	982	0
Shanse	13,382	11,582	317	0
Hookwang	37,354	25,544	2,850	4
Keängse	—	7,190	580	0
Kwangtung	17,369	9,415	591	0
Kwangse	—	489	114	0
Fuhkeën	10,213	5,232	369	0
Szechuen	176	99	13	0
Kweichow	—	749	94	0
Yunnan	—	3,618	450	0
Total	184,086	169,850	9,996	21

The feast given to the old men of the empire by the emperor Kanghe took place in 1722, the sixtieth year of his reign, after the complete revolution of a cycle. "The emperor, my grandfather," says Keënlung when speaking of the similar festival given by him,

* Sharon Turner (Sacred History of the World, vol. 3, page 222,) speaks in high terms of the "wisdom of the Chinese government in giving this public liberality to the extreme sections of old age." He enters into some calculations deduced from this identical table concerning the proportion of old persons in China, which tend to give an exceedingly erroneous view of the longevity of the Chinese; indeed we can hardly account for his own belief in speculations founded on such data. By this table, in the province of Hookwang, there were 37,354 indigent and old persons, 70 years old and upwards, supported out of a population of 26,256,784; while in Szechuen, there were only 176 persons of the same age supported in a population of 21,435,678. The extraordinary part of it is that Mr. Turner considers these returns of the indigent poor supported by government as those of the whole population, and infers from thence that only one individual in 818 among the Chinese reaches the age of 70 years, while probably not one third of the octogenarians derived any support from government, as its actual bestowal depends very much upon the disposition of the local magistrates.

"reaching the sixtieth year of his glorious reign, wished to render it memorable in the chronicles of the empire, by some distinguished action which should at the same time manifest his tenderness towards his subjects. He summoned an assembly of old men selected from the different orders of state, and in his palace gave them a solemn feast at which he himself presided. This ceremony, in the incident of its being in the sixtieth year of a reign, had never before occurred; at least it is not spoken of in history, nor in any other book which has come to my knowledge. Heaven reserved the first honor for my family. My grandfather in order to unite the majesty of the throne with the simplicity of the father of a family, desired all the princes, grandees, and high ministers to assist at it in court dresses, with all the display of the highest ceremonial. Those of his sons and grandsons who were still infants, were, by his orders, brought to the place, that they might enjoy, with others, the sight of so many venerable old men, and thus accustom them betimes to those obligations imposed by humanity towards the aged. I was then twelve years old; I saw all that was done, and how it was done. Those who were 90 years old and upwards, received their presents from the emperor's own hands; the less aged received their's from officers charged with this duty. Since that time, there is an interval of sixty-four years."

It was with a view of commemorating the remarkable length of his own reign, that Keënlung determined to convene a similar assembly in the 75th year of his age, and 50th of his reign. An account of this unique assembly by an eye-witness is contained in a letter written by M. Amiot, dated the 15th of October, 1785, from which we abridge it.

"Towards the end of last year, the report was already spread throughout the empire to seek out honorable old men, on whom the emperor, himself an old man, might bestow his benefits. It was moreover announced to the officers, their promotion to more elevated rank; to literary men, their admission to the examination for literary degrees, and an increase in the number of those to be admitted; to military men, rewards proportioned to their length of service, and a bounty in money; to the common people an exemption from taxes and other onerous burdens; and to criminals, an absolute pardon for some, and an alleviation of punishment to those who could not be pardoned.

"Never had the old men been in such request; it seemed as if the emperor was only anxious to prolong their existence on earth, and consult their ease: and the good people themselves were so excited

that they forgot all the little infirmities which had previously been their constant plaint, that they might manifest such satisfaction and joy as if they had been in the best of health. One might see some of them in the streets and markets, affecting to walk with a vigor and strength, which a crooked back, a shaking head, and tottering feet, belied in spite of them. The special kindness, with which they thought themselves to be honored by their sovereign, was as a balm shedding new energies of life through their blood. And indeed, the emperor, on his part did all he could to preserve this pleasant illusion; he multiplied orders and exhortations in their favor to those grandees and officers who have the inspection of the people. 'Search out,' said he to them in a mandate inserted in the Gazette, 'inform yourselves exactly of all those families in which are found men to whom heaven has granted a course beyond the ordinary age of man. Make me acquainted with the result of your researches, and without waiting for new orders from me, begin to make, in my name and at my expense, bounties to the old men of the villages and hamlets in your respective districts as follows. To those who have passed 60 years, give five bushels of rice and a piece of linen; to the octogenarians, ten bushels of rice and two pieces of linen; to those of 90 years, thirty bushels of rice and two pieces of cheap silk; and the centenarians, fifty bushels of rice, and a piece of both fine and common silk. Moreover, I exempt the whole empire from all taxes during the year that is now began. As for the Mantchous, I will myself give them the gifts designed for them."

"In addition to this edict in favor of the people, his majesty also added another for the literati, which was inserted in the Gazette. 'In the choice made of scholars to fill the different posts which are their jurisdiction, both at court and in the provinces, we are compelled frequently to place those subjects who have not the knowledge and talents to perform worthily the trust confided to them, because none more talented are presented. I order the governors and other high officers of the provinces and cities of the empire, to inform themselves exactly throughout the different districts confided to them whether there be not some able scholars, whom a too great modesty, or want of patronage, has prevented their presenting themselves for promotion. In case such are found, it is my intention to place them in a position to employ their talents of whatever sort they may be. I command the said governors and other officers to send here at my charge all scholars of acknowledged merit who may come to their knowledge. I shall not fail to distribute them according to their abilities whenever occasion offers.'

"Keënlung also ordered his officers to search among his own clan for those persons who had seen their descendants to the sixth generation; they found two persons, who like his majesty, were descended in a direct line from the first princes of the dynasty. Significant titles were conferred upon these two individuals, meaning a 'bearer of happiness,' and the 'bearer of longevity.' His own great-great-grandson excited in his breast the tenderest emotions of pleasure for the uncommon privilege allowed him of being saluted a great-great-grandfather. This distinction was at that time enjoyed by a large number of his subjects. The officers of the provinces had reported that there were in the empire one hundred and ninety-two families of which the heads had seen their fifth generation, and that four of this number exceeded a century; it was remarked that all were found among people in easy circumstances. H. M. sent presents to these old men; and to the four centenarians in particular, congratulatory verses which he composed to their honor, and dispatched with much pomp to their abodes, allowing them the privilege of erecting a *paelvo*, or honorary portal, to inscribe the verses upon. His majesty also mentioned his intended fête to the messengers from Corea, who came at this juncture to have their new king acknowledged, and invited them to send two sexagenarians as deputies to grace it; but on hearing that six were coming he excused their attendance on account of the fatigue of the journey.

"At last the day fixed for this ceremony, a day announced so many times and desired by so many persons, arrived; it was the sixth day of the first moon of the 50th year of the reign of Keënlung, February 14th, 1785. Instead of one thousand old men, his majesty fixed the number at three thousand, because he wished to select from different classes of people that all his subjects might be represented, and consequently the whole nation. Some days before, tickets were distributed to each guest, on which was written his name and age, condition or his degree of official rank, and a note of the place where he would find the standard under which to range himself in the first hall of the palace.

"About 2 o'clock in the morning, the gates of the palace facing towards the east and west were opened, and the old men, who had been enjoined to be on the spot at least two hours before daybreak, entered by the gate nearest his residence in the city. I entered by the western gate with Messrs. Ca[illegible]e and Bourgeois; M. Espinha was among the grandees of his tribunal; we among those of the fifth rank. It was easy to find our place, for besides having our names written in

large characters on our lanterns, two inferior officers had been ordered to look after us, and inform us of all the duties we were to perform in the ceremonial of the day. These, seeing us in the crowd, intimated our arrival to the registrators, who were seated in an alcove, having a table before them, and who, as soon as they recognized us, proclaimed our names with a loud voice, to which we answered, *here!* The card of invitation was then handed in, and compared with the register, and as the two agreed exactly, our names were written, both in the register and on a separate card, as being among the guests. After this formality, which each guest observed as he entered, we waited tranquilly till day appeared. When I say that I waited tranquilly, you must know that I speak only of a tranquillity of soul, for a tranquillity of body was out of the question in an immense court, without seats and fire, in the cold season of the year, and after having been on our feet from midnight. At length, the dawn announced the approach of the sun, upon which, each one was requested to range himself under his own standard; for after his first appearance, each one had retired to make way for others, and in the spacious court, had formed themselves in little groups; those who were hale, rapidly walked up and down to keep their feet warm. The infirm were seated on simple cushions, with their legs crossed under them, endeavoring to drive off ennui by mutually recalling the history of past times, or by parading the names of long lists of their children and grand-children.

"We now, as at our arrival, arranged ourselves under our standard, where we answered as before, on having our names proclaimed, *here!* We observed several who did not answer until they had been called several times, and some even had gone; for there were many, who, relying upon their strength and wishing to enjoy the honor of eating with their sovereign, had exerted themselves to be at the palace, but not able to endure the fatigue of sitting so long, had been obliged to retire. The second roll-call being over, the old men were introduced into a court immediately before the emperor's apartments. This is also of an immense extent, but only about ten feet high; it is used as a court, garden, or temple, according to the season of the year. It is always guarded by princes of the blood, or grandees of the first order. Elevated many feet above the area of the court, an open gallery, fifteen or twenty feet wide by about two hundred long, adorned on each side by a balustrade of white marble, leads to his majesty's apartments. We were placed on one of these, under the officer assigned to us, where we enjoyed an excellent opportunity of seeing

the *holy face*, as it is here expressed, and all that passed before him.

"At last, the hour of repast arrived, which in the palace is usually 8 or 9 o'clock A. M., after his majesty has given audience to the presidents of the tribunals, and they have received his orders. At the third blow of the gong, all arose as the emperor appeared and took his place under the portico before his private room, when he found himself at the head of the guests, extended in two parallel lines along the gallery from the portico to the door of entrance, in such a position, aided by the elevation of the throne, that he saw and could be seen by all present. He was attended by such of his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons as were able to assist at the ceremony. Princes of the blood were there to wait on him, and grandees of the realm to wait on the old men. As soon as he had taken his place, the guests were invited to take theirs by squatting upon a carpet spread on the ground. One small table accommodated every four persons. As the music struck up, the tables were covered with as many dishes as they could contain; the dish of honor, which nearly filled the table, was a saddle of mutton from Tartary, accompanied with many other viands which I did not recognize; it was placed on a heater to prevent its cooling; and the cooked messes floated in a kind of excellent sauce of the country, which the old men greedily swallowed as a broth. Besides the chief dish, there were two or three others covered with cold meats, as ducks, fowl, pork, &c., all which however could not tempt my appetite; and I breakfasted on some little boiled wheaten cakes, of which there were an abundance. The officers near by rid us of the remainder, for his majesty desired at the end of the repast to see all the plates empty. Whenever any of the old men took wine with the emperor, the attendants filled their cups with the same kind that he drank; nor did the messes upon his majesty's table differ from those which covered their own.

"During the feast, which lasted about an hour, the sons and grandsons of the emperor went around among the guests to see that nothing was wanting, and exhort them to enjoy without restraint the satisfaction which their good master experienced in seeing them assembled before him. His majesty's eldest son, by his quickness and all his actions, acquitted himself very well in overseeing all; one would have said he was the butler of a hotel, who endeavored, for the honor of his master, to make every body satisfied. This amiable prince did us the honor to stop a moment before our table, and intreat us to eat and drink as much as we wished.

"When the emperor had eaten, a blow of the gong was heard, the music ceased, and the attendants cleared the tables, that is, removed the chafing-dish and the plates, saying to each guest, that his majesty wished him to carry away the cup which he had used on the occasion, desiring him, whenever it was used, which he hoped would be for a long time to come, to remember all he had seen that day. This cup was simply a common porcelain goblet, but in their eyes, coming from the hand it did, it was more precious than a golden vase would have been coming from another.

"On hearing a second blow of the gong, each one composed himself in his seat, facing the emperor; a third blow, and a dozen actors appeared, each of whom had a double mask, or rather two masks, one on the face, and one behind the head, so that they might appear never to turn their back to the throne, or to the guests. One of the masks represented a graybeard, another a young man, a third a child, and one of middle age, with dresses corresponding, that is, without any back to them. Each had something in his hand, but I could only distinguish the staves of the old men; after saluting the assembly, they commenced playing. As well as I could judge by observation, it was a kind of ballet, representing the different ages of life, and the revolution of years. I had a strong desire to hear what they said, but their distance, and the din of the music, drowned their voices. After exhibiting about half an hour, they retired, and the musicians took their places. These were all eunuchs of the palace, and although I could hear their shrill and sonorous voices, I could not distinguish the words; they however sang a canticle or hymn in honor of Teën, to render thanks for the benefits of the day.

"When the hymn was finished, the emperor immediately arose and retired to his own apartments, and the doors of the hall were thrown open. The old men were then invited to rest themselves in the adjoining court until each was called to receive the presents his majesty had set apart for him. It was at this last stage of the ceremony that the poor old men had need of all their patience. Each one must await his turn; and as his majesty could not himself hand out the presents to three thousand persons without great fatigue, he contented himself with conferring this honor upon the princes and some of the highest statesmen, and deputed his ministers to bestow the rest in his name. The greatest care was taken, by means of tickets and sealed lists, to insure to each one his share, but in spite of all precautions it is said the eunuchs and lower officers contrived to enrich themselves, though more probably from the imperial warehouses

than by subtracting from individual portions. To avoid all confusion in the distribution, the presents had been ranged on tables according to the order of those who were to receive them. Before each table stood an attendant with a list of the presents and the names of the receivers, the articles being tied with a yellow cord, and inscribed with his name. As this distribution was looked upon as being made in the imperial presence itself, it was done in the hall next his own room. At the door, stood a household officer holding the same list, who introduced the old men one after another in parties of four or six. When they came before the distributing officers, they received in their hands, as their names were called, the presents destined for them, performed the *kotow* before the door of his majesty's apartment, and retired to make room for others. It is needless to observe that a distribution thus made to three thousand persons must require so long a time as to excessively fatigue those old men who must wait in the outer court till their turn arrived. Three entire days scarcely sufficed for the whole, and during this time, all those who had not been served must report themselves each day at early dawn in the court, and not go out till evening. Happily for us our turn came about 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the first day.

"The presents distributed on this occasion consisted of small purses embroidered with gold and silver, pieces of silk of different qualities, an emblematic sceptre made of odoriferous wood, and ornamented with little figures of jade called *yu-e*, and a staff of cedar with a dragon's head, which had however more the appearance of a crosier than the staff of an old man; and lastly above all the others, the badge of the order of advanced age, which is the character *chow* 壽 or longevity. This character is made of silver weighing about an ounce, attached by a cord of yellow silk with an appropriate knot. To them all was added the gift of a few verses composed by the emperor in commemoration of this august ceremony, of which the following is the substance.

"'To those venerable old men invited to the solemn festival to enjoy themselves with me in memory of that which was formerly done by my august grandfather on a similar occasion.

"'The benefits which I have received from heaven are numberless, it is impossible for me to enumerate them. That which I have enjoyed this day in beholding so many venerable old men assembled in one place fills my whole mind. My thoughts revert to the time past, and recall that happy age when my locks, sole ornament of my head, flowed loose upon my front. I then had no anxiety; I profited

by the inestimable privilege of sitting at the feet of my august grandfather while he was seated on the throne. I saw all; I heard all; I was witness of all that transpired around him. How many years, alas! have fled, since that time.

"'Of all the spectacles which have excited my eager regards in an age where everything has interested me, the memorable fête that I have enjoyed this day has affected me the most pleasurably. Yes, it is with sweet emotion that I recall this precious remembrance; a sentiment of respect mingled with tenderness filled my heart, when I saw the princes and grandees enter the hall of festivity, take their places by their master's side to wait on him, and be waited on, and in the same manner all the old men. The same dishes, the same wine, were alike for all. All were served at the same time, and with the same abundance; the goblets were emptied and refilled without restraint. No distinction of rank existed, all things were equal among the guests; it was an assembly of friends, who refreshed themselves together from similar motives of gladness and joy; a glowing color warmed their countenances! the fire of youth seemed again to glisten in their eyes!

"'This is the second time that, by the special favor of heaven I enjoy the same spectacle with the same overflowings of heart. Our descendants will no doubt be filled with sentiments of the most tender veneration when they read in history that two emperors of my august family, the grandfather and grandson, have celebrated, the one the sixtieth, and the other the fiftieth, year of their particular reigns, by enjoying themselves in social repast with the entire nation represented by the elite of its old men.

"'With my own pencil.'"

Keënlung, 50th year, 1st moon, 1st decade. (Feb. 4th, 1785.)

ART. III. *Portfolio Chinensis! or a collection of authentic Chinese state papers, illustrative of the history and present position of affairs in China; with a translation, notes and introduction, by J. Lewis Shack. Macao, China. Printed for the translator, at the New Washington press of F. F. De Cruz,* 1840. *pp.* 191.

EVERY addition to our works on China will be looked for with interest, at a time when, as now, the foreign relations of this empire

are engaging the attention of western governments. The little volume before us—unpretending as it is—possesses so much intrinsic value, is in a form so neat and convenient, and is procurable at a rate so moderate, that we recommend it to all those who have any desire to study the language, and the character of the Chinese. It comprises eight papers: the 1st relates to the internal policy of the country; the 2d, to opium depôts; the 3d demands the surrender of opium from foreigners; the 4th advances four reasons for that surrender; the 5th decrees the abrogation for ever of English commerce with China; the 6th is Lin's letter to the queen; the 7th contains Wangyen's recommendation for ending all communication and intercourse with foreigners; and the 8th offers rewards for the seizure of British subjects, living or dead. The introduction gives a brief account of the poppy, preparation and use of the drug, its importation into China, with an epitome of the efforts made for its suppression in 1839. The object of the book will be best understood from the preface.

"THOSE important Russian state papers made public by Mr. Urquhart, and printed by Ridgway and Sons, London, were published in monthly numbers under the title of "Portfolio:" hence the origin of the application of the term in the present instance. The designs of the Chinese government are usually made known beforehand by public proclamations, written (and sometimes printed) in very large and legible characters, and pasted up at all the most frequented thoroughfares, stamped with the red seals of the high officers who issue them.

"The following translations are some of the results of portions of legitimate missionary study. The papers were regarded as worthy of being preserved, not only as illustrative, in some degree, of the language and literature of a confessedly vast portion of the human family, but as being the productions of the highest statesmen of the empire, and upon a subject too, at present, so thrillingly interesting to the whole internal and foreign policy of the nation. Thinking that there would possibly be others also who might be desirous of possessing, in a collected form, both the original and a translation, we have been induced, without any higher pretensions, to afford them the opportunity of so doing. The volume could have been swelled to any reasonable size, but the present limits comprise all the objects originally intended. Upon the character of the papers we make no comment, leaving them to speak for themselves, and to make their own impression upon the minds of all those who choose to wade through them.

"The translations here given are professedly independent, although translations of the last five were published in the local periodicals at the time of their first appearance. The assistance of others, whenever inclination prompted, has been unhesitatingly availed of. The translations throughout profess to be mainly literal, and therefore may perhaps afford some aid to the partially advanced student of Chinese, who will find it to his advantage to pay some attention to this class of Chinese composition. The volume may in one sense be regarded as an elementary book for beginners. The notes were designed only for those who

were not previously acquainted with the points which they (the notes) attempt to explain. The small figures in the page refer to the notes at the end, The introduction (in the preparation of which authentic sources were consulted,) will not be considered inappropriate to the subjects of which the documents treat. Logical arrangement and concatenation of thought are rarely found in Chinese compositions.

"But little difficulty was found in working in the English metallic types with the Chinese wooden blocks: indeed the *principle* is the same precisely as that adopted with the wood-cuts employed in embellishing books printed in the English and other languages. and technically called xylography. The paper is Chinese, and the best quality to be procured. The English types are entirely new, and this the first time they have been used. Pains have been taken to secure accuracy and neatness in execution, still great allowances must be made for the vast inconveniences at present unavoidably attending the publication of books in these ends of the earth. In portions of some of the copies, some typographical errors exist, but no list is made of them, in the hope, as they are unimportant, that they may not be noticed. All the Chinese sounds given are in the mandarin or court dialect, and according to Dr. Morrison's orthography. The Chinese perpendicular method of reading is adhered to, although, to accommodate it to the translation. the original is made to read from the left instead of the right side of the page, which latter is the usual *manner of all native* books. The pointing in the text was done by a good native teacher, but other teachers equally good. would possibly have placed the points somewhat differently, yet not so as materially to affect the sense. A variety of literary opinions is found to exist on the subject among the reading portion of the Chinese. Some of the points, as well as some of the characters, have been carelessly altered by the block-cutter. The appendix contains a very recent, and certainly a very uncommon document.

"The work is put forth with much diffidence, and with no sanguine expectations of public patronage.—All indulgences exercised towards acknowledged imperfections will not be lightly esteemed: nor is any defiance offered to the critic's pen."

Translations of all the eight papers have been published in the Repository, except the first one, which, when our limits will permit, shall be transferred to our own pages. With regard to the "arrangement and concatenation of thought," in Chinese state papers, we have been accustomed to entertain a different view from that expressed above. We have been accustomed to consider "Chinese compositions," such as the memorials of Heu Kew, Choo Tsun, Keshen, the reports from the provincial authorities, the essays of candidates for high literary honors, &c., as affording some fine specimens of logical arrangement. Often, however, in our translations this method is almost entirely set at naught. By those who prefer Latin terms Portfolio *Sinensis* perhaps would be preferred to P. Chinensis. We here introduce commissioner Lin's introduction to his paper on "the internal policy of the country," but the principal part of that document must be reserved for another number.

Lin, high imperial commissioner, a director of the Board of War, and governor of the provinces of Hookwang, makes most fully known his commands for the speedy cutting off of the opium, in order that life may be preserved, and the punishment of death avoided. It appears that Kwangtung has become a territory highly conspicuous for literature, and from days of yore until the present time, there have been, in every successive generation, men of highest eminence, famed for letters, and renowned for their statesman like character. Those who heard this, could not suppress their esteem, and none would have thought, that within these late years, so great a number would have been submerged in the fumes of opium! Spreading all along these maritime regions, the infection has, from thence, flowed throughout the empire; and were you to trace the cause, it would be like the commencement of making images. And were we to push our investigations to the fullest extent (of the evil), we should find that opium constitutes the common sink of almost all iniquity! All those in every province who deal in opium, do not say that they purchase it from Canton, but they say, that the Canton men, by smuggling, introduce it; and the smokers of the drug do not say that they imbibed this habit from Canton, but they do say that the people of Canton have seduced them, and are consequently the cause of it. Thus heedlessly does this famed region rush on without a struggle! How can this but be lamentable! Formerly, punishment was not very severe, nor were examination and seizure strictly enforced; and consequently shameless smugglers take their ease, and are utterly indifferent. But now the thundering wrath of the celestial majesty has been aroused, the ax of the executioner is whetted, and the existing laws must be enforced to their extremity, awarding death to all the guilty. For my object decidedly is to sweep the evil away, clean and entire, and afterwards I will cease my exertions. I, the great minister, have been summoned from the provinces of Tso to repair to the capital, there to receive instructions in person. Plans and arrangements were devised, and the seals of high imperial commissioner were intrusted to me to proceed to this place to institute investigations as you all must have heard and understood. Let me ask whether the opium prohibitions have hitherto been thus strictly rigorous? And can you still cherish delusive hopes of there being any relaxation? I, the great minister, have received the powers of imperial commissioner, but of which, were the matter not most weighty, there would be no need. And now having received my credentials by a special decree, will not this enable me to accomplish the business at once? I, the great minister, together with the governor and lieut.-governor, having, with trembling obedience, received the stern imperial decree, have now only to point to the heavens, and swear by the sun, that, with unabated energy, I shall exterminate the evil. The secret plans and deep-laid schemes for annoying those without (foreigners), and for giving peace to those within (natives), will not, by any means whatever, be arrested in the midst of their execution. Besides continuing sternly

to seize those who hoard up the drug in order to sell it, and inflicting upon them immediate and heavy punishment, we moreover will bear in mind that the whole class of you opium smokers have long been overwhelmed in its depths, and we will not suffer ourselves to put you to death without first instructing you, and specially and most heartily do we previously lay our arguments open for your consideration. Now there are persons who do not eat an article themselves, yet cause others to do it, while they themselves would not expend a copper for it. Nor is there a wayfaring person who would pick it up, nor a beggar even who would not disdainfully reject it. Furthermore, although the opium exists among the outside barbarians, there is not a man of them who is willing to smoke it himself; but the natives of the flowery land are, on the contrary, with willing hearts, led astray by them; and they exhaust their property, and brave the prohibitions, by purchasing a commodity which inflicts injury upon their own vitals. To such an extent has the stupidity of our people reached! It is like the smelling-stuffs of thieves and robbers, the stupefying medicines of kidnappers, and the poisonous drugs of sorcerers, all used by them in order to seize upon the property, and destroy the lives of individuals. The present evil of opium is thus extreme in its nature! Now your property is the means by which you support life, and your specie, which is by no means easily to be obtained, you take and exchange for dirt. Is *not* this supremely ridiculous! And that you part with your money to poison your ownselves, is it not deeply lamentable! You do not even reflect that, during those seasons of opium torpor, if daring robbers, cherishing deepest enmity, and having murderous knives and lighted torches, were to enter your presence, your ability to stay the hand of the enemy would only be to listen to what they were doing without effecting anything!

You have been brought up on the seaboard, and differ from those of the interior, and it is decidedly requisite that you be thoughtful and upon your guard. But how is it that you allow men to befool you? Being careless of life, and regardless of your ownselves and that of your family, matters have reached their present crisis. Thus the fish covets the bait, and forgets the hook: the miller-fly covets the candle-light, but forgets the fire; and the orang-outang, in his inordinate desires for the wine, thinks not of the desires of men for his blood. These creatures bring misfortunes upon themselves. Is not this egregiously strange? Habits which are thus disastrous are unchangeable, being like the successive rolling of the waves of the sea. Thus all persons indiscriminately are brought low, and every family too is impoverished! Ye people of these regions, why is it that you cherish no apprehensions? Gentlemen in their respective native places, ought to instruct the populace, and become examples to all around them. How can they bear negligently to sit down at their ease, and not put forth a single effort of the hand to save the people? And scholars, who ought to take the lead among the four classes of the people, when once their actions are immersed in this evil, become

straightway useless commodities. If these do not, with a painful sense of error, change their habits, what use has the court for such a class of personages? To employ them would only be to render the clear river King turgid by the river Wei; or like odoriferous plants rendered offensive by those which are noxious. There is high probability of drawing upon you the sacred displeasure, so that the whole of you may be regarded as having thrown away your qualifications. It is to be feared that throughout these provinces the road to scholarship and celebrity at the examinations is beset with vast obstacles, and at which we really grieve! As to the cottagers, although they are numerous, yet, among every ten families there must certainly be some who are upright and faithful, and who are able to bestow some attention upon their respective neighborhoods.

Hitherto, those who were found out and arrested by the soldiers and police, connected both with the literary and military offices, were originally not a few, and the people became alarmed during the searches made for prohibited goods.

And it then became, everywhere, a common topic of conversation, that this searching would give rise to injury, to seizures of property, connivance, falsehoods, bribes, and all similar abuses. It is really most difficult so to arrange it that this state of things shall not exist. Now if the soldiers be guilty of these abuses, against them the severities of the law shall be increased; and if the officers connive, still more must they be immediately denounced with rigor. If there really be individuals who have been unjustly accused, and the facts of the case be stated to the magistrates, it will be their duty to clear up the matter. But you must not leave off eating in consequence of a mere hiccough, nor cause those who are sent to examine and seize, to turn about and become remiss in their endeavors. Last year, when I, the great minister, was in Hookwang, on causing the seizure of each opium criminal, I first ordered all officers in charge of soldiers and police-runners, that they themselves should strictly search their soldiers, and having examined, made the seizures, and come out of the doors, I further ordered my officers to search them (the soldiers) again, and not allow the articles of the people to be carried off. And I have at present also given general orders to act accordingly. Besides publishing ten regulations, and devising remedies of every description for the doing away of this crying evil, and throughout the various regions dispatching the rigouros prohibitions of this edict, I moreover hasten to issue this proclamation, that my commands may be fully known: and I hereby address myself to the literati, merchants, military, and common people throughout these provinces that they may thoroughly understand. All of you who, formerly, were unwittingly betrayed into the use of opium, should immediately and energetically seek to break it off, and, with deep feelings of repentance, alter your former evil course. The term assigned those of you at the provincial city, shall begin with the second moon, and terminate with the end of the third; and to those in the various foo, chow, and heen, the limit shall be two months

from the day of the reception of this dispatch. It is therefore requisite that you take the several opium pipes with the smoking bowls which you have in your possession, every description of smoking implements, no matter how many, and your remaining drug, no matter how much; the whole carefully collect together, and proceed to the local officers and deliver them up. You can yourselves surrender the above, and it will also be allowed to your fathers, brothers, neighbors, relations, or friends, as the case may be, to make the surrender for you. As it is only desired to establish some fixed period in which you may reform and abstain, we will make no inquiries whatever as to how the things come, nor will surnames and names be asked. But you will not be allowed, with new pipes and false opium, sneakingly and confusedly to hush the matter up, which will heavily increase your guilt. You should consider that it is of the first importance in cutting off this base habit, that you have a heart to do it.

Last year, I saw a native of Hookwang who was addicted to this vice for thirty years. During the space of a single day, he would smoke one tael of the drug, yet he determinately broke off and abandoned the habit, after which his countenance soon regained its proper color, he became fleshy, and his muscular powers were restored. As often as this is tried, so often will it be successful. And why is it, that in the other provinces every body can cut off this habit, and yet in Kwangtung, on the contrary, no means can be devised for its extermination? It is said that in these regions there are pestiferous exhalations, the injurious effects of which can be entirely avoided by the use of betul-nut and dried tobacco; and to abridge your expenditures for something which is exactly suitable to your mouths, and which furthermore does not violate the prohibitory regulations, why not therefore exchange that (opium) for these? After this proclamation has been promulged if you still continue pertinaciously stupid and arouse not, conceal your implements and not surrender them, then this will be trifling with the laws, and flagrantly disobedient, and we have only to wait for an examination of the tablets of the constables, and hold them responsible for denouncing you. When we proceed rigorously to make secret search, and to seize, to all of you who have smoked opium, every place alike will be an execution ground, dangers every moment will surround you, and to be fortunate enough to be able to screen yourselves will be found to be utterly impracticable. As to the establishments where the drug is prepared, and also those where it had been smoked, their excellencies the governor and lieutenant-governor have frequently instituted investigations, made seizures, and inflicted punishments: and many of those sinks have been shut up. But this lasts only for a short time, because the official prohibitions are not of long duration, and who is it that understands that the present is not to be compared to the times which are past? for until I have swept clean I shall cease not my exertions. Those who shall hoard up the vaporous drug with the expectation of waiting until examination and seizure become less strict, and as formerly to sell it off by stealth, render themselves

the more detestable. We have at present trusty spies whom we shall distribute about, and as soon as, by examination, they obtain correct information, we shall at once proceed to rigorous investigations. Those who are arrested shall receive the severest penalties of the laws, and those who point out the guilty for arrest shall be most liberally rewarded; while those houses where the drug may have been secreted shall be entirely confiscated. As to all of you who are persons of small property, what is the reason why you cannot seek your own interests? If, as on former occasions, you deal in the smoking-earth by mistake, or should it be hoarded up in your dwellings, you yourselves should immediately hasten to give information to the magistrates, who will according to the state of the case lessen the penalties. I, the great minister, having now already entered these regions, I shall be benevolent beyond the laws, yet on no account will I be able to delay my measures. If you do not avail yourselves of this moment, arouse your sensibilities and carefully reform, afterwards, although you may desire a reformation of your habits, you will find yourselves unable to effect it. The destiny of yourselves and that of your families, as well as life and death, and misery and happiness, are consequences which are intimately concerned in this matter. Let each therefore be tremblingly alive to these important facts, and entail not upon yourselves after repentance. A special proclamation.

Taoukwang, 19th year, 2d moon, and 1st day. (March 15th, 1839.)

Art. IV. *Biographical Notice of Szema Kwang, a Chinese historian, and minister of state.* Translated for the Repository from the French of Rémusat.

Szema Kwang, a statesman and one of the most celebrated historians of China, was born in the district of Shan, of the department of Heä, in the province of Shense, about the year A. D. 1018. He was the second son of Szema Che, one of the ministers of the emperor Jintsung of the Sung dynasty, and believed to be of the same family with Szema Tseën, who is regarded as the father of history in China.

We cannot always rely upon the early indications of talent or penetration given by young children. We often see juvenile prodigies of wit and intelligence make very ordinary men; but we may count with more certainty on a satisfactory result where the actions of the child indicate good sense, sound judgment, and the power of reflection. The following anecdote is told of the early childhood of Szema

Kwang. He was standing, with several companions, by the side of one of those large porcelain vases in which the Chinese, to amuse themselves, rear gold fish. One of the children fell into the vase, and was in great danger of drowning. The others, terrified, took to flight, with the exception of the young Kwang, who seeking around for a stone made use of it to break the vase, and let the water flow out. By this expedient, which might not have suggested itself to a person of riper years, he saved the life of his companion. The poets often allude to this story, and it is frequently represented in Chinese paintings.

The father of Kwang, persuaded that so good an understanding was worthy of his care, took great pains to cultivate these happy dispositions. Having taught his son a large number of characters, he put into his hands, at the age of seven years, the Chun Tsew, or History of the Kingdom of Loo, written by Confucius. The reading of this book was so well adapted to the precocious genius of young Kwang, that he hastened to the women's apartment to recite his first lessons, which he did with an accuracy and precision considered as indicative of a decided talent for historical literature.

From that time, Kwang devoted himself to study with a zeal and assiduity which amounted to a passion. He renounced all amusements, was never seen without a book in his hand, and at night, that he might awake the more readily, he rested his head on a billet of wood. As he grew up, he avoided all those social connections, of which, say the Chinese, the least evil is the great loss of time they occasion; he took no pleasure but in the company of learned men, and always returned with eagerness to his studies; at an early age he knew the Classics by heart, and could explain their most difficult passages, whilst his memory retained the dates of all events, and the details of even the least important facts.

In 1037, he obtained the highest of the literary degrees, and his modesty, on this occasion, was no less conspicuous than his talents. He was then, without his own solicitation, and almost in spite of himself, promoted to various offices. It is a common opinion in China, that a man of letters is competent to all things, and that he who has a thorough understanding of the writings of the ancients must, by a necessary consequence, make an upright magistrate, an able minister, and an excellent soldier. Imbued, like most of his countrymen, with this idea, a general named Pangtse, commanding the troops who guarded the western frontiers of the empire against the Tungousians, thought he could not do better than secure the assis-

tance of a young scholar whose reputation was beginning to be known. He therefore petitioned the emperor that Szema Kwang might be named governor of Ping chow, a very important place situated in the province which was the theatre of his own operations. In taking possession of this new post, Kwang gave his whole attention to the situation of the country, the administration of which had been in part confided to him; and to deliver it from one of its greatest afflictions, the incursions of the Tungousians, he proposed a plan to the general which was adopted. This plan consisted in building three new towns on the banks of the Yellow river, to be inhabited by the superabundant population of the neighboring territories in order to give these people an interest in the defense of the newly constructed cities.

These measures were wholly unsuccessful. The Tungousians attracted by the very precautions taken against them, invaded the new towns, and carried off much booty with many captives. When this disaster reached the ears of the emperor, he recalled the general, upon whom rested the responsibility of the plan, and ordered that he should be put upon his trial. But Szema Kwang was incapable of permitting another man to suffer for the consequences of his inexperience. He wrote to the emperor to acknowledge his fault. "I, said he, am the cause of all these misfortunes. I am the guilty person. I am worthy of punishment, but let the innocent man not suffer." The emperor was willing to show mercy, and extended his forgiveness to the two friends. Szema Kwang was promoted to the government of the capital of Honan, and became afterwards one of the censors and historical secretaries of the palace.

In all these offices, he gave proof of great wisdom, extensive knowledge, and the most perfect disinterestedness. Some southern people had sent the emperor an animal of an unknown kind, and his flatterers pretended that this animal was no other than the kelin, a species of unicorn, a wonderful creature, which, according to the Chinese, appears only in times of great prosperity, when the empire is flourishing under the government of a wise prince. Szema Kwang, being consulted by order of the emperor, replied; "I have never seen the kelin, therefore I cannot tell whether this be one or not. What I do know is that the real kelin could never be brought hither by foreigners: he appears of himself when the state is well governed."

There was a boldness in this reply startling to all the parties concerned; and it was the same, on another occasion which occurred about the year 1061, after an eclipse of the sun. This eclipse, according to the prediction of the astronomers, was to be of a certain

number of digits: it was less than they foretold. The courtiers came with much ceremony to congratulate the emperor on what they called a departure from the laws regulating the movements of the heavenly bodies, granted in honor of the wisdom and justice of his government. Szema Kwang who was present, interrupted them. "The first duty of a censor, said he, is to tell the truth. What your majesty has just heard is dictated by base flattery, or is the result of disgraceful ignorance. The eclipse has been less than the astronomers predicted. This presages neither good nor evil, nor is there any reason for congratulation. The astronomers were mistaken, and if their mistake proceeded from negligence, they should be punished for it. It is however truly a bad omen to see, around the emperor's person, men who dare to speak in the way I have just heard, and that your majesty should condescend to listen to them."

Such bold language both disconcerted the courtiers, and terrified the friends of Szema Kwang. The emperor, however, was not displeased, and throughout his reign continued to honor Szema Kwang with his favor. The wise minister made use of it to enlighten the monarch, and give him a proper understanding of the truth in all the most important affairs of the state. He continued to exercise his noble and dangerous functions under the empress-dowager, regent during the minority of Jintsung's successor, and under that emperor himself, who is known in history by the name of Yingtsung. He was not the son but the nephew of his predecessor. Upon his accession to the throne he thought proper to show his respect to his own father by solemnly giving him the title and paying supreme honors. Szema Kwang did not approve of this measure. He thought it an infraction of the laws of adoption, according to which Yingtsung should consider his predecessor as his real father, and could give his own parent no title but that of *hwang pe*, or august uncle. His representations on the subject not having been attended to, he risked a new remonstrance, and of so urgent a character that six only of the censors under his direction were found bold enough to sign it. The emperor was indignant at their presumption. "These censors, said he, are wanting in their duty, and have arranged themselves against the greater number of their body. I dismiss them from office. Let others be chosen in their places."

Szema Kwang enjoyed now, for some time, the leisure of private life. He resumed with pleasure his literary occupations, and it was at this time that he traced the plan of his great historical work. The first result of his labors was an essay in eight chapters in the plan

of the celebrated chronicle of Tsŏ Heaou Ming, which is itself based upon the Spring and Autumn Records of Confucius. When the emperor Yingtsung had received this essay, he was so much pleased with it that he gave orders to the author to continue the work, and to extend the plan so as to embrace the actions of both princes and subjects, and whatever concerned the science of government. Szema Kwang having received these orders, at once resumed his labors. He collected all the books that he could find in libraries, brought together the most ancient memorials, and consulted the recent authorities. He submitted contradictory opinions to examination and discussion, rectified errors, dissipated the obscurity which covered particular events, and brought all the traditions into one series, where the facts, chronologically arranged, formed, according to the Chinese expression, a vast web whose warp follows the order of time, and the woof extends over the empire. Commencing with the period the Chinese call 'the time of civil wars,' he begins his recital at the reign of Weiëë wang of the Chow dynasty, and brings them down to the five dynasties which preceded the establishment of the one under which he himself lived; so that they include a space of thirteen hundred and sixty-two years. The title of this fine work is *Tsze Che Tung Keën*, which may be translated a Mirror for the Use of those who Govern. It is, in fact, a chronicle, where all the facts are given in one continued series, instead of being classed, as with Szema Tseën, in different parts consecrated to biography, the history of arts and institutions, foreign history, and geography. The Tung Keën has been continued by different authors, and was completed in all that regards ancient times, by Lew Mei, the friend and fellow-laborer of Szema Kwang. Epitomes and abridgements have been made of it, but what is most in favor of this work is the fact of its having been taken by the celebrated Choo He as the basis of that history, composed of summaries and the details of particular facts, called in Chinese, Tung Keën Kang mŭh. The Kang mŭh, or summaries, are by Choo He, and the groundwork, or Tung Keën, belongs to Szema Kwang.

In its original form, the Tsze Che Tung Keën contained two hundred and ninety-four chapters of the text, thirty chapters of tables, and thirty others of dissertations. The author, although assisted by the most able literati of his time, only finished it in A. D. 1084, under the reign of Shintsung, the successor of the emperor who had taken so much interest in the commencement of the work.

At this time, A. D. 1084, Szema Kwang had been long returned to public life. Shintsung, ascending the throne after the death of Yingtsung, wished to collect around his own person all the most enlightened men of the empire. Among this number it was impossible to forget Szema Kwang. But his second appearance in political life was as stormy as the first. He was placed in opposition to one of those bold spirits who, in their plans of reform, recoil from no obstacle, and are withheld by no respect for ancient institutions. Szema Kwang showed himself, what he had always been, a religious observer of the customs of antiquity, and ready to brave all things in their defense. The reformer thus accidentally opposed to Szema Kwang was Hwang Nganche. It seemed as if the conservative genius, watching over the preservation of the empire, and the spirit of innovation which shakes and disturbs them, had been called to a fair contest with equal arms. The two adversaries were endowed with the same talents, but actuated by the most dissimilar principles; one was for employing the resources of his imagination, the activity of his mind, and the firmness of his character, in changing and regenerating all things; the other, to resist the torrent, called to his aid the recollections of the past, the examples of the ancients, and those lessons of history which he had passed his life in studying.

Even the prejudices of the nation, to which Hwang Nganche affected to hold himself superior, found a defender in the partisan of ancient ideas. The year 1069 had been signalized by a combination of unfortunate events, and many provinces were laid waste by epidemical diseases, earthquakes, and a universally destructive drought. According to established custom, the censors took this occasion to recommend to the emperor a severe scrutiny into his conduct, for the purpose of ascertaining its entire correctness, and a strict inquiry into all affairs of government for the prevention of abuses. The emperor showed his sense of the public calamities by restricting his private pleasures, denying himself the luxury of music, feasts in the palace, &c. The reforming minister did not approve of this homage paid to received opinions. "The misfortunes which persecute us," said he to the emperor, "have fixed and invariable causes; earthquakes, droughts, and inundations have no connection with the actions of men. Do you expect to change the order of things, or do you wish that nature should make new laws for you?"

Szema Kwang, who was present at this discourse, could not allow it to pass unnoticed. "Sovereigns, said he, are much to be pitied when they have near their persons men who dare to utter such opinions.

Thus it is that they lose the fear of heaven: and what other restraint is capable of checking their evil practices? Masters of all and able to do all things with impunity, they may then, without remorse, be guilty of every excess; whilst those of their subjects who are truly attached to them will have lost the only means they possessed of bringing them to a sense of duty."

It is difficult to say which of these discourses contained the most genuine philosophy, but very easy to guess which would be most agreeable to the monarch. However, it should be said in praise of Shintsung that he showed no resentment at the sincerity of Szema Kwang. He continued to listen patiently to his advice, whilst he was governed by that of Hwang Nganche. The most able men and most loyal subjects, one by one retired from the scene of public affairs, the conduct of which became more and more contrary to their views. Szema Kwang was longer in coming to this decision, always hoping that the emperor would end by listening to the truth.

In the meanwhile, he continued his historical labors and finished his great work, the preface to which the emperor condescended to write himself. About this time, Szema Kwang was named by Shintsung president of the imperial academy, the Hanlin. This body is both literary and political, and its functions bear some analogy to those with which it was proposed to endow the French Institute at the time of its establishment. The wise Szema Kwang, persevering in his orthodoxy, wished to decline this honorable appointment. He did not desire, he said, to be at the head of a company, the ranks of which would soon be filled by doctors of the new school, whose ideas being in conformity with those of Hwang Nganche, were diametrically opposite to the principles which he had imbibed from the study of the ancients. "You will set things right," replied the emperor; "you will be at the head of these men, and will either bring them over to your way of thinking, or be yourself converted to their opinions."

Szema Kwang still sought an excuse. "I cannot write verses," said he. "It is necessary that the president of the Academy should know how to write poetry and good poetry, that he may be qualified to criticize what is submitted to his judgment." "This reason is no better than the other; restrict yourself to prose," answered the monarch, "and leave poetry to those who understand it. I will listen to no farther objections."

Szema Kwang could no longer persist in his refusal. He accepted the appointment; but he profited by the rights it gave him to prefer

whatever suited his own opinions, and to reserve entirely to himself the historical department. Shintsung came himself to hear him, and Szema Kwang did not hesitate to deliver, in his presence, a lecture on the reigns of Woo te and Yuen te. These were two emperors of the Han family, who by their great confidence in ministers, lovers of novelty and change, and by their own disposition to deviate from the examples of the ancients, had compromised the safety of the state, excited troubles, and prepared the ruin of their dynasty. The emperor perfectly understood the drift of the discourse. Far from being offended at it, he permitted the men of letters attached to his own suite to enter into discussions with Szema Kwang, in which he had greatly the advantage. The emperor had made up his own mind, and for this reason, perhaps, he was patient of contradiction.

A short time after, being well persuaded that the remonstrances of Szema Kwang had no object but the public good, Shintsung furnished him with the fairest opportunities for making them, by placing him at the head of the public censors. The collection called *Koo Wän Yuen Keën* contains many specimens of this sort of writing, the compositions on various occasions of Szema Kwang, and it is to be wished that all coming from his pencil had been preserved, as they consist generally of fragments of Chinese history or politics, equally remarkable for their nobleness of thought and sustained elegance of expression. Those persons who do not understand Chinese may form some idea of these compositions from the work of Du Halde, who has inserted many of Szema Kwang's petitions translated by father Hervieu.

In accepting for the second time the office of public censor, Szema Kwang was well aware that he must give a great deal of advice which would never be attended to, but there is no degree of virtue which does not weary at last of being always importunate and never useful. After many vain efforts to make himself heard, Szema Kwang solicited permission to retire, and the emperor, though unwilling to lose the services of so zealous a counselor, granted it. He then established himself at Loyang (now Kaefung in Honan), determined from thenceforward to divide his time between study, and the cares which he owed to the poor and oppressed of his countrymen. For the emperor, in permitting him to retire from court, had exacted of him that he should retain his title of censor, and this compelled him to make his voice heard whenever the interests of the place he had selected as his residence required him to do so.

This honorable and laborious retreat was not to be of long continu-

ance. Shintsung died, and Szema Kwang thought it incumbent on him to return to the capital for the purpose of paying there the honors due to his master's memory. His journey was like a long triumph. Few persons had read his great historical works, and fewer still were capable of appreciating them, but all were acquainted with his political virtue, his courageous resistance to power, the bold and energetic remonstrances, with which, for twenty years, the imperial Gazette had been filled, and the claims he was always ready to advance in favor of the unfortunate. This concert of voices which in other places, and in times nearer our own, would be called public opinion, was heard so loudly, that a man whose loyalty had been less known might have felt some inconvenience from it. Szema Kwang was equally afraid of the good and bad effects which might result from such an expression in his favor. He wished to withdraw himself from both, and took his departure secretly for Loyang. But the empress regent who knew the value of such a man, sent an order for his return, and named him successively governor to the young emperor and minister. His first care, in this eminent position, was to obtain free access to the regent, for all who had complaints to make, or remonstrances to be addressed to her. His most important object was to efface every trace of the government of Hwang Nganche. Not satisfied with reëstablishing order in the home admtnistration, he turned his attention to the Tartars, and to put an end to the disputes which had arisen between the empire and the princes of Tangut, he caused himself to be named plenipotentiary, and undertook a journey through their country. His fame had preceded him, and he found the people of Tangut disposed to adopt with full confidence all the arrangements he wished to propose.

The peace which was soon after concluded, was the last service that Szema Kwang rendered to his country. The journey had exhausted his little remaining strength; at his return he was taken ill, and from that time continued to languish. The empress regent who could not resolve to deprive herself of the benefit of his counsels, dispensed with the usual etiquette in order to facilitate his approach to the throne, and spared him all the most fatiguing ceremonies. But these honors seemed only to hasten his end, and in the ninth moon of the first year of the reign of Chetsung (A. D. 1086), he died at the age of sixty-eight years.

The funeral honors granted to him by the empress were worthy of so distinguished a life, and the official panegyric which was, according to custom, pronounced upon him, declared him to have been pos-

sessed of all the qualities belonging to a wise man, an excellent citizen, and an accomplished minister. But his highest eulogy was the universal grief caused by his death. The shops were closed, the people clothed themselves in voluntary mourning, and the women and children who could not kneel before his coffin, paid him the same degree of respect by prostrating themselves within doors before his portrait. These testimonies of regret accompanied his coffin during the whole route, when his body was transported to his native country.

In seeing the honors rendered to the memory of this great man, it would have been difficult to foretell the change which a few years was to produce. The partisans of Hwang Nganche were restored to the public employments from which Szema Kwang had dismissed them, and succeeded in deceiving the young emperor who had attained his majority, and the conduct of affairs. Eleven years after his death, Szema Kwang was deprived of all his posthumous honors and declared the enemy of his country and his sovereign. Such a disgrace as this makes a great impression on the minds of the Chinese. His tomb was overthrown, the marble on which his praises had been recorded cast down, and another erected containing the enumeration of his pretended crimes. His writings were consigned to the flames, and the persecutors of his memory would willingly have annihilated one of the finest literary monuments of China.

Three years had scarcely elapsed when the memory of Szema Kwang was restored to its honors and prerogatives. In 1129, the then reigning emperor, to revenge this celebrated man for the injuries which had been done him, placed his tablet in the hall of his own imperial ancestors, by the side of that of the emperor Chetsung who had attempted to disgrace him. In 1269, his name was inscribed in the temple of Confucius, with the title of *wăn kung*, of which "prince of letters" is the nearest translation; and in 1530, he received a new denomination which he has preserved to the present time; that of *seën joo Szema tsze*. This can only be explained by saying, that the person to whom it is applied has shown himself invariably attached to the literary and political principles of the school of Confucius.

Father Amiot has given a place to Szema Kwang in his gallery "des Chinois célèbres," and the portrait there made of him has furnished several features to the author of this article. We may find a very good notice of the Tung Keën in the Library of Ma Twanlin. It is from this source that Father Maille (Hist. géné. de la Chine) has taken all that we find in his preface concerning Szema Kwang.

ART. V. *Notices of China. No 1. Of the character of the Chinese, their virtues and vices.* Translated and abridged from the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. By S. R.

[It has been confidently asserted that foreigners in Canton have fewer opportunities to study the character of this people, or the geography, manners and customs, laws, &c., of the empire, than even the savans of France, or the scholars of Germany,—as if it were better to see nothing at all with one's own eyes than to see but little; or, in other words, as if one could trust more safely to mere hearsay, than to the same reports corrected by and compared with facts that come under his personal observation. None who have been here, possessing the least faculty of attention to men and things about them, can have gone away without finding their preconceptions in regard to China and the Chinese greatly modified, and few, if any, will admit the truth of the assertion so gravely made in the western hemisphere. On both sides of the world, we are very much indebted to the missionaries of the Roman Catholic church for no small share of our knowledge of the interior of this country. But so far from inducing us to set aside the results of our own observation are their reports, that they in general only confirm them, by describing facts similar to those noticed in the province of Canton and along the coast. With a view, principally, to enable our readers resident in China to judge for themselves whether there be any good reason to distrust their own eyes, or whether there is not much reason to believe that in the main we already know China even better than those who have only read, but not seen for themselves, we have in the present number commenced the translation of a series of observations made by a French missionary, who, after residing in this country ten years, returned to his native land and published his reminiscences in the Annales de la Propagation de la Foi. They are taken from the fortieth number of that journal, which was printed in 1835, and it appears that the writer was in this country as late as the year 1833. The editor of the Annales remarks, that his observations may be relied upon, as he affirms nothing which he has not seen, and formally notifies the reader of that which he knows merely from report, or of which he is not certain. Having stated our object in giving these notices to the public in English, we need not add that it is not so much to convey information on the matters to which they relate, as to furnish additional grounds of comparison between notes made here, and in the heart of the empire. If we find that they substantially agree, may we not conclude that under all our disadvantages we are already not a little acquainted with China, and that though mystery be the mode in which we have been taught to regard it, yet after all it is a mystery, which if fully revealed, would disclose but little to surprise or disappoint us? *Tr.*]

The Chinese in general are mild, laborious and patient. Their industry is especially remarkable. No condition or calling in life is mean provided they become rich by it, for then their fortune will obliterate the baseness of their vocation. Once rich they will change their manner of life. It is this thirst for gold that renders them for the most part dissemblers and unjust, yet if they are overtaken in a lie,

they can rarely refrain from a blush. To the love of riches they join that of ostentation, and are very sensible to flattery. In private, they observe great frugality, and if at any time they have good cheer, it is rather the necessity to make a show, than anything else, that induces them to do it. Nowhere, perhaps, are vicissitudes of fortune more frequent and rapid. Those whose fathers have held offices under government, are often found reduced to the condition of street-porters. In general they are vindictive. If they have lost a suit at law, or have received an injury of which they cannot demand reparation, they betake themselves to their enemy's gate or lands, with the sole design of annoying him, and by that means of obtaining a sort of revenge. Suicides and homicides, are very frequent. Infanticide is common in the southern provinces,* so that there are few girls there, and dealers go into the provinces of the north to buy or kidnap, and then return and sell them in the regions of the south. It ought always to be said, however, that the barbarous custom of strangling infants at the moment of their birth, if their parents are overburdened with them, is more tolerated than permitted; the government does not meddle with it.

The laboring classes are not despised by their superiors. Persons of quality and wealth do not think themselves disgraced by eating with their parents, who have been unsuccessful in life, nor even with laborers and domestics. The aged are very much respected, even the officers of government have a regard for them.

As to the poor, they are of two sorts. The one gain a livelihood by the labor of their hands, and the other are mendicants, a degraded class, who often have nothing but a mat to cover their nakedness. Nobody harbors them for fear of being robbed. They lie (at night) upon the bridges, and in public places, being denied even the caves of the rocks, lest they should die there, for then the proprietor would be obliged to pay the officer who buries the corpse, and often to submit to a legal process, which is always very expensive in China. It must be confessed, notwithstanding, that if these beggars were not for the most part gamblers and knaves, they would find enough in what is given them to meet their most pressing necessities. When

* With regard to *infanticide*, we wish our author had been more communicative, and given more reasons and facts for his opinion. The crime might be expected to prevail in Canton and its vicinity, if anywhere in this province. Be this as it may, there is here no lack of female children, who are carefully nursed and nurtured, and brought up to womanhood. So far as our personal observation and inquiries extend, the proportion of the sexes is as well preserved here as anywhere else in the world. *Tr.*

a proprietor lets a piece of land, he always takes care to exact of the farmer a pledge equivalent to, or even exceeding the income of the property leased, without which precaution, he might rely upon it that, when the harvest is gathered, the farmer would sell the fruits and appropriate the proceeds.

There are in China pawnbroker's offices, having the same regulations as our own, but the usury is exorbitant. Besides, if the proceeds from the sale of the pawn is greater than the sum loaned, the excess is not paid over to the borrower. As those who hold these offices become very rich in a short time, the officers of government whose sanction is necessary, know well how to share the profits with them, and these are the means they employ for that purpose. They send some cast-off garments as a pawn for a sum they wish to borrow, without saying how much. The pawnbrokers, who know what they would say, send them twice as much money as the clothes are worth, and at that price buy the peace. I have spoken of usury. The laws of the empire allow 30 per cent., but individuals ordinarily demand but twenty; yet those who have contracted debts, unless they discharge them promptly, are soon ruined.

When a woman, who is early widowed, has not been married a second time, and has brought up her family well, she enjoys high esteem, and her children, on coming to preferment, or having simply taken a degree, obtain permission of the emperor to erect a monument to her memory. It consist of a large stone portal, with an elegant façade. Situated upon the road near a town or city it informs every body of the merit and virtue of the widow.

The Chinese are sometimes very obstinate and quarrelsome, and frequently engage in ruinous lawsuits. Credits are very common, and the creditor is obliged to wait a long time upon his debtor. If at last his patience is exhausted, he takes some true friends and makes a new call upon him; but then he must have good reason for so doing, or else they come to blows. When the debtor has been well beaten, he becomes more tractable, and acknowledges his debt, and, if he has no money, appoints a time which he will not pass without paying something, if he cannot entirely discharge it.

Schools are numerous, and ordinarily at the expense of those who attend them, but sometimes at that of the inhabitants of the village, where a master is required to educate their children. The schools are very independent of government. Whoever has the requisite talents may open one. From time to time an examiner is sent by government to make the teachers compose theses, and if incompe-

tent to pass the examination, they are obliged to close their schools for ever.*

Public granaries are found in China, belonging, it may be, to individuals, or to government. Those of the government are in the charge of an officer whose duty it is to see that they are always full. When a famine begins to be felt,† a distribution of rice is made to the poor. It is only to be regretted that satellites should be intrusted with it, since they always embezzle a part of the store. When there is no famine, the officer in charge sells the rice, and buys new at harvest-time. As a matter of course the profits of the trade go to him. If the granaries in his district are not full, and an accusation be brought against him, he is sure to lose his place. The other granaries belong to the individuals who have raised a fund to appropriate the income to that object. When once filled, the surplus income is employed for the common expenses of the district; for example, to pay the expenses of the *heäng yeŏ*, whose functions answer to those of our mayors or justices of the peace, and for the repairs and maintenance of these magazines.

In the years of abundance, they loan thence or sell the rice, and at the time of harvest, cause it to be returned with usury, and thus the common fund increases rapidly. The officer of the neighborhood levies a sort of tax upon these granaries, and when there is a dearth, the proprietors have recourse to them for the relief of the poor. The emperor, moreover, comes to their succor by sending considerable money into the provinces where the famine prevails, but it often remains in part, in the hands of the officers to whom it is intrusted. In every city there are almshouses or hospitals, (partaking of the character of both,) for the most part endowed and supported by government, but they only receive the aged and infirm [with children], and those who cannot maintain themselves. Besides they are badly managed, and their incomes in a great measure consumed by the attendants.

* This is disputed. I am informed by Chinese gentlemen, that the *shoo yuen*, or college, which is erected and endowed by voluntary contributions, always has a *keu jin* for its teacher, or more than one of them if necessary. These are either recommended by the chief civil officer of the district where the college is situated, or if not, they are selected by the trustees, and are never afterwards subjected to any examination, their degree being considered a sufficient guaranty for their ability. *Tr.*

† Famines are very frequent. [?] What prevents this scourge in Europe is the free circulation of commerce and corn. The geographical position of China, surrounded by barbarous people, and the voluntary separation from civilized nations to which she adheres, are the two principal reasons why a bad crop produces a year of dearth. The provinces overburdened with their population are little able to help one another.

Although the Chinese, may be, in general, very corrupt, yet they maintain great outward modesty. A man in speaking to a woman, never looks at her face, nor yet turns towards her. When a woman goes abroad she will always be accompanied by an attendant, if she cares for her reputation. When she arrives at an inn, the innkeeper does not receive her, but his wife or daughter, who introduces her into the female apartments, and waits upon her.

If a stranger comes in, and he be invited to dine, though he should be a friend of the family, the females will not eat at the same table, at least unless he be a kinsman.* It is a great act of indecorum to look at a woman's feet. Most of the Chinese women have small feet, with the exception of those who live in the mountains, or labor upon the soil, or live in boats. All others have feet more or less small, according as they are more or less wealthy, or as their mothers have taken pains to procure for them this kind of beauty,—for it is so regarded by them. Hence from the age of four or five years, or sometimes later, they bandage them tightly even above the ankles. As they wear two pairs of shoes, one upon the other,† and always keep one on, their feet are night and day in these shackles.

When the little girls begin to grow, they suffer very much, and fret and cry, until they understand that they would be very ugly with large feet, and then they bear in patience an evil that seems necessary. Those who reside in cities have feet so small that they can scarcely walk. In order to go a short distance, they must have a sedan.

Females are not regarded in China as they are in Europe. When once married they are for the most part truly pitiable. They are absolutely dependent upon the caprice of their husbands, who regard them less as companions, than as servants. They all wear trowsers, their dress being nearly the same as that of the men. Their chief ornament consists in a good head of hair, with flowers upon it, and a necklace if married, and yet young. Ear-rings and bracelets are also common. The men have the head shaved, except the occiput, where they retain the hair to make a cue. They also wear moustaches and beard, if indeed they flourish a thing rare among the Chinese. At a certain age the hair is entirely black, although in many instances it may be white in infancy.

* There seems to be some diversity in the custom here alluded to. In this part of the country (Canton province) it is not usual for women to eat with their husbands under any circumstances, and where, for any reasons, it is practiced, the presence of company always suspends the custom. *Tr.*

† This fact, if it be so, is quite at variance with the custom here. It is more probable that the writer mistook the bandage for a pair of shoes. This is always worn, even to old age. *Tr.*

ART. VI. *Notices respecting the prevalence and effects of opium-smoking in China.* Communicated for the Chinese Repository.

MR. EDITOR,—I have a few facts on the prevalence and effects of opium-smoking in this part of China which may awaken observation in others, and thus supply to your readers a kind of information which many of them would be glad to possess. In the early part of last year, I engaged a teacher whom I soon ascertained to be a confirmed opium-smoker. His pale and emaciated face—the relaxed tone of his mind — the frequent escape of his thoughts from the subject in hand,—his occasional stupidity and unconquerable drowsiness, with other effects of a physical kind, formed a diagnosis of his case which scarcely needed the confirmation of his own candid confession. I am happy to add that symptoms, no less unequivocal, prove that the habit may be abandoned even after many years of indulgence. Another teacher, and the only one whom I ever had before, except for occasional assistance, was irreclaimably abandoned. Wanness of countenance, waste of form, and premature decrepitude, with at times a total incapacity of mind and body for his duties, were the consequences. I am unable to say whether he is still alive.

The teacher of a fellow-student was another case which came frequently under my eye. He had become reduced to a skeleton, and had contracted a disease which is even still more inveterate than the cause which produced it. One day he was missing, the next he was still absent, and on the third day his relations came with the usual request for money to bury him. Poor man! he protested that he had renounced the baneful indulgence, but confessed that it had been his ruin. The confession was true, as confessions usually are; the protestation was false, as we learned both before and after his decease. Three other teachers have since been engaged, two of whom it was ascertained were habitual smokers, and have been dismissed. The one mentioned as a solitary exception to all the others who had given themselves to this species of ebriety, has never been employed as a teacher before, and would not have been engaged now but for the assurance that his mind and body, and his pupils through them, should never suffer from this cause.

The comprador of the house who came to us, as we thought under very favorable auspices, certainly with a full understanding of our feelings and determinations on this point, proved himself a slave of

the same vice. He too wore the cadaverous hue, the painful brow, and the lank appearance of his class. While he was with us, he made a pander of one of the coolies, and rewarded him with the pipe. I purposely avoid trenching upon the grounds of others who have had the same domestic trials. Happy is the man who has not known them, although he may owe his bliss to a very prolific cause of human contentment, a cause too which he has the power to perpetuate. 'If ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise.'

Entering a hut just beyond the west gate of Macao, we were surprised to find its occupant busily engaged in weighing out the smallest quantities of the drug to poverty-stricken purchasers — one of whom was obliged to pawn an article of clothing before he could realize the required sum, less than twenty cash. We were greeted at the door of the next house by a young man of prepossessing appearance and manners, whose *opium-marked* face, and evident superiority to the place and company in which we saw him, prepared us for the confessions which he afterwards made. Under the influence of the stimulus at the time, he invited us into an inner apartment, where two or others were lying who made no hesitation to smoke in our presence. This young man of five-and-twenty acknowledged, that for the last ten years he had had scarcely a sober day. The effect was decided. Indeed he was so far alarmed at the dependence of the vital functions upon this *harmless luxury*, and at the extreme difficulty of holding in abeyance some of those symptoms which usually precede a fatal result, that he was quite prepared to listen to arguments urging him to reform. Through the careful treatment he received at the Medical Missionary hospital, followed by a long sea voyage which he is now taking, there is every reason to hope that his health will be entirely restored. An elder brother, as he called himself, who was always with him, had not the resolution to submit to the same regimen. I met him a short time since, and his changed appearance and sad complaints gave no flattering promise of a long or comfortable life. This house having passed into other hands, the place of smoking was transferred to an apartment some distance beyond, surrounded by a number of small huts teeming with inhabitants, from whom, as from ourselves, there were no effectual means employed to conceal their violation of the laws of the country.

In a ruin deeply shaded by a clump of trees, on the side of the hill which slopes to the Leënfung temple, we found five beggars, two of whom acknowledged that they daily allowed themselves this indulgence, while a third was so strongly marked, that his appearance led

to the inquiry and disclosure. Of the few who honor me the most frequently with their friendly calls, about one half are smokers. One of them is a respectable looking physician who has no moral power, if he has the medical skill, to cure himself. If his looks and tongue are not equally fallacious, he has declined in health during the few months I have known him. Another was the teacher of * * * who from frequent attacks of illness and absence from his duties, gave his pupil much occasion for the exercise of patience. A third is a patient of the Medical Missionary hospital, the son of a mandarin; he is now suffering under exfoliation of part of the outer table of the skull, and his system is too enfeebled to reproduce the loss.

But the most affecting cases of all are two Chinese, who have both made a profession of Christianity. To the disappointment and grief of their friends, it was discovered that they were secretly indulging this habit, although they both stoutly denied it; and when the evidence became irresistible, instead of confessing and renouncing the sin, they were shameless enough to justify it. Within a few months, the one whom we know the best has had two attacks of long and rather serious illness.

I would merely add that I have taken no pains to search out this unfortunate class of men, neither did I treasure up these cases for future publication. On the contrary, I could easily swell the list by many additional and striking examples. The subject was proposed a few days ago, and these are some of the recollections which the suggestion called up. Your philosophic readers will please to remember that they alone are responsible for whatever construction they may put upon this specimen of FACTS.

Art. VII. *Notices of Japan, No. I. Appearance of the coast; regulations regarding intercourse with the Dutch. Derived principally from recent Dutch accounts of Japan, and the German of Dr. Von Siebold.*

[The following series of articles, on the manners and customs of Japan, of which this is the first, are extracted from the Asiatic Journal, Vol. XXIX, for 1839, in which they successively appeared. They seem to have been drawn up by some persons much interested in that secluded country, and in such a manner as to embody the information to be derived from recent sour-

ces in an interesting and consecutive manner. At this period, when foreign settlements are approaching closer than ever to the gates of Dezima, information upon Japan is very timely, and we think we do such of our readers as are interested in that country a favor by reprinting them in the Repository. We have added notes at the foot of the pages, the information in which is derived from Japanese themselves, whom shipwreck and the cruel laws of their native land have twice driven into exile; these notes are inclosed in brackets. The several articles relating to Japan, in preceding volumes of the Repository, will with these form a tolerably complete account of the country; they are, on the religious worship of the Japanese, vol. II, page 318; on the geography, customs, &c., of Japan, vol. III, pages 145, 193; on the Portuguese, and Dutch intercourse with Japan, and the visit of that ship Morrison to Yedo, vol. VI, pages 353, 401, 460, 553; English intercourse with Japan, vol. VII, pages 217, 588; and lastly, account of an embassy to the pope, Vol. VIII, page 273. In reprinting the following papers, we have endeavored to make the orthography of the Japanese words uniform with the Italian mode of spelling, and have therefore altered a few of them. The powers of the vowels are very uniform; viz., *a* as in *father*; *e* as in *they*; *i* as in *machine*; *o* as in *flow*; *u* as in *rule*; &c., &c. W.]

WHILST English travelers are constantly supplying information concerning the least interesting regions of the globe, there is an extensive, populous, and highly though singularly civilized empire, which remains as much a *terra incognita* now, as it was a century ago. Japan has for nearly two centuries, since the simultaneous expulsion of Christianity and the Portuguese, A. D. 1640, been hermetically closed against foreigners of all climes, Asiatics as well as Europeans, with the exception of one Chinese and one Dutch factory, both established, and in fact imprisoned, in one seaport town; and of these exceptions, the limited numbers of the Dutch factory, of which alone we know anything, have been gradually, reduced, whilst their visits to the capital have been in like manner restricted. During this long period, no intelligence respecting this insular empire has been attainable, save when some scientific physician, visiting the Dutch factory as its allowed medical attendant, gleaned such scanty facts as his Japanese acquaintance ventured to impart, in violation of their solemn obligation to reveal nothing, which stimulated rather than appeased the appetite of those Europeans who desired to be acquainted with a country so remarkable for the originality of its political institutions, the peculiar character of its people, and a form of civilization neither European nor Asiatic, and apparently altogether indigenous.

Of late, however, through the endeavors to open a trade with Japan, to which the spirit of commercial enterprize has given birth in other nations, Russia, America, and England, the spirit of authorship has inspired members of the Dutch counting-house at Dezima. The consequence has been, that three several Dutch works upon Japan have appeared, by two chiefs and one warehouse-keeper of the factory; and Dr. Ph. Fr. von Siebold, a learned German, who, like his German and Swedish predecessors, Kæmpfer and Thunberg, held the situation of physician to the factory, with equal judgment and industry prosecuted his researches under circumstances more favorable than have been enjoyed by any European since the expulsion of the Jesuits. From these several works, which, in their original languages, cannot be familiar to the British public, it is proposed to collect and embody in a series of papers such facts as appear likely to interest the general reader, with the addition of any further

information that may seem requisite to the full understanding of the political and social state of Japan, taken from older writers,* whose works, though rendered accessible by translation, are, from their unattractive form, almost unknown.

Holland has no direct communication with Japan. The Dezima factory is under the control of the governor-general of the Dutch East-Indian possessions, and it is with the seat of colonial government at Batavia, in the island of Java, that all its intercourse is carried on. Instructions and appointments originate there, and thence the two annual ships, to which the Dutch trade with Japan is limited, sail for the bay of Nagasaki.

* A brief account of the different writers upon Japan, most of whom have been consulted for these papers, may satisfy the reader, if not as to the authenticity of the statements, at least that no pains have been spared to authenticate them. The first writers upon Japan are the Jesuit missionaries; the fathers Charlevoix and Crasset have embodied most of their information, which principally relates to the concerns of the missions, and accounts of the persecutions. Engelbert Kæmpfer, a German physician, was a member of the Dutch factory for two years, about the year 1680, and his two folio volumes contain all the new information touching Japan, which was published from the expulsion of the Jesuits in A. D. 1640, till the latter end of the last century. In 1775, Thunberg was, like Kæmpfer, sent to Japan as medical attendant, and diligently studied the land of his temporary sojourn; his volume on Japan is more amusing but less instructive than the old German's. The next work, after the lapse of 25 or 30 years, was capt. Golownin's Account of his Captivity, and his Recollections of Japan, both of which, from the circumstance of his being a captive, and his own anxiety concerning the result of his detention, require to be read with much caution; his authority is the least to be relied on. Some twelve or fifteen years afterwards, M. Titsingh's translation of the Annals of the Siogouns was published by the French purchaser of his papers; and in 1834, appeared his translation of the Annals of the Dairis, edited by Klaproth. To these separate works, might be added the fragments of information found in Krusenstern's voyage, Raffles' History of Java, capt. Gordon's Account of his visit at the bay of Simoda, Klaproth's translation of a Japanese Geographical Treatise, and his opinion of the Japanese language in the *Asia Polyglotta*, and various papers in Dutch writers upon the Archipelago.

We now come to the three Dutch and German authors, from whom these papers are chiefly compiled; and so much of their means of acquiring information as respectively heads or warehouse-master of the factory, appears in the use made of their books, that it may be sufficient here to add the names of those books, after first observing that from Heer Doeff, considering his nineteen years' residence in Japan, far greater stores of additional knowledge might have been hoped, had he not lost all his papers, collections, everything but his own life—his newly-married wife dying with her unborn babe in consequence of her sufferings—in an unfortunate shipwreck upon his return to Europe. The Dutch works are, Meylan's JAPAN, *voorgesteld in Schetsen over de Zaelen en gebruiken van det Ryk, byzonder over de Ingezetenen der Stad Nagasaky*, meaning, JAPAN, presented in Sketches of the Manners and Customs of the Realm, especially of the town of Nagasaki: published in 1830. Meylan, it is understood, has since died in Japan. Heer Overmeer Fischer's quarto, entitled *Bydrage tot de Kennis van het Japanesche Ryk*, or Contributions to the Knowledge of the Japanese Realm, appeared in 1833, and was followed in the same year by Heer Doeff's *Herinnerungen nit Japan*, or Recollections out of Japan. The books have here been placed in the order of their publication; but it should be added, that Doeff had left Japan before either of the others had reached it, and that Fischer preceded Meylan. The German work of Dr. Ph. Fr. von Siebold is entitled NIPPON, *Archiv zur Beschreibung von Japan* (Archive towards the Description of Japan): it is to be regretted that the miscellaneous form in which the learned author has thought fit to publish his valuable observations, without taking the trouble of working them into a whole, renders his Archive very unsuited to translation into English, although a mine of information.

The voyage appears to occupy from five to six weeks, varying in length, partly according to the time spent in visits to Dutch settlements by the way. The first aspect of Japan is unprepossessing. The rocks and reefs, that render so large a part of the coast inaccessible, and the frequent fogs that obscure, or storms that sweep the neighboring seas, making those rocks formidable even to the experienced mariner, are hardly more inhospitable than the offensive, precautionary rules to which the ship, and every individual on board, are subjected, ere permission to anchor in Nagasaki bay be obtained. Occasionally, however, the unfitness of the native vessels to contend with the tempests alluded to, affords a commencement of Japanese adventures prior even to these annoyances, which, by stimulating curiosity as to the object in view, may encourage the visitor to submit to them the more patiently. Dr. von Siebold had, prior to coming in sight of Japan, such an opportunity of making acquaintance with native Japanese, and learning something of the rigorous laws by which they are governed. He thus relates the occurrence:

"After a fearful storm, a wreck was discovered at daybreak of the 5th of August. We made towards it, and recognized a vessel without mast or sail, dragging two anchors. At first, we thought her a Chinese junk; but from a distress-flag she had hoisted, we soon discovered that she was Japanese. Unable to carry the smallest sail, she was driving before the E. N. E. wind further and further from land. We lay to, and stiff as was the gale, high as was the sea, lowered a boat to offer our assistance to the unfortunate crew in their desperate situation. Capt. Jacometti himself went in the boat, and by strenuous exertion, succeeded in reaching the wreck. The Japanese received the well-known Hollanders as their salvors, and seeing the impossibility of making the land in their dismasted, leaky vessel, resolved to leave it for our ship. It may seem that, under such circumstances, no great deliberation as to adopting the means of escape tendered could be requisite; but when we shall be better acquainted with the character of the Japanese, with their laws, and with the responsibility weighing upon their officers and constituted authorities, we shall rather wonder that any degree of danger could induce a Japanese sailor to quit his own vessel in order to seek safety on board a foreigner. Meanwhile, the *Onderneming* had rejoined us, and the gallant captain Lelsz also hastened with his boat to the rescue. The Japanese sailors, twenty-four in number, were divided between the two boats. Some provisions—as rice, salt pork, *sake* (or spirit) tobacco—as well as arms and clothes, were taken out, and the wreck was abandoned, after being scuttled at the urgent prayer of her crew. Their crime would have been unpardonable, had their deserted bark by any chance drifted to the Japanese coast: she must sink, in order to palliate, in some measure, the step which the unlucky men had hazarded for safety. In highly excited expectation we stood on deck, watching our stout mariners as they battled with the mountainous billows. The boat was soon tossed to our side, and curiously did we gaze at the strangers as they successively appeared on our deck. They greeted us courteously, but stood amazed; and, sailor-like, first admired the ship that had braved a storm so fatal to their own. They were the first Japanese we had seen, and greatly were we struck by their staid appearance and modest behavior. Their dress, arms, implements, in short, all they brought on board, drew our attention, and we were presently engaged in pantomimic conversation with them. They were, indeed, tranquilized, and the unhoped-for change in their condition seemed gratifying to them;

but the frightful images of past danger, and traces of long days of painful exertion, still spoke distinctly in their features. Their neglected dress, their whole carriage, all bore the stamp of the state of despair whence they had escaped. They were, however, quickly reconciled to their lot, seemed to relish their *sake* and tobacco, and chatted away with great animation. They spread their mats on deck, each fetched his box, and a scene novel to us began, namely, a Japanese toilet. Above all, we admired their dexterity in shaving their own heads. The Japanese shaves his beard and the crown of his head, omitting to do so only in misfortune—as captivity, death of friends, and the like. In the appropriate *coiffure* of the Japanese, the newly-washed bristly hair left round the shaven crown gives him a wild aspect, which had here passed into the comic, every individual having cut off his *queue* as a sacrifice to his patron divinity, in acknowledgment of his deliverance from imminent danger—a Japanese seaman's vow. Cleanlily dressed, they walked the deck, and seemed transported to a new world. Every object awakened their curiosity, and offered matter for conversation."

The wreck proved to be a vessel belonging to the prince of Satzuma, employed in the trade with the Lewchew Islands, dependencies of the Japanese empire, but more especially of his principality. And it may here be observed, that the danger of their deserted wreck's floating home was not the only one against which the imperiled mariners had to guard, in accepting the foreign assistance tendered them. Had the Dutch been bound elsewhere than to Nagasaki, the involuntary absence of the Japanese from home could hardly have been so short as not to subject them to imprisonment, and a severe judicial examination, ere they could be allowed to to resume their station, low as it might be, amongst their countrymen; whilst anything of a distant voyage would have inevitably incurred the absolute forfeiture of all their rights as natives of the empire.

Upon approaching the desired port, the excitement of those about to set foot for the first time upon the prohibited shores of Japan is raised to the highest pitch; and they are, in the first place, gratified by the appearance of the country, which is said to be very beautiful.

"Hills clothed with fresh green," says Siebold, "cultivated to the very summit, adorn the foreground, behind which arise blue mountain peaks in sharp outlines. Dark rocks here and there break the glassy surface of the sea, and the precipitous wall of the adjacent coast glittered with ever-changing hues in the bright beams of the morning sun. The mountain sides of the nearest island, cultivated in terraces; tall cedars, amongst which white houses shone, and insulated temple-roofs jutted magnificently out, with numerous dwellings and huts bordering the strand and the shores of the bay, afforded a really attractive sight. We neglected not the opportunity of obtaining explanations from our Japanese guests, and learned with surprise that the pretty white houses, which we had taken for the mansions of the grandees, were nothing more than storehouses, the walls of which are coated, as a precaution against fire, with mortar prepared from shell-chalk. Sailing-vessels and fishing-boats enlivened the mouth of the bay. At the call of our Japanese guests, many fishermen approached, and offered us their fish, with a liberality and affability astonishing in their rank of life. They were most friendly, and evidently enjoyed presenting to us and their rescued countrymen the fruit of their toil. They refused gold and gifts of value, but begged some empty wine-bottles. Common green glass bottles are much prized in Japan. These fishermen were as nearly naked as was compatible with decency."

It is here, without the mouth of Nagasaki bay, that the annoyances, resulting from Japanese law and Japanese suspicion, begin. Guards, stationed on the coast, keep a constant lookout for ships, and as soon as the approach of one is reported at Nagasaki, a boat is dispatched thence to demand her name, country, equipage, and every other necessary particular. This is accomplished, without the exchange of a word or any personal intercourse, by papers drawn up from the boat, and returned, after inserting the proper answers. This done, the ship must wait further orders where she is, on pain of being considered and treated as an enemy: and the interval is occupied in packing up bibles, prayer-books, pictures or prints representing sacred subjects, should any such be on board—in short, everything connected with Christianity—in a chest, which is duly locked and sealed.

When the governor of Nagasaki has received these answers, a boat is again sent to demand hostages, and when these have been delivered and conveyed to their destined temporary abode, a Japanese deputation, headed by a police-officer of the highest rank, called a *gobanyosi*, and accompanied always, at the express request of the governor of Nagasaki, by one or two members of the Dutch factory, visits the ship, in order finally to ascertain that she is one of the two lawful, annual merchantmen. Should she, at any stage of the proceedings, prove to be an interloper, she is at once ordered to depart; if in distress of any kind, is supplied with whatever she may need, and that gratuitously, the more strongly to mark the determination to suffer no trade; but she is not permitted to enter the bay, or to hold any communication with the shore, beyond asking for and receiving the necessaries of which she is in want. If the investigation proves satisfactory, the Dutchmen return home, the *gobanyosi* takes possession of the guns, arms of all kinds, ammunition, &c., which together with the chest containing religious objects, he removes to an appointed place on shore, where they remain in deposit during the vessel's stay, to be restored at her departure.

Of course, the result was satisfactory upon the occasion of Siebold's arrival, although some difficulties interrupted the smooth course of the established proceedings. In the first place, Dr, Siebold avers that the Japanese interpreters spoke better Dutch than himself, and they immediately declared their disbelief of his being a native of Holland.* Luckily, however, various accents and dialects prevail in the different districts of Japan; and, in consequence, his assertion that he was a *yama Horanda*, or Dutch mountaineer, proved fully satisfactory. Similar mistrust had been excited in the last century, by the accent of the Swede Thunberg. In the second place, the shipwrecked Japanese sailors had to undergo a long and careful examination, to justify the suspicious and illegal step of going on board a foreign ship. This also proved satisfactory, and the vessel, rendered

* The statement of the Dutch writers, that the Dutch of the interpreters is so Japanese in idiom, grammar, and construction, as to be scarcely intelligible to a new-comer, seems somewhat contradictory to the German's assertion. They may, perhaps, be reconciled, by supposing that the startling panegyric of the latter refers solely to pronunciation; though even with respect to this, it is generally agreed that Japanese organs can perceive no difference between the sounds of L and R, or of F and H. [The sound of R in Japanese is, at the beginning of words very much like *dr*, being a kind of rolling sound; in the middle of a word, it is like the English R, but the Japanese do not appear to be able to discriminate between the L and R. The sounds of F and H are easily distinguished by them, but the different use of these two letters forms one of the features of dialects.]

spiritually and physically innoxious, by the removal of her bibles and her guns, was towed by Japanese boats into the inner harbor, and conducted to her regular anchorage.

"The bay," Dr. Von Siebold says, "becomes more animated as we approach the town, and offers on both sides the most delightful variety of objects. How inviting are the shores, with their cheerful dwellings! What fruitful hills, what majestic temple-groves! How picturesque those green mountain-tops, with their volcanic formation! How luxuriantly do those evergreen oaks, cedars, and laurels clothe the declivity! What activity, what industry, does nature, thus tamed, as it were, by the hand of man, proclaim! As witness those precipitous walls of rock, at whose feet corn-fields and cabbage-gardens are sown in terraces from the steep; witness the coast, where Cyclopean bulwarks set bounds to the arbitrary caprice of a hostile element!"

A superior police-officer is now stationed at Dezima (the Dutch residence adjoining Nagasaki), to watch the unloading and subsequent loading of the vessel, towards which not a step may be taken except under his immediate superintendence. Nay, not a soul is permitted to land without undergoing a personal search in this officer's presence; a new chief (*opperhaofd*) of the factory being the only individual exempt from this annoyance.

The offensive custom originated, probably, in the stratagem long employed, to facilitate the immoderate smuggling carried on. We are told that formerly, every captain of the annual ships was wont, whilst the bibles, &c., were in process of packing, to clothe himself in loose attire, which was made to fit him, in external appearance, by internal waddings. Thus enlarged, he presented himself to the visiting Japanese officer. When about to land, he exchanged his waddings for the contraband articles intended to be introduced, wore his waddings during his stay, and repeated the former operation prior to re-embarking for departure. This practice has been rendered impossible; but it should seem that, in spite of Japanese suspicion and vigilance, other modes of introducing and extracting prohibited goods have been adopted in its stead, inasmuch as all the members of the factory agree that such prohibited goods are brought on shore, and secretly sold or bartered for such Japanese wares as the Dutch wish, but are forbidden to acquire. Of these last, many specimens are even now extant, in proof of the fact that they can still be exported as well as purchased, in the Royal Museum at the Hague; whilst the possibility of introducing prohibited articles into Dezima, at least, further appears from president Doeff's statement, that the factory have bibles and psalm-books, the possession of which, president Meylan observes, is now connived at. It may, perhaps, be inferred, that the Japanese dread of Christianity has very much subsided during the long period that has elapsed since the last missionary endeavors to convert the empire.

But to return to the annoyances connected with landing. The indispensable necessity of searching the persons of new comers, as well as the inexorable rigidity of the Japanese system of exclusion, may be illustrated by an incident that could hardly have occurred elsewhere. It appears that, in the year 1817, Doeff's successor in the presidentship of the factory, Heer Blomhoff, threw the whole town of Nagasaki, population, government and all, into consternation, by bringing with him, not an armed force, but his young wife, their new-born babe, and a Javanese nurse: a contravention of Japanese law, the heinousness of which was enhanced by its having been imitated by the mate of the ship, who

had likewise brought his wife with him, less criminally, indeed, than Heer Blomhoff, the mate intending to take his family away again when the vessel sailed, whilst the new head of the factory meditated the atrocious offense of obtruding his wife upon Nagasaki, or at least upon Dezima, during all the years of his presidentship. The governor at once objected to the lady's even landing. Heer Doeff, kindly desirous to procure for his successor, perhaps for all future *opperhoofds* and the whole factory, the solace of virtuous female and domestic society, entered into a negotiation upon the subject, the course and issue of which he thus narrates:

"I appealed to the precedent of 1662, when the Chinese pirate, Koxinga, having taken Formosa from the Dutch, as many women and children as fled thence to Japan were admitted into Dezima; and I solicited the self-same favor now. The governor replied, that the cases were not alike; that, on the occasion cited, the women had come *through necessity* as fugitives, but now *by choice*. In the first case, the Japanese could not refuse an asylum to a friendly nation; the second was altogether different. He promised, however, to submit my request to the court at Yedo, and to allege the precedent in question in its support. Meanwhile, Mevrouw Blomhoff was allowed provisionally to land at Dezima, with her child and servant, awaiting the answer thereto. Still, a great difficulty remained. No one who sets foot in Japan is exempt from an examination of his whole person, the *opperhoofd* alone excepted; the governor himself has no power to dispense with this search. I took it upon myself, nevertheless, to arrange this affair in regard to the women, as well with the superintending *gobanyosi* on board as on shore at Dezima; and although the examination could not be omitted, it was managed with the utmost forbearance and decency. After an interval of two months, the answer to Heer Blomhoff's petition, for leave to keep his wife and child with him, came; it was a refusal. Myn heer was naturally much dissatisfied and dejected, but all our efforts to soften this decision were vain; against the presumed mandate of the emperor, the governor durst not offer any fresh remonstrance or representation. This severity of exclusion was not directed expressly against Hollanders, or even foreign *women*, but against all persons who are not *positively necessary to the trade*. The general principle of the Japanese is, that no one must enter their country *without cause*, so that not even to a Dutchman is access allowed, unless he belongs to the ship's crew, or to the counting-house. Thus when, in 1804, captain Van Pabst, a military officer, accompanied his friend captain Musquetier, of the *Gesina Antoinetta*, from Batavia to Japan, being entered on the ship's muster-roll as 'passenger,' we were obliged, in spite of all I could say against it, to enter him on *our* muster-roll as 'clerk,' or 'mate' (I forget which), before he could come ashore. The amiable character of Heer Van Pabst caused his presence to be winked at; yet might he not bear the name of a 'passenger.' It may easily be imagined how affecting was the parting of the wedded pair, now condemned to a long separation. On the 2d of December, Heer Blomhoff conducted his wife, child, and nursemaid, on board the good ship *Vrouw Agatha*, in which I was to return with them to Batavia."

We may now give a brief sketch of the appearance of the people whom the voyager has come so far to visit, as they first meet his eye; some, before he even sets foot on Japanese ground,; others, standing with the head of the Dutch factory, all in full dress, to receive him as he lands. And first of their persons. The Japanese have all the organic characteristics of Mongol conformation,

the oblique position of the eye included, but they seem to be the least uncomely of that ugly race. Klaproth considers their Chinese nature to be happily modified by greater energy, muscular and intellectual. They are generally described as strong, alert, and fresh-colored; the young of both sexes as smooth-faced, rosy, and graced with abundance of fine black hair. The Dutch writers, indeed, dilate complacently upon the beauty of the young women, of which a specimen is given in a portrait in Siebold's work. The gait of both sexes is allowed to be awkward, and the women's the worst, in consequence of their bandaging their hips so tightly as to turn their feet inwards.

The ordinary dress of both sexes and all ranks is in form very similar, differing chiefly in the colors, delicacy, and value of the materials. It consists of a number of loose, wide gowns, worn over each other—those of the lower orders made of linen or calico, those of the higher generally of silk—with the family arms woven or worked into the back and breast of the outer robe; and all fastened at the waist by a girdle. The sleeves are enormous in width and length, and the portion that hangs below the arm is closed at the end, to answer the purpose of a pocket, subsidiary, however, to the capacious bosoms of the gowns, and to the girdles, where more valuable articles are deposited; amongst others, whilst clean, the neat squares of white paper, which are the Japanese substitutes for pocket-handkerchiefs, and, when used, are dropt into the sleeve, until an opportunity offers of throwing them away, without soiling the house.* This description applies to both sexes, but the ladies usually wear brighter colors than the men, and border their robes with gay embroidery or gold. Gentlemen wear a scarf over the shoulders; its length is regulated by the rank of the wearer, and serves in turn to regulate the bow with which they greet each other, inasmuch as it is indispensable to bow to a superior until the ends of the scarf touch the ground.

To this, upon occasions of full dress, is superadded what is called the garb of ceremony. It consists of a cloak, of a specific form, thrown over the other clothes. With the cloak is worn, by the higher classes, a very peculiar sort of trowsers, called *hakama*, which appears, both from the description given, and from the appearance of the article, so far as can be distinguished in the glass-cases of the Hague Museum, to be formed of an immensely full-plaited petticoat, sewed up between the legs, and left sufficiently open on the outside to admit of free locomotion. The difference of rank signalized by these petticoat-trowsers is only apparent upon occasions of ceremony: the constant criterion turns upon the wearing of swords. The higher orders wear two swords—on the same side, it should seem, and one above the other. The next in rank wear

* [The width of the sleeve causes it to hang down and appear longer than it really is, for the cuff does not usually reach beyond the wrist, where it is contracted, and forms the mouth of the pocket; the hand is drawn through this opening to take out the things in the pocket. The use of the sleeves, however, to carry articles depends very much upon a person's own fancy, the bosom and girdle being the usual repositories for whatever he wishes to carry. The family arms are also worked or dyed into the sleeves making in all five places, (viz. each arm at the elbow, each breast, and the back) where they are worn. These insignia are always worn on occasions of ceremony or etiquette, but are often omitted in garments for everyday wear.]

one; and, whether two or one, these are never, by any chance, laid aside. To the lower orders, a sword is strictly prohibited.*

Within doors, socks are the only covering of the feet. Abroad, shoes are worn, but of the most inconceivably inconvenient kind. They are represented as little more than soles of straw, mat, or wood, mainly kept on by an upright pin, held between the two principal toes, which, for this purpose, project through an appropriate aperture in the socks. The impossibility of lifting a foot thus shod in walking, may amply account for the awkward gait ascribed to the Japanese. Upon entering any house, these shoes are taken off.†

The head-dress constitutes the chief difference, in point of costume, between the sexes. The men shave the whole front and crown of the head; the rest of the hair, growing from the temples and the back of the head, is carefully gathered together, drawn upwards and forwards, and so tied as to form a sort of tuft on the bald skull. Some professions, however, deviate from this general fashion; Buddhist priests and physicians shaving off all the hair, while surgeons retain all theirs, gathered into a knot at the top of the head.

The abundant hair of the women is arranged into the form of a turban, and stuck full of pieces of fine tortoiseshell, fifteen inches long, of the thickness of a man's finger, highly wrought, and polished to look like gold. They are said to be extremely costly; and the more of them project from a lady's hair, the better she is dressed. They wear no jewellery or other trinkets. The face is painted red and white, to the utter destruction of the complexion; the lips purple, with a golden glow; in addition to this, the teeth of a Japanese married lady are blackened, and her eyebrows extirpated.

Neither men nor women wear hats, except as a protection against rain; the fan is deemed a sufficient guard from the sun; and, perhaps, nothing will more strike the newly-arrived European than this fan, which he will behold in the hand or the girdle of every human being. Soldiers and priests are no more to be seen without their fans than fine ladies, who make of theirs the use to which fans are put in other countries. In Japan, visitors receive the dainties offered them upon their fans; the beggar, imploring charity, holds out his fan

* [The whole of this ceremonial dress is called *kamishimo*. The *kami* or cloak is so made that when worn, the edges (for it has no sleeves) project beyond the shoulders so as to give them a very square form, as if the wearer had on a pair of stiff epaulettes. This dress is also worn by the common people on occasions of weddings, funerals, and the like.—How low are those orders which are prohibited from wearing a single sword does not appear to be determined. We are informed that mechanics, shopmen, artisans, &c., wear a *wagizashi*, or short sword whenever they wish to be in full dress. The sumptuary regulations regarding the use of this touchstone of Japanese honor probably differ in the various principalities. In Higo, two swords are allowed to all grades of rank; the *cho nin*, or *ignobile vulgus*, as a body, are restricted to one.]

† [The shoe most commonly worn is a sort of sandal; it is a sole kept on the foot by a strap passing over the instep, and fastened to a pin, which passes between the first and second toes. To accommodate this pin, the stocking is made like a mitten, with a division for the great toe. Shoes fitting close to the ancles, low boots, pattens, slippers, and sandals, are all made in Japan, but are not much worn; some are ceremonial garments, others form part of the priestly garb. They are made of straw (woven edgewise), wood, bark, and leather, and are sometimes shod with iron on the heels. There is no difficulty in lifting the foot up when walking in them, as we have had ample evidence from seeing hundreds of people wearing them.]

for the alms his prayers may have obtained. The fan serves the dandy in lieu of a whalebone switch; the pedagogue instead of a ferule for the offending schoolboy's knuckles; and, not to dwell too long upon the subject, a fan presented upon a peculiar kind of salver to the high-born criminal, is said to be the form of announcing his death-doom: his head is struck off at the same moment he stretches it towards the fan.

Having fairly landed the new member of the Dutch factory at Dezima, we, must now take a survey of the spot in which he is, in most cases, to be immured for the next few years of his life. Like everything in Japan, it is original, being an artificial, or rather, perhaps, a factitious island, built in the bay, after the manner of a pier or breakwater. The very object of its construction was to serve as a place of confinement, although not for the Dutch.

When the Japanese government began to entertain jealousy and dislike of foreigners, the first measure taken, at the instigation of those feelings, was so to situate them that they could conveniently be watched. For this purpose, the Europeans and their commerce were restricted to the two ports of Nagasaki and Firado [or Hirado], at which last place the Dutch factory was then established. The next step was to confine the Portuguese more closely still; with this view was their abode projected, and the island of Dezima directed to be built from the bottom of the sea. The emperor's pleasure being asked as to the form of the future island, he unfolded the ever actively employed fan; and accordingly, in the shape of a fan without the sticks upon which a fan is mounted, was the island constructed. When the Portuguese were finally expelled, the Dutch were transferred from Firado to their prison-house. Dezima is about 600 feet in length by 240 across, and is situated a few yards only distant from the shore, close upon which stands the town of Nagasaki. The island and town are connected by a stone bridge, but a high wall prevents the dwellers in either from seeing those in the other. The view of the bay, teeming with life and bustle, seems indeed to be open to the factory, secluded as they are; but the view is a distant one only, no Japanese boat being permitted to approach the island within a certain prescribed distance, marked by a stockade. The bridge is closed by a gate and guard-house, constantly occupied by a body of police and soldiers, who alike prevent the Dutch from quitting their island without permission, and debar the access of Japanese visitors, save and except the appointed individuals, and those at the appointed hours. Neither Dutch nor Japanese may pass the gate without being searched. The sea-gate is similarly watched, though with a police force only when opened, which it never is, except for intercourse with the Dutch ships, whilst in the harbor. The name given to the island implies 'Fore island,' or 'Ante island;' the word *zima* meaning 'island,' and *de*, 'fore' or 'ante.'*

The number of European residents in this singular island is now limited to eleven. They consist of the *opperhoofd*, head or president of the factory, called by the Japanese *Holanda*, or *Horanda Capitan*; a warehouse-master; a secretary, or in plain mercantile English, a book-keeper; a physician; five

* [A drawing of this artificial island as given in Titsingh's Annals, is named by the Japanese artist, 出島阿蘭陀屋舗景 *Dezima Horanda iye funo kei*, or View of Dezima, [with] the dwellings and shops of the Hollanders. The characters employed to write Dezima mean 'projecting island,' as also does the Japanese name, *de* (or *deru*) to project, and *zima* an island.]

clerks,* and two warehousemen. Foreign domestics they are not allowed, such being evidently unnecessary, as they can be waited upon by Japanese; and, after a fashion, so they are, that is to say, whilst the sun is above the horizon. But the attendance to which Europeans are accustomed, especially in Asiatic colonies, is of course but very imperfectly supplied by men who can scarcely be termed domestics, since so little are they domesticated with their masters, as not to be suffered to sleep in those masters' houses. The Japanese servants of the factory must leave the island at sunset, and prove that they do so, by presenting themselves at the appointed time to the proper authorities at the bridge watch-house; nor, it is said, can any emergency, not the most dangerous illness of a Dutch master, excuse the violation of this rule.

The utter destitution of attendance, in which every member of the factory is thus left, during half his time, "without the means of even getting the tea-kettle boiled for his evening tea," is pathetically and earnestly dwelt upon by one of the recent writers, in apology for the immoral connexions which his countrymen are, he avers, actually compelled to form in Japan; and the singularity of everything appertaining or relating to this very extraordinary country must excuse the bringing forward an offensive topic.

It appears that the only individual Japanese exempt from the necessity of quiting Dezima at sunset, are women who have forfeited the first claim of their sex to respect or esteem, whilst no female of good character is at any time permitted to set foot in the island, as is announced in the plainest and coarsest terms by a public proclamation, near the bridge-gate. From this unhappy and degraded class alone, therefore, can the Dutch procure either female servants or constant attendance. The consequences, in their irksome situation, deprived for years of all family society, need not be told. The progeny of the Dutch by these women are considered as altogether Japanese. As such, they must not be born in Dezima; and it is probably to guard against illegal births, that the women are bound to present themselves, once in every twenty-four hours, to the police-officer in command at the bridge. An incidental mention, by Doeff, of the women and children, shows that the mothers are permitted to nurse their infants in the houses of the fathers; but at a very early age, these half-caste children are subjected to restrictions in their intercourse with their fathers, similar to those imposed upon the intercourse of all natives with foreigners; and the only indulgence granted to the paternal feelings of the Dutch consists in the permission to receive a few specified visits from their offspring at certain intervals, (whether this permission extends to their daughters is not stated,) and to provide for their education and support through life. The fathers are frequently allowed, if not required, to purchase for their adult Japanese sons some office under government, at Nagasaki or elsewhere.

As no Japanese may be born in Dezima, so may none die there; although how this is avoided in cases of sudden death is not explained. It may be conjectured, however, that the remedy is sought in the underhand course termed *naïbon* by

* Some discrepancy as to numbers exists between Doeff and Fischer; and as the former wrote only from recollection, while the latter had all his Dezima papers before him, the warehouse-master's authority has been preferred. It may be said, once for all, that in such trifling disagreements in statements or orthography, the writer who appears best informed, and especially Dr. Von Siebold, has always been followed.

the Japanese (which means the professed concealment of something generally known), and of the strange and incessant use of which much will have to be said hereafter. Thus appearances may, perhaps, be saved by concealing the death, and removing the deceased, as though still alive, to the place where he may lawfully die. This would be merely absurd; but it is a more revolting idea, that such precipitate transportation may occasionally take place ere the vital spark be quite extinct, and the time which, judiciously employed, would have saved life, be wasted in conveying the sufferer to a legal death-bed. But the loss or preservation of life are trifles in Japanese estimation.

The dwellings in this singular species of prison are not given to the prisoners by government, nor even the use of the ground, whereon to erect habitations at their pleasure. The houses appear to have been built by citizens of Nagasaki, upon speculation, and the Dutch pay for them an exorbitant rent fixed by authority. They are, however, permitted to furnish them according to their own taste, and either to procure furniture, in the European style from Java, or to have it made by their own direction in Japan; and so dextrous, ingenious, and patiently persevering are the Japanese handicraftsmen, that they rarely fail to execute anything they undertake, how different soever from the articles they are accustomed to produce. They are said, however, occasionally to require from their customers patience similar to their own, as no money will induce them to incroach upon the hours allotted to meals, rest, or recreation.

But the artificers they are to employ, or the tradesmen with whom they are to deal, the members of the factory are not permitted to choose for themselves. Purveyors are officially appointed in some departments, and the prices at which they are to serve the factory with their several wares are fixed by government fifty per cent. above the regular market-price; a rate of charge avowedly intended in part to defray the expenses incident to the safe custody of the strangers. For other departments there is an appointed purchaser (still called by his Portuguese name of *comprador*), who buys every unprohibited article that the Dutch may desire to possess; and these purchases, when made, they have no money to pay for. Whether as a preventive of bribery, or for what other motive this restriction be imposed, appears not; but to the Dutch, all money transactions, and even the possession of money, are prohibited. The cargoes of the Dutch ships, when landed, are delivered to Japanese authorities, who sell the imported merchandize, employ the price in paying for the goods to be exported, and give in their unchecked accounts to the Dutch president. Even the private adventures allowed to the members of the factory, in compensation for their inadequate salaries, are thus disposed of, and the returns procured. The remaining accounts of the purveyors and *compradors*, against every individual member, are settled out of the proceeds of these annual sales. The purveyors, the *comprador*, a Japanese physician, (appointed provisionally to act in case of the Dutch physician's illness, death, or absence), a professor of the Japanese remedy of acupuncture, and the known servants, are respectively furnished with seals, or passes, that authorize their ingress and egress to and from Dezima, at the lawful hours. But all these persons are obliged, prior to entering upon their offices, to sign, with their blood, an oath binding them to contract no friendship with any of the Dutch; to afford them no information respecting the language, laws, manners, religion, or history of Japan; in short, to hold no communication with them, except in their several

recognized functions. No individual except those abovementioned, and the officers and interpreters employed by government, can enter Dezima without an express permission from the governor of Nagasaki: but it is said, that any Japanese visitor, who wishes to obtain admittance without this formality, can usually succeed by bribery, passing as the servant of some one of the sanctioned or official visitors.

The due observance of all these regulations and restrictions is enforced and watched over by the municipal officers and police of Nagasaki, a certain number of whom, with a proportionate allowance of interpreters, are always upon the island. Houses are there assigned them, but there appears to be little occasion for more than a station-house or guard-room, the whole being relieved every twenty-four hours.

The interpreters constitute one of the regular corporations, or guilds, of Nagasaki, and receive salaries from the siogoun, or emperor. From sixty to seventy of the body, reckoning superior and inferior, are formally appointed Dutch interpreters; and a yet larger number are assigned to the Chinese factory, which, like the Dutch, is confined to a spot adjoining Nagasaki. But even these appointed Dutch interpreters are forbidden to communicate freely with the factory; they must not visit the president, or any of his inferior countrymen, unless accompanied by a municipal officer, or, according to Fischer, by a spy. But although the whole administration of Japan seems to be a system of *espionage*, as will appear hereafter, it is hardly to be supposed that the spies, upon whose relations this cautious government depends for information, can be so publicly known as to be in official attendance. It is far more likely, that some of the menial servants of the factory act in the secondary capacity of spies, reporting the conduct of municipal officers and interpreters, as well as of their masters. This conjecture is confirmed by the information, that all these servants understand Dutch, which does not seem to be the case with the police or municipal officers.

Whilst the Dutch vessels remain in the bay, and the business of unloading, procuring a cargo, reloading, and all thereunto appertaining, is going on, a good deal of consequent negociation and intercourse takes place betwixt the president and the governor and his subordinates; and some diversity of opinion exists between the Dutch and the German writers, as to the degree of politeness which, upon this and other formal occasions, marks the behavior of the Japanese. Dr. Von Siebold avers, that the Dutch *opperhoofd* still submits to very humiliating insults and contemptuous treatment; attributing such submission, however, to a patriotic anxiety for the preservation to Holland of a very profitable trade, not to any individual lucre of gain; whilst most of the Dutchmen, on the other hand, affirm, that they receive every mark of consideration and respect that could reasonably be expected or desired, and hold the trade to be of little value. The accounts given by the Dutch presidents of their intercourse with, and treatment by, the different Japanese placemen with whom they came in contact, will enable the reader to judge between these opposite views. One preliminary observation may, however, afford a key to the conduct of this haughty, but not conceited, nation. The Japanese nobles and placemen, even of secondary rank, entertain a sovereign contempt for traffic; whence it may be inferred, that the head or director of a commercial establishment cannot expect to be treated by them as their equal. And that this is the light in which

they, not unjustly, regard the Dutch *opperhoofd*, is proved by the adaptation to that gentleman of their sumptuary law respecting swords. This mark of dignity is strictly prohibited to all Japanese traders; and the wealthiest can no otherwise free himself from this degradation, imposed by these sumptuary laws, of appearing unarmed, than by prevailing upon some indigent noble, whose necessities his purse has relieved, to enter his (the merchant's) name, upon the list of his (the nobleman's) servants; when the titular domestic is permitted, in his servile capacity, to wear a single sword. Now of the whole Dutch factory, the president alone is permitted even to wear a sword, and even he is allowed but one, and that one to be worn only upon state occasions; all of which, be it remembered, has no reference either to nation or to person, but is absolutely and solely the test and mark of station, or rather perhaps of class:—can the man who may only wear a sword at all upon particular specified occasions, expect to be placed on a footing of equality with him who wears two, or even with him who wears one at his own pleasure, that is to say, always?

There is, however, one very important point in the treatment of the Dutch in Japan, respecting which all the late writers agree in correcting the mistaken impression prevalent in Europe. This point is their religion, which, if they are not allowed openly to profess by practicing its rites—because these are acts prohibited by irrevocable Japanese law—they are not, now at least, required to deny and to insult, by trampling upon a picture of the Virgin and infant Savior. That they ever did sully the Christian name by submitting to this sacrilegious humiliation, to which thousands of Japanese martyrs preferred death, rests solely upon the authority of their expelled commercial rivals, the Portuguese, and that of the hostile Jesuits; corroborated, indeed, by the contempt which the Dutch, at the period of their obtaining their first charter, A. D. 1611, in the midst of the persecution of the native Christians and the missionaries, appear to have incurred from the Japanese, by a supple compliance with every requisition. The question thus limited can be of little interest to any but Dutch feelings; still, what is known of the history of this singular ceremony of abjuration, and of the treatment of the Dutch relative to religion, both of yore and at present, is too characteristic of Japanese nature to be omitted.

From the first visits of the Portuguese to Japan, up to the latter end of the sixteenth century, Christianity and the missionary labors of the Jesuits enjoyed there a toleration so complete as to be almost unaccountable in a country in which the authority of the nominal autocrat sovereign, the *mikado** essentially

* These two sovereigns are very improperly called by European writers the spiritual and temporal emperors. The *mikado* is the acknowledged emperor, absolute alike in spiritual and temporal affairs: the *siogoun* is a military chief, professedly the vicegerent or lieutenant of the emperor. Klaproth says, the Japanese, when the meaning of the title "emperor" was explained to them, were indignant at its being applied to the *siogoun*, and said there was no emperor but the *mikado*. Hence, it seems difficult to designate these two potentates, except by their Japanese titles. [The first of these two personages has a great number of titles. He is commonly called *kubo* (or *kubo sama*, i. e. lord kubo), *kinri* and *woti*, or *woti sama; dairi*, *mikado*, or *sora mikado*, are two other titles meaning emperor. The Chinese characters for *kubo* are 公方 and *kinri* also means the palace, applied by metonymy to its inmate. *Dairi* is 帝, which is also sometimes read *mikado*, but 天子 (literally, the 'son of heaven,') are the characters for *sora mikado*. Miyako, the residence of the *kubo* is not so much

rests upon its religion; the *mikado* reigning solely as the acknowledged descendant and representative of the gods. In consequence of this toleration, the missionaries were so successful, that, according to the reports made by the Jesuits to their superiors in Rome, there were in Japan, *prior* to the breaking out of the civil wars that produced the prohibition of Christianity, 200,000 native Christians, amongst whom were found princes, generals, and the flower of the nobility. Nay, a few years later, the heir of the siogounship is said to have been half a convert; whilst the numbers of the Jesuits' flock increased rapidly, even by hundreds of thousands, during the whole of those civil wars and the early period of the persecution.

A legal persecution, modified by much connivance—according to the Japanese *nathon* system—lasted for years, until in 1637, a rebellion broke out in the principality of Arima, the population of which was chiefly Christian. The cause and character of this rebellion are variously represented by the Dutch and Portuguese * authorities. According to the latter, it originated in the persecution of his Christian subjects by a newly-appointed heathen prince; whilst the Dutch represent it as provoked solely by the tyranny and extortion of that new prince, and altogether unconnected with religious differences; and Siebold, who may be considered as neutral, without saying anything as to its origin, calls it "the unsuccessful insurrection of the Christians;" and assuredly the probability is, that religion was the impelling cause of the insurrection in question. Persecution of native Christians, with the penalty of death denounced against all who refused the test of trampling upon the effigy of the Virgin and the infant Redeemer, was even then the law of the land, and would naturally afford both the pretext and the means of a newly-appointed heathen ruler's tyranny and extortion. Be this as it may, after a long struggle, the prince drove the insurgents into the peninsula of Simabara, and finding himself unable there to subdue them, he, with the full sanction of the *siogoun*, called upon the Dutch to bring their armed vessels and artillery to his assistance. Kockebekker was at that time the head of the Dutch factory, then established at Firado, and most prosperous amidst the great privileges granted by the original charter, and the liberty enjoyed under the protection of

the name of a place, as a term for the city where he lives; it is also called *kioto* (in Chinese 京都) and means the 'capital city.' The Japanese who were with Klaproth, of course felt that one of the above titles 皇 *wou*, could not with any propriety be applied to the *siogoun*, but the possession of the title of emperor does not infer that he has the power of one. The *siogoun* (in Chinese 將軍 or general) is the real ruler of the emperor; he is in common parlance, likewise called 天下 *tenka* or *tenka sama*, and lives at Yedo. The title of the reign of the present monarch is 天保 *Tenpo*.]

* The mutual recriminations of the Dutch and Portuguese, who impute to each other the exclusion of foreigners from Japan, are not now worth investigating. It is likely enough that the progress of the Jesuits, and the acknowledgment of the pope's authority by their converts, should have alarmed the government, and the Dutch should have fomented any ill-will towards commercial rivals, who, being then united to Spain, were their political as well as their religious enemies, if such contradictory ideas may be combined. But the paper upon Japanese history will show that there needed no caballing to impel a usurper to measures which he deemed conducive to his own interest.

the kindly-disposed prince of Firado. Rockebekker obeyed the summons with the single man-of-war at his disposal, and the Dutch artillery decided the fate of the unfortunate Christian insurgents at Simabara. This civil war is said to have cost forty thousand lives; and the prince's triumph was followed by the rigid enforcement, throughout the empire, of the laws against Christians, the vanquished rebels being the first victims.

This compliance with a Japanese requisition to act as auxiliaries against their fellow-Christians, the Dutch writers vindicate upon the plea of the civil war not having been a religious war, although they do not deny the Christianity of the unhappy rebels shut up in Simabara. The real apology, however, probably lies in their not irrational dread that their own lives might pay the forfeit of disobedience, to a mandate sanctioned by the emperor. It is not improbable that this very compliance, by satisfying the government of the truth of their assertion, that though the Dutch were Christians, their Christianity was not the Christianity of the Portuguese, won their exemption from the general exclusion. They were, however, then removed from Firado and liberty to the vacated Portuguese prison at Dezima.

But this subject of the persecution must not be dismissed without a tribute of admiration to the heroic constancy with which the Japanese converts adhered, under every trial, to the faith they had adopted. Every native Christian was now put to the test of trampling on the image of his Redeemer; and the Jesuits assert that scarce an instance of apostacy occurred, whilst incredible numbers voluntarily embraced martyrdom, as inflicted with a refinement of barbarity not unfrequent in Japanese executions, and often reminding the reader of that rivalry in infliction and endurance between the torturer and the tortured, so common amongst the red men of North America. When the Japanese were weary of torturing and slaughtering—and such weariness seems to belong as little to the national idiosyncrasy as mercy—the remaining multitudes were locked up in prisons, there kept at hard work upon wretched fare, and annually offered wealth and freedom as the price of abjuring Christianity in the prescribed form. The offer was annually rejected, until the last Japanese Christian had died off.

Even to the present day, every native Japanese, or according to Doeff, only every native of Nagasaki and the adjoining principalities, is required thus to prove his non-Christianity. The trampling ceremony is performed annually upon a certain festival-day of the national religion, to wit, the fourth after their new-year's day; and so universal is it, and must it be, that bedridden invalids, and even infants in arms, are made to touch the picture with their feet. But the regular ceremony is now confined to natives, and upon other occasions the trampling appears to be only used as a test to ascertain the religion, or rather the non-Christianity, of strangers.*

So far from any member of the Dutch factory being required to participate in

* [The time for performing this ceremony appears to vary in different parts of the country. In Simabara and Amakusa, which now form a portion of the principality of Fisen, but anciently of Arima, the ceremony commences on the fourth of the first month, and is continued through the month on any day according to the wish of the magistrate; in Figo, the principality adjoining to Fisen, it is usually performed in the third month. In Simabara and the other last refuges of the persecuted Christians, the custom is said to be kept up with the utmost strictness; in Satzuma, and the principalities of Nippon, the custom is not, according to our informants, observed with so much severity. Traces of Catholicism still remain in the po-

this revolting ceremony, we are positively assured, that those among them who felt curious to witness an abjuration of Christianity, concerning which they had heard so much, have been unable to gratify their wishes; and all that is told upon this subject in the recent publications is given purely on the authority of Japanese acquaintance. In addition to these statements, an anecdote is told relative to this matter, which occurred soon after Doeff's arrival, and is highly illustrative of the kindly feeling now entertained by the Japanese towards their Dutch guests, as well as of their habitual forbearance with respect to religion, and of their general politeness.

"In November, 1801, whilst Heer Wardenaar was *opperhoofd*, and I warehouse-master," says Doeff, "a small brig was wrecked upon the Goto islands, and brought to Nagasaki for examination.* The governor of the city requested the *opperhoofd*, together with the secretaries, M. Mak and D. H. Libake, to attend the examination in the government-house. The brig's crew consisted of a Malay man and wife, a young boy, and two maid-servants of the same nation, a black Papuan, a Chinese, and a Cochinchinese. The brig was evidently Portuguese, and the crew unanimously declared that she had sailed from Portuguese Timor, bound for Amboyna; but that the captain and all the officers having died upon the voyage, they, the survivors, had found themselves so unable to manage the vessel, that they could only let her drive, trusting to Providence; and had thus, in the end, run upon the Goto islands. Hereupon the governor requested all the Hollanders who were present to withdraw for a moment. They thought this strange; but soon learned from the chief interpreter, that the governor, not knowing these people, was bound by his orders to make them trample upon the images; but, to avoid giving the Hollanders offense, had wished that this should not be done in their presence. This ceremony over, the Hollanders were invited to return. Hence it is manifest that the Japanese know and respect our religious opinions. Further, that they no longer practice such overstrained severity towards others as they did in times past, appears from the sequel. Although it was clear that the brig's crew were Roman Catholics, the governor, out of compassion for the shipwrecked wretches, sent the Malays and Papuan to us in Dezima, confining them, however, in an old house, inclosed with bamboos, and watched by a Japanese guard; whilst the Chinese and Cochinchinese were similarly confined in the island inhabited by the Chinese factory, there to wait until, according to the commands from court, the latter could be conveyed to China by the junks, and the former in our ship *Matilda Maria*, to Batavia (1802). It there appeared but too certain, that the brig had sailed from Timor for Macao,

pular legends of the inhabitants of Kiusiu, some of them being connected with the last struggle in Simabara. There is, according to one of these traditions, a set of people called *gedo*, who are supposed to worship the images of the *kirisitano*, or Christians, and refuse to trample on the picture or cross; by this means, they acquire great influence with spirits, who furnish them with money, succor them in danger, and otherwise befriend them. They keep their images concealed in the walls of houses, and perform their ceremonies in the privacy of the night; if they consent to trample, or fail in their rites, the aid of the spirits is withheld.]

* Every wrecked vessel, or, if it is incapable of floating, its crew, must be brought to Nagasaki, however distant the scene of its misfortune. This is carried so far, that even the vessels of Japanese dependencies, as of the Lewchew Islands, and Corea, are conveyed thither for examination, and there detained until they can be sent home.

and that the above-named crew had murdered the captain and other officers, in order to possess themselves of the vessel, which they proved unable to manage. They were thereupon sent to Macao, where they suffered the punishment of their crime."

Having thus imparted all the information that recent authors afford upon this important point, turn we to the forms flattering or offensive, observed in the official intercourse that takes place betwixt the Dutch and Japanese authorities; citing them from the Dutch writers. President Meylan, who was last in Japan of any of the late writers, and who seems the least confident of his countrymen as to the honors paid him, considers it as a prodigious privilege, that the chief police-officer and the burgomaster of Nagasaki, when they have business with the head of the factory, repair to his house, instead of summoning him to their tribunal in the island; and he proceeds thus to describe this official visit.

"Upon such occasions, the president is bound, in expectation of their arrival, to spread a carpet, to provide liqueurs and sweetmeats to be offered at the proper time, to await the high dignitary * at his own door; and, when the said high dignitary has seated himself, in Japanese fashion, on his heels on the carpet, to squat himself down in like manner, bowing his head two or three times to the ground, and thus making his *compliment*, as it is termed here. In all this I should see nothing, it being the usual mode in which Japanese grandees receive and salute each other; but here, in my mind, lies the offense, that between Japanese this compliment is reciprocated, whilst, at an interview between a Netherlander and a Japanese grandee of the rank of a *gobanyosi*, the compliment of the former is not returned by the latter, he being esteemed an exceedingly friendly burgomaster or *gobanyosi*, who even nods his head to the Netherlander in token of approval. All this is the more striking to the Netherlander newly landed at Dezima, and not yet used to the custom, because he observes the Japanese to be amongst themselves full of ceremony and demonstrations of politeness, in which the nation yields to no other, not even to the French. Another custom is worth observing. It is, that a Japanese grandee, from the rank of a *gobanyosi* upwards, never speaks directly to a Netherlander, but always through the medium of an interpreter. This might be supposed an unavoidable inconvenience, the parties being unable otherwise to understand each other; but such cannot be the cause. There have been many presidents who, having themselves diligently studied the Japanese language, had acquired sufficient knowledge to express themselves intelligibly. There have even been some who, passing by the interpreters have directly addressed the high Japanese dignitary in Japanese, but in vain. The man made as though he understood not, and referred him to the interpreter for what was to be said. I conclude hence, that this custom is a point of Japanese *etiquette*, not intended to do the highest honor to the Netherlanders; and I am confirmed in this suspicion by the increase in the number of intermediate speakers in the president's audiences of the governor. The governor speaks to his secretary, the secretary to the interpreter, the interpreter to the president; and, reversing the order, the president to the interpreter, the interpreter to the secretary, and the secretary again to the governor.

* Dr. Von Siebold avers, and his statement appears to be consonant with probability and analogy, that a *gobanyosi*, or superior police-officer, is by no means a high dignitary in Japanese estimation.

"The *opperhoofd* (president) has two audiences every year of the governor of Nagasaki; the one on occasion of presenting the *fassak*, acknowledgment or tribute, which the Dutch government annually transmits to the Japanese rulers; the other on that of the sailing of the ships. This is the regulated dialogue always repeated on these occasions.

ON OFFERING THE FASSAK.

'*The President.* It is in the highest degree gratifying to me to meet the lord-governor in perfect health, and I congratulate him thereon. I also owe thanks for the assistance which his lordship has again this year afforded the Netherlanders in matters of trade, and, therefore, in the name of the lord governor-general of Batavia, are the goods offered as a present to his lordship, which, according to old custom, are destined for his lordship, and enumerated in the list that I have already delivered.

'*The Governor.* It is very agreeable to me to see the president well, on which, as well as on the happy dispatch of matters of trade, I congratulate him, and accept thankfully the present that according to old custom, is offered me in the name of the high government of Batavia. As the time for the departure of the ships is now at hand, the president will have to take care that they are speedily in readiness to sail, and as soon as they are so ready, make it known to the governor.

'*The President.* It is an honor to me that the lord governor has accepted the present offered him. I shall take care that the ships are speedily ready for their departure, and not neglect to make it known to the governor as soon as they are ready.'

"The audience over, the president repairs to another room, and asks leave to pay a separate visit to the secretaries. The secretaries come, the usual compliment is paid, and the following short dialogue ensues:

'*The President.* It is gratifying to me to see Messrs. the Secretaries well, and I thank them for the trouble they have been good enough to take about the trade.

'*The first Secretary (in the name of both).* We also are glad to see the president well, and wish him so to continue.'

AT THE AUDIENCE OF DEPARTURE.

'*The President.* After having wished the lord-governor his health, I make known to his lordship, that the day after to-morrow, the 20th, the ships will remove to the Papenberg; they being, thanks to the assistance afforded by the lord-governor, ready to depart.

(In obedience to an imperial edict, the Dutch ships are bound to quit the harbor of Nagasaki, whether ready or not, on the 20th of the ninth Japanese month. They may, however, under color of waiting for a fair wind, lie yet awhile at anchor under the Papenberg, and there take what is still wanting of their cargo. The audience of departure, therefore, always takes place on the 18th of the ninth Japanese month.)

'*The Governor.* It is satisfactory to me that the ships are ready to sail, and the president is desired to let them depart on the coming 20th; I will now read what, according to the imperial commands, the president has to do further, and the president will listen.

'*The President.* I thank the lord-governor for the leave granted to depart, and will listen to the imperial commands.

(The governor then reads in Japanese, and the interpreter in Dutch, a document, the purport of which is, that if the Dutch desire the continuance of their trade

with Japan, they must neither bring Portuguese thither, nor hold intercourse with Portuguese, but make known to the governor of Nagasaki whatever they can learn respecting Portuguese hostile designs against Japan, and must respect such Chinese junks as are bound for Japan, as well as all vessels belonging to the Lewchew islands, they being subject to Japan. This done, the dialogue is thus resumed:)

'*The Governor.* These imperial commands you will duly observe, and the president will moreover command the Netherlanders who remain behind to behave well.

'*The President.* I shall duly observe the imperial commands made known to me, and communicate them to the high government at Batavia. Moreover, I will command the Netherlanders who remain behind to behave well.'

"The present always consists of a vessel of *sake*, and of two trays, one of sea-fish, the other of seaweed."

This may complete the sketch of life at Dezima; and a few words only need be added touching death there, which is permitted to the Dutch, though not to the Japanese. The grounds belonging to one specific temple are assigned to the factory, as their place of sepulture. They pay a yearly sum to the temple, but rather in the form of a gratuitous offering than as the price of their privilege. The forms of burial are, of course, not Christian; but the dead are treated with respect. The priests of the temple assigned to the Dutch perform the same rites at the funeral of the deceased stranger, and take the same care of his grave and monument, as though he had been their fellow-countryman and fellow-religionist.

ART. VIII. *The Chinese Vindicated, or another view of the opium question; being in reply to a pamphlet by Samuel Warren esq. F. R. S., barrister at law in the Middle Temple.* By captain T. H. Bullock, H. H. the Nizam's army. London, 1840.

ALWAYS and uniformly, so far as we could do it by sound arguments, have we opposed the intemperate use of opium, and the illegal traffic in it. Always and uniformly, too, have we vindicated the Chinese, whenever we have seen them falsely represented or wrongfully attacked. The wellbeing of the Chinese is an object no doubt as dear to us as it is to capt. Bullock; and one which we ardently desire to promote, in all the ways and by all the means we can, consistently with truth and justice, and in obedience to those highest requisitions given for the regulation of human conduct. However well-intentioned capt. Bullock may have been, we must differ somewhat from him, and very widely on a few points. We cannot concur in all his sen-

tences of condemnation, nor in all the strains of his vindication. Truth and justice both forbid it. And if in Mr. Warren's book we found some things of which we could not approve, in capt. Bullock's we find no less. Long have we desired to see the Chinese fairly and ably vindicated, from the many false and erroneous representations that have been made respecting them. Their character in all its forms and features, their government, whether "wise and just" or base and corrupt,—in a word, all that pertains to this people as a nation, their virtues and their vices, their good and their bad qualities, their customs, &c., we desire to see them all portrayed in their proper forms and in their true light. In the performance of this difficult task, capt. Bullock has not been very successful: the title of his book is a misnomer; he should have called it, what in truth it is, "The condemnation of *British* merchants in China."

In his opening paragraph, capt. Bullock says, that, "Had Mr. Warren adhered to his original plan, and been content 'with showing cause why' the guaranty, spontaneously offered by captain Elliot, should be recognized and redeemed, and the merchants indemnified, I should have had nothing to say to him; but he 'travels out of his record,' and with many hard words, calls upon the English nation to make the quarrel her own; and to avenge upon the Chinese the long series of 'injuries, insults, and indignities' offered to England, in the person of her subjects, by the government of the celestial empire; and especially he requires, that we should exact redress and remuneration for the late seizure and confiscation of opium in Canton; and for the confinement of the English merchants, then and there residing. It will be my endeavor to show," captain Bullock continues to remark, "that the uniform conduct of the Chinese, during an intercourse of nearly two hundred years, has been marked by an *undeviating forbearance from injury*, and that for the last forty years this forbearance has been exercised under continual and unexampled provocation, in that our merchants during this period had been guilty of a systematic violation of the known laws of the realm, and had introduced into the celestial empire a pernicious drug, destructive to life and injurious to morals. I shall show moreover that when in self-defense the Chinese government, after reiterated prohibition and warning, was reluctantly compelled to assert the majesty of law, and by an overt act to prove its detestation of the contraband trade in opium, and its just and righteous determination to abolish the plague for ever, it carried out this necessary measure with a singular regard to humanity, and with as little injury to person and

property as was consistent with the end in view, and although an arbitrary government, with much less severity and risk of fatal results, than would have been exercised or incurred by our own, or any other Christian and civilized government in Europe;" and, he adds, "I propose to prove this as the result of plain and inevitable deductions from known and admitted historical and cotemporary facts, which in a court of law no judge would dispute, nor any lawyer be able to controvert."

Now in good truth, had capt. Bullock 'adhered to *his* original plan,' and been content with *vindicating the Chinese*, showing wherein they are blamable or praiseworthy, we should have had nothing to say to him, except perhaps to have tendered to him our best thanks; but when he 'travels out of his record,' and, 'with many hard words,' calls upon the English *nation* to repudiate the acts of its representative, and to take the losses caused by its own imperial parliament and agents, and lay them on the shoulders of a few individuals, it then becomes the duty of the public journalist to point out the wrong, and to remonstrate with those who would inflict it.

Had captain Bullock simply quoted the words of Mr. Jardine, as expressed at a public farewell dinner given to him in Canton the 23d of January, 1839, those few words alone would have been a better *vindication* than all he has written in his book. Mr. J. said:

"I have been a long time in this country, and I have a few words to say in its favor: here we find our persons more effectually protected by the laws than in many other parts of the East, or of the world. In China, a foreigner may go to sleep with his windows open, without being in dread of losing either his life or his property, which are well guarded by a most watchful and excellent police, while both are periled with little or no protection in many other states; business is conducted with unexampled facility, and in general with singular good faith, though there are of course occasional exceptions, which only the more strikingly bear out my assertion; neither would I omit the general courtesy of the Chinese in all their intercourse and transactions with foreigners; these and some other considerations are the reasons why so many of us so often revisit this country, and stay in it so long."

What we chiefly complain of in capt. Bullock is this, that he takes all 'the iniquities of the opium-trade' and casts them on the heads of the *British* merchants and the superintendent in China—exculpating all other merchants here, their constituents in India, the honorable the East India Company, the British parliament, and the English nation,—and, consequently, urging that the superintendent's acts should be disowned, and the factors left to sustain alone the losses caused in part by their principals not in China. This we think is unfair and unjust.

When commissioner Lin arrived in Canton in March, 1839, he directed his communications, 'to the foreigners of *every* nation,' as the local authorities had always done, when the business in hand concerned foreign commerce. In the case of opium, all foreigners, except perhaps the Dutch, were alike implicated. As the greater part of the whole commerce of the port was in the hands of *British* merchants, so by far the greater part of the opium, when its surrender was called for, was found in their hands. Certainly we have no wish to conceal or extenuate the iniquities of this traffic, but justice requires that they be fairly put to the account of those who are their authors. This capt. Bullock has not done, for he has charged the whole 'to her majesty's subjects resident in China.'

A perusal of the parliamentary papers, occasioned by the last renewal of the charter of the East I. Company, long ago convinced us that the responsibilities of the opium trade, between India and China, must rest mainly and ultimately on those who were the principals in bringing it into being—the British authorities in India and the home government in England, and through them the people, the nation. The correctness of this view, however, has been often doubted. "I protest," says captain Bullock, "that I think the Chinese government would have grossly insulted England, if it had assumed for one moment, which it never did, that the English nation, as a nation, had sanctioned or tolerated the conduct of the contraband dealers in opium. Where lies the first great error? It was committed when captain Elliot, his own solemn asseverations to the contrary notwithstanding, appeared *to identify the English nation* with the criminal cause of the smugglers. This was the greatest insult, and the only one, that was offered to England. Shall we perpetuate this fatal error, and revisit the insult upon ourselves, by asserting the unholy cause of men, who for their own sordid purposes, have not only inundated with a poisonous and destructive drug, a country from which for two hundred years we had drawn enormous commercial advantages, and introduced the new vice of intoxication in its most revolting form, amongst a sober and industrious people; but have carried on this intrinsically nefarious traffic, by a system of evasion of the known laws of the realm, maintained by gross bribery and fraud?" *See p.* 105.

What precisely capt. Bullock would have his readers understand by 'the English nation, as a nation,' he does not say; but surely he cannot suppose, when commissioner Lin required the British representative to surrender into his hands all British owned opium, and

subsequently charged the said officer and the commanders of the ships-of-war with affording protection to that traffic, that the Chinese government did not assume that the British government both tolerated and sanctioned the trade in opium;—for, according to his own showing, capt. Elliot had already '*appeared to identify the English nation*' with it. And 'this fatal error,' of identification, belongs not alone to the superintendent. Had he, after the arrival of the high commissioner, kept himself aloof from the parties concerned in the traffic, or succeeded, as we think he would like to have done, in separating that traffic from the legitimate trade, so as to have preserved the latter, his government would perhaps have approved of his conduct; but surely that government did not desire to see the trade in opium checked. Of his conduct, however far it went 'to identify the English nation with the criminal cause,' his government,—both the ministry and the leading members of parliament,—have expressed their approbation. According to the speech of the duke of Wellington, the government of Great Britain has been privy to, and approving of the traffic from first to last. Nay, after all of the action of last year, and the 'letters' of commissioner Lin to the queen, what says her chief adviser on this grave subject? Why, 'we possess immense territories, peculiarly fitted for raising opium, and though I could wish the government were not *so directly concerned in the traffic,* I am not prepared to pledge myself to relinquish it." So declared lord Melbourne to the assembled representatives of his country, on the 12th of last May.

But what says capt. T. H. Bullock, H. M. the Nizam's army? He says, "I protest that I think [mark that, *I think,*] the Chinese government would have grossly insulted England, if it had *assumed* for one moment" . . . . . what? Just precisely what the prime minister of England, one of her majesty's chief counselors, allows, and avows, and regrets, and (mark this captain Bullock,) *is not prepared to relinquish.*

A word or two must be here entered respecting the indemnity, for which these 'audacious criminals' are asking, and which the government of Great Britain has promised to pay, and must pay, or the merchants must lose. The promise is clear and plain. "But is England to partake in their crimes, and to participate in their infamy? Is she to lavish her treasures and her blood in a cause, which, morally speaking, is wholly indefensible?" So interrogates capt. Bullock. *See p.* 106. Not so the duke of Wellington. See his remarks in a former article, on page 253 of this number: he there

states that, in the report of the parliamentary committee, on the late renewal of the charter, *it was particularly observed that it was desirable the opium trade should be continued.*

Read also the following sentence, which we quote from an article in Blackwood's Magazine, for March 1840, p. 381.

"The claim of the merchants to indemnity in full for the opium surrendered to order, not under promise of payment only, but against actual bills or certificates drawn on the treasury by its accredited agent, and passed by the payees to account, rest not however on, and have no necessary connection with, the profit-and-loss calculation of the opium trade, as it affects the government and the nation. Whether its continuance be wise or unwise, be honorable or disgraceful, be gainful or prejudicial, may be a fair subject for present or future deliberation; but the determination, whatever it be, cannot be brought to bear, like an *ex post facto* law, upon the past in this case; for here the government and the India Company stand in the relation of principals, by whom former laws were made, or the trade under which was carried on licensed, so far as they were concerned: the merchants were only the accessories after the fact, that is, the licence to trade The government, therefore, cannot take advantage of its *own wrong*, and after taking the lion's share of the spoil, refuse protection and withhold indemnification to those who have in person and purse done ample suit and service for both. For, to say nothing of the revenue from tea, the profits of the Indian government, which is but a branch of the general revenue in the trade in opium, have been equal to 300 per cent., whilst those of the merchants or factor have averaged the usual rates of mercantile operations, from ten to fifteen per cent. only."

Against the traffic in opium, and against the use of it, let captain Bullock declaim as vehemently, and argue as strongly, as he likes; and when he quotes the good old maxim—

"Nothing extenuate,
"Nor set down aught in malice,"

let him conform thereto. In this book there is no lack of zeal, how much soever there may be of knowledge. As a specimen, take the following long and spirited paragraph. Having gone through with his 'tedious narrative,' and endeavored to disprove the charge of connivance on the part of the Chinese government, (the Chinese government, by its provincial officers, has never connived at the trade in opium?) he thus proceeds:

"Then it is said, admitting that the law existed, it had become relaxed, and it is hard upon individuals, suddenly to visit the penalties of an obsolete regulation. This charge is as unfounded and as unreasonable as the accusation of connivance. Mr. Warren, the unscrupulous accuser of the Chinese, the special pleader of the opium dealer, the clamorous petitioner for

remuneration and revenge, admits that 'in the years 1837 and 1838, measures of rapidly increasing stringency and vigor were pointed by the Chinese at the traffic, the aspect of affairs becoming every day more threatening.' He proceeds, 'no steps however were taken towards foreigners till the 12th December, 1838, on which day preparations were made by the Chinese authorities' to do what? to seize the opium? No: 'for strangling a native opium dealer in front of the factory—an act to the foreigners most offensive and unprecedented.' Now am I to be told that two years 'strenuous opposition' is not enough to remove a delusion from any rational mind, which was not hermetically sealed against conviction by sordid motives? But before 1837, in 1836, the merchants had become aware of the intention of the Chinese government to sift the trade, and to put it on a different footing, for it was in 1836 that one of the memorials quoted above was published in Canton. They had therefore three years to avoid the prospective penalties. It was only when prohibition, exhortation, and warning, repeated over and over again, had failed, that the penalties of the law were enforced. They might have avoided the consequence of their pertinacious resistance to the imperial decrees to the last hour. Nothing is more plain than that the Chinese authorities exercised their power with the utmost reluctance. That reluctance is to be accounted for on interested motives. No pecuniary consideration was sufficiently strong to overcome the emperor's determination, not to leave his people exposed to the calamitous effects of opium; but if this illegal traffic could have been put down, without interruption of the legitimate trade of the port, if the tares could have been destroyed without the wheat, it was the interest, and unquestionably it was the wish of the government, so to arrange it. But this lenient course of proceeding was prevented by the English merchants, who doggedly persisted. And so entirely were their minds absorbed by the desire of gain, and their judgments perverted, that not even policy suggested a temporary suspension of the trade. The death of an opium criminal before their doors, irritated but did not alarm them; the degradation and punishment of their native coadjutors, the hong merchants, occasioned neither reflection nor remorse. The solemn bond given to these hong merchants was violated; the urgent and reiterated remonstrances of captain Elliot passed by them as the idle wind which they regarded not. They were bound hand and foot by the demon of cupidity, and were equally lost to the appeals of reason, the obligations of honor, and even the suggestions of mercy. Nay, when the opium had been seized and confiscated, and at the very moment they were appealing to their sovereign and country for redress, it is an authenticated fact established by "damning proof," that this body of men were superadding to the crime of smuggling their accursed drug—preconcerted murder—for were they not sending forth armed ships, with crews of double the usual strength, to cruize along the coasts of China, with instructions, that if attacked by the constituted authorities, or opposed in the importation of opium, they were to resist! and do we not read that a brisk trade is now carried on by and through these piratical vessels! Already

many Chinese officers and men, in the due execution of the lawful commands of their emperor, have fallen victims to this atrocious and deliberate preparation, made and provided against their anticipated opposition, by the contraband dealers; and no truth is more assured than this, that every Chinese, who thus falls, is in the eye of God and of man, and of the law both human and divine, a murdered man. These are not exaggerated opinions, nor are the facts supposititious: the former are self-evident principles, the latter fully authenticated truths, of which every man may satisfy himself by perusing recent accounts fro a China, which coming from the delinquents themselves, as well as others not implicated, but still English, and therefore not prejudiced witnesses, may surely be believed. And in despite of all this, we are to be told that 'our honorable and unoffending' countrymen, if duly warned, would have intermitted their trade, and that the seizure was suddenly and tyrannically enforced by a barbarous government!" pp. 85-88.

Here, as throughout the book, the whole blame is thrown on the *English* merchants in China. But when and wherein did the English merchants here violate a 'solemn bond' given to hong merchants? And where is the proof that 'this *body* of men' were adding 'preconcerted murder to the crime of smuggling?' Let all the evils of the traffic, say we again, be exposed, and let them be carried to the account of those, and *only* those, to whom they belong.

In an introductory 'note to the reader,' captain Bullock says, it was less his object to give his own opinion than to enable the reader to form a just one of his own. With this declaration, the general tenor of his book is not in keeping. He affirms, no, he insinuates—'I thank thee Jew,'—he insinuates that his opponents are apt to clothe simple facts in harsh language, impute evil motives that do not exist, &c. Thus advertised, *in limine*, we did not expect to find his book filled with opinions of his own, and his countrymen here by him indiscriminately called 'audacious criminals,' 'malefactors,' 'pitiless,' 'treacherous,' 'sordid men,' &c., &c.

We must hasten to close this notice. If the writer of the pamphlet is truly anxious to free the Chinese from the evils, and his country from the reproach of this trade, we beg he will in becoming language address himself to its principals. He justly remarks, "the question now pending between England and the celestial empire, is one of the most momentous interest. In its immediate consequences it may fall heavy on the comfort of every domestic circle throughout England; in its ultimate results it is beyond the power of human prescience to estimate the probable extent of the evil. It becomes, then, the duty of every man to ascertain the facts of the case, and not blindly defer his opinion to another." * * * After all his labored defense of the

Chinese, we fear that he thinks more of 'the comfort of every domestic circle throughout England,' than of the misery of every domestic circle throughout China—thinks more of his own associations of past happy intercourse of friends around the social tea-board, than of the many impoverished and diseased families, whose prospects in life have been blasted, whose means of support have been crippled, and whose happiness and comforts have all departed, in consequence of the entrance of this baleful drug. Not the half—nay, not the hundredth part—of the evils and miseries caused by opium, have yet been published to the world. Almost every day brings to our notice new disclosures of these evils.

He does not tell the reader why he stood forth to write "the Chinese Vindicated, &c." But in perusing his 120 pages, it appears singular, that from beginning to end the reader finds no mention of the monopoly of the drug by the E. I. Company, or of the countenance and support the trade has received by parliament. On page 84, he says, "long before the question had become important, or before any party had any interest or object in misrepresenting or misleading, it was notorious as the sun at noonday, that the trade in opium was a smuggling trade, carried on in defiance of the laws of China, insomuch that *no ship** belonging to the honorable Company was ever permitted to carry the drug to that coast." But what has that Company done—what is it now doing in this matter? Will capt. Bullock, as a generous officer, long resident in India, frankly and fully detail the whole truth in this particular? Fearing he will not, we beg to draw the reader's attention to a paragraph which we quote from the Eclectic Review for March, 1840. The writer, in a long article, is describing what he knows of "the present condition of British India," and on page 321, says—

"The iniquities of the opium trade we have already introduced to our readers. The seat and origin of the trade are here on the plains of India. The growth and sale of that pestilential drug is another of the monstrous monopolies of the Indian government. As if possessed by some principle of gigantic evil, that government, eschewing all sources of healthful commerce, seizes with a morbid avidity on what is most pregnant with plagues and calamities. Knowing, with a calm consciousness, all the horrors which opium inflicts on the Chinese, the government not only curses them with it, but makes its growth a curse also to the people of India. The poppy is planted amid curses, its produce is purchased with extortion, carried forth

* This is contradicted by a statement made by Phipps. See his book on India, p. 209.

with violence, and sold to work the physical and moral ruin of millions. On the finest corn lands of Benares, Behar, and part of Bengal, the inhabitants are compelled to grow opium, and opium alone; and it speedily exhausts the soil. The opium being manufactured, the Company takes it all, giving the growers such a price as it pleases; and what proportion that is of its real value may be seen from this fact, attested by the returns of the India House. When the Company in 1822, was obtaining 60*s.* per *lb.* for its opium, at its sales at Calcutta, it was giving its wretched cultivators 2*s.* per *lb.*! Its estimated profit on opium has for the last ten years been one million a year; and the value of its opium exported to China, in 1839, was £2,700,926. Such is the trading conscience of the East India Company!"

This testimony, coupled with the speeches of the noble lord and duke above referred to, is enough to prove that the British merchants in China are not the *sole* parties in this traffic; nor will it ever cease until the policy of the British government—at home and in India—is greatly changed with regard to it. Captain Elliot—we are, we think, safe in saying, and in duty bound to say—has never shown himself either the protector or the friend of the opium trade. Moreover, with regard to British merchants, captain Bullock should know that there are those here who have ever kept themseves aloof from it; several others were desirous of freeing themselves from it long before the arrival of commissioner Lin; and at this moment we doubt not that nine-tenths, if not every one of them would abandon it at once and for ever—provided it were disowned and disapproved of by their government, and a well-regulated and honorable commerce in all other articles opened and ratified with the Chinese.

The Chinese have been injured and wronged and misrepresented, and we are glad to see men—British soldiers too—come forward in their vindication. But let it not be forgotten that they have inflicted injuries and done wrongs, neither few nor light. The impartial observer will see wrongs to be corrected on both sides. Our voice is not for war. With the old order of things here, peace and honorable intercourse were wholly incompatible, and we rejoice heartily that it is broken up. But we are filled with solicitude for the issue of the order that now is—not so much on account of tardiness as for acts done,—if they be faithfully detailed by the correspondent of the Canton Press of the 26th inst. If that and other letters we have seen are to be received as true, this order of 'communication,'—the noble lord will not have it called hostilities—directed by the powers that be, H. B. M.'s ministers and the governor-general of India, will to capt. Bullock be hardly less offensive than the conduct of the 'pitiless merchants.' If, however, he desires to work out a reform, let him develop

the whole truth, showing both sides of the picture. The '*vice in foreigners*,' on which he harps, was not smuggling, but a thing of which 'it is a shame even to speak.'* And then there are many other points about which he is wholly or in part wrong. But if he will write more, let him see to it that he is right in his premises; and let him, officer-like, direct his artillery against the strong holds of his enemy. Let him call on H. B. M.'s ministers, parliament, and the E. I. government, to disown this darling child, which has yielded them so many millions of revenue—'drawn from strangers.' Until this be done, he may read his vindications to the wind, and lavish on the free trader all the hard words he can command, and the traffic will still go on and increase, and the use of the drug will increase, as they have done for years past, augmenting to a fearful degree the victims of this fascinating 'luxury,' and this most fatal habit.

ART. IX. *Parliamentary debate on Chinese affairs: speeches of leading members; the Blue Book; the Quarterly Review; and Blackwood's Magazine.*

BOTH of these journals, the Quarterly and Blackwood, in the numbers for March last contain long articles on Chinese affairs. The writer in the Review says, 'once we deprecated war against the Chinese, and should still prefer a peacable adjustment of the question; but this appears to be now impossible.' 'The general feeling of the British nation seems to be now for war; ministers are for it; and almost all the writers of pamphlets (ten of which he has under review) are for war.' 'And whatever is to be done, we trust will be effectual and that our demand upon them will be peremptory—the execution prompt.' He objects to the occupation of any peninsular position, and thinks the first and great blow should be struck on Canton. But he trusts that nothing of this kind will be done, "until a declaration of war, and subsequent or simultaneous notification of blockade, according to ancient practice, shall have been promulged." There is

* This unnatural crime prevails to an incredible extent in this part of the empire, and especially among officials; and, judging foreigners to be as bad as themselves, they falsely charge them with the guilt of this sin, and in broad capitals post it up on the factor's own walls, "where all eyes may see it," there to remain for months.

danger he rightly thinks of estimating the strength of the Chinese too low. ' He intimates his *suspicion* that the evils of opium are greatly exaggerated, and believes that the smoking of the drug is '*a very confined and limited practice.*' In this connection, he intimates that '*our government has reason to be alarmed for things nearer home;*—the importation of opium is rapidly increasing; the use of the drug is extending, especially in our manufacturing districts; and we understand many of our temperance societies are making up for their abstinence from gin by the use of opium.' By a return made to the House of Commons, there was in the year ending

January 5th, 1839, imported	95,832*lbs.*	consumed 31,204*lbs.*
January 5th, 1840, imported	196,246*lbs.*	consumed 41,671*lbs.*
Increase	100,414	10,467

The writer in Blackwood is very importunate in his demands for active measures. He gives a 'circumstantial narrative of Chinese aggression and British supineness; exposes the spurious pretenses of Chinese humanity; upholds the righteousness of the claim of the oppressed merchants; does not dispute the absolute right of the Chinese to suppress the opium trade, or the positive justice of enforcing the laws against illicit traffic and contrabandists; nay, *more*; he says "we shall not deny their clear right to close all dealings, whether in tea, or cottons, or silks, or woollens, upon due notice given and time allowed for the liquidation of accounts and affairs—a period of years and not days; provided always that ample indemnification—indemnification beyond perhaps even the means of China—be proffered and paid for the countless millions of capital embarked in property afloat or on shore, fixed or moveable, little of it elsewhere available, embarked on the faith of ancient stipulations, and the rights established of commercial intercourse for centuries." And then he adds: "If that commerce is hereafter to be carried on, and that intercourse maintained, *it must be, it can only be, upon covenants fresh drawn, consented, signed, sealed, and lastly ratified with the salvoes of British thunder.*"

Both articles—that in the Review and that in the Magazine—are written with ability and spirit. The first article is the most correct in its details and conclusions, excepting only in its special partialities to the E. I. Company and its servants, and in its correlative antipathies to the free trade and its officers; the second article is the most strong, bold, and loud in its tones of denunciation and calls for redress. The fate and fortune of three hundred millions 'have be-

come vitally entangled with an issue of money damages of which somewhere about three hundred millions sterling (300,000,000*l.*) is the amount recited in the declaration, apart the cost of judgment, execution, and example; and never was public robbery perpetrated under circumstances attendant of fraud, falsehood, cowardice, and treachery, more revolting. For China, therefore, the die is cast.' This writer, in Blackwood, in his closing paragraph, errs most egregiously when he declares that China "has been long arming for the inevitable fight, and preparing for the hour of fate."

The policy of China has always been *hostile* to free foreign intercourse, however friendly or beneficial; and therein was there wrong which ought long ago to have been corrected. Western nations, having extensive commercial relations with this empire, ought long since to have established and regulated those relations by civil and political contracts—nay, they ought, so we think, to have *constrained* the Chinese to abandon their unjust and injurious pretensions of supremacy. In the present struggle, no new principles, no new policy, or demands have been set up by them; they have only carried out and put in practice what long ago existed here in theory. And for this excessive outrage, they have found cause (sufficient they think) in the effects of opium—resulting from its use and the traffic in it. This supineness on the part of foreign governments, this neglect of timely interposition, the writer in Blackwood acknowledges and reprobates; but the writer in the Quarterly is not aware of any neglect, and seems to imagine that his good masters (of the E. I. C.!) had they not been interfered with, would have conserved the trade to the end of time; while by both writers, the effects of opium, the proximate cause of the present struggle, are quite overlooked. The wound inflicted by this drug on the Chinese (albeit themselves consenting and abetting) is far deeper than any of the pamphleteers or reviewers imagine. It is so deep and so palpable that, insensible as the Chinese naturally are to evils of this kind, they now clearly see, and feel too, that a noxious thing has spread gradually but rapidly far and wide through the whole length and breadth of the empire, its ramifications secretly extending into all ranks of society, abstracting their gold and silver, debasing all their physical and moral energies, and reducing man far down beneath the level of the brute.

Turn we now to the speakers in parliament. On the 4th of April, at Buckingham palace, an order in council appeared, authorizing the seizure and confiscation of Chinese vessels and cargoes, but without specifying any particulars of the late injurious proceedings in justifi-

cation of that order. Three days subsequently, the subject was brought into the national assembly, and there for three successive days was almost the sole topic of debate. A few extracts from the leading speeches on that occasion form a part of the first article in this number, and they are fair specimens of the whole debate—a debate clearly evincing the strength of parties and of party feeling—a debate which, however, is by no means compatible with what was expected from "the most civilized, the most enlightened, the most benevolent, the most pious country under the sun." We know not how to characterize that debate; had it occurred in the halls of Peking, we should have felt little surprise at the entire overlooking of all those high moral considerations, which, when duly heeded and acted on, are at once and alike the glory and the strength of an empire. As 'there is no power but of God,' and as all are responsible to him for its exercise, it were as reasonable as right to expect some recognition thereof by Christian statesmen, when acting on a question so momentous as that of going to war with one third part of the human family. During the long harangues of those three days, not a sentence is heard worthy of the occasion. The noble spirit of true Christian philanthropy, careful only for what is right and good, jealous for the liberties of the oppressed, and as watchful for the stranger's as for one's own interests, seems not to have been present then and there, as it used to be on other occasions no less momentous. In after times, the sons of Britannia will sigh over the records of those days, remarkable mainly for party strife and for almost an entire neglect of all the interests worthy of the representatives of a great nation. The few expressions particularly to be excepted from censure are—those frankly avowing their interest in and their connection with the traffic in opium,—those sanctioning the conduct of captain Elliot, and thereby pledging the national faith for the fulfillment of his stipulations for indemnity—and those clearly indicating their intentions to establish political relations with the government of China.

In reading the speeches, we observed several errors in facts, and some false conclusions. To a few of these we shall first advert, and then proceed to examine the notable 'Blue Book.'—All of which, however, must be reserved for our next number.

ART. X. *Journal of Occurrences: plenipotentiaries at Teëntsin; state of affairs at Chusan; blockade of Amoy; foreigners in Canton; Mr. Stanton; reminiscences of the attack on the Barrier; departure of the U. S. A. consul; death of an American seaman; foreign shipping; pilots; Nipál.*

RUMORS generally precede authentic dispatches, in China. About the middle of the month, it was rumored here that H. B. M. ships reached Teëntsin on the 11th of August. Soon after, a report was current, that lord Palmerston's communication had been delivered to the Chinese, their officers received on board, and arrangements made for the commission to proceed to Peking, &c. The situation of these places, and the course of the *Pei ho*, may be seen by a reference to the narrative of Macartney's embassy. The city of Teëntsin 天津, is in lat. 39° 10′ N., about 90 miles S.E. from the capital, which is in lat. 39° 55′ N., long. 116° 45′ E. from Greenwich, and nearly due west distant about 30 miles from the mouth of the Pei ho, which, rising beyond the Great Wall, flows within 12 miles of Peking, and thence to Teëntsin and the sea. A little below the river's mouth there is a bar of sand, stretching N.N.E. and S.S.W., over which, at low water, the depth is not more than three or four feet.

Since writing the preceding, we have heard that *Keshen* and *Muhchangah* and two other officers formed the emperor's deputation, and that the communication reached the emperor on or about the 23d. This report is believed by many of the Chinese.

2. From *Chusan*, no official accounts have appeared here during the month. The notices which have been published in the Register and Press are bad enough, and we suspect are too highly colored; we subjoin the latest and most important.

"We have been, as the Spaniards say, *andando de mal en peor*, almost from the first day we landed here. Our attempts to reconcile the people, and get them to live with us and confide in us, have *utterly failed!* They seem to be animated but by one wish, which is, to get their property out of our hands, and leave us masters of the bare walls of Tinghae city. The property has been carried off, the shops and houses shut up, nothing whatever is now to be found in the bazaar, and, in a word, the town appears to be ten times more deserted and desolate *now*, than it was the first day I arrived. From what I have observed of the people, they seem to be a very timid, cowardly race, horribly afraid of Europeans, and still more of our fire-arms. But at the same time they are very cunning and tricky, and sadly given to lying and thieving. It is quite *impossible* that they can coalesce with us. But I am sorry to add that they have in a thousand instances received great injustice at our hands. While we have been issuing proclamations, talking *sweet words*, inviting them to settle among us and promising them every protection, our soldiers and sailors have been plundering them, and forcibly carrying off their poultry and cattle without giving them a fair equivalent, and in some instances no equivalent at all. A recent order to *impress* a number of able-bodied Chinese to work at our fortifications, has completed the previous misunderstanding, and the breach between us and our Chinese subjects of Chusan is now, I fear, irreparable. *They* have but *one* object, to avoid *us*; *we* have but *one* object, to get stock out of *them*; and on this point it is hardly likely that we shall experience much devotion from our Chinese subjects, or that they will form a high idea of the justice, moderation, and mildness of the British sway. As the Chinese will not hearken to our offers of protection and kind treatment, we are now going to adopt a different line of conduct towards them. We are going to break open all

the unoccupied shops and houses, and take possession of them for governmental purposes; as they will no longer bring poultry and vegetables to market, we are going to forage their farms; as they will not sell their horned cattle to us to eat, preferring to keep them for tilling their fields and grinding their corn, we are going to take them by force; and as they will sell us no fish, we are going to take measures to prevent them fishing at all. Formerly, I should have viewed such measures with horror; *now*, however, I look upon them with more complacency, for the breach between us being, as I said, irreparable, it is a less evil that we take their provisions and stock by force, than that they pour them into the lap of the common enemy. *Our* dominion in Chusan extends to the bare walls of Tinghae city, all beyond that they are more sincerely attached to their own emperor than ever, and, really, from what I have seen with my own eyes, I am not at all astonished at it.

"Sickness has been making a sad inroad upon us: the 26th Cameronians have 240 men in the hospital, and other regiments in proportion. Dysentery is the common complaint, and a few cases have already terminated fatally. There is scarce one among my numerous acquaintance who has not suffered more or less from it. Mr. Gutzlaff has been *very* ill, but is now better. A man of the 26th died of scurvy three days ago. So much for the beautiful climate of Chusan; it is the most dreadful climate that I ever lived in! As regards Chusan being a place to carry on a great trade, we are still further off the scent than ever. Chusan never can be a *large* mart for trade, and reason simply is that it is quite out of the way. *We* may bring our produce and manufactures *here* for sale, but the Chinese will be able to get them cheaper and better at Canton. We may encourage them to bring their black tea here, but they could convey it much more conveniently to Lintin or Macao. This is even supposing that the emperor gave us permission to hold Chusan, and how much more must this apply if he interdicts all communication between us and his subjects? Depend upon it that Chusan must *always* remain a place of comparative insignificance. Amoy would perhaps be better, but Canton, having been the centre of trade for many years, a market being already formed there, and the people already knowing our language, disposition, taste, &c., &c., must yet remain the centre of foreign commerce for many years to come. I hope that you have given up all idea of shifting your establishment to Chusan. Were you to abandon your business at Macao for this place you would have reason bitterly to repent of it. Were it not that my hopes are high of seeing the interior of China, you should very speedily see me back again at Macao. Anything in the shape of *comfort* exists not here!

"The Alligator and Braemer transport are gone down to blockade Fuhchow foo. Our blockades here get on better than your's at the Bogue, for the local government have stopped up the rivers and wont allow *their own* vessels to go out or come in! How lucky it is that the mandarins are thus playing their cards into our hands! if *they* and the *people* were only to unite against us, they would very soon make light of our foolish system of blockade. It is worse than useless to blockade a nation whose resources like the Chinese are *internal* not *external*. It is *impossible* for us to keep up a blockade of this kind for a *twelvemonth*, and the sooner we give it up for some more *effective* method, the better.

"No word yet of the admiral, but we expect him back from the Pei ho in 10 or 12 days. I hope he will not succeed in his negociations, and indeed there is every chance of his meeting a mortifying repulse. I am for a *firm* and *lasting* peace, not a mere hollow truce, and the former can never be obtained till the Chinese shall have been well thrashed, and made to confess our superiority. In the amazingly short space of six weeks, two attempts have been made to heave down the Melville but without success; it is feared that the damage she has sustained is very serious indeed. Really a degree of apathy has come over the leaders of this expedition that is quite unaccountable; it bodes anything but success to our cause.

"August 22d. H. M. S. Nimrod is in with dates from Macao to the 5th inst."

3. The *port of Amoy*, as it appears from the following paragraph, extracted from a private letter and published in the Canton Press, is under blockade by a part of the British squadron.

"The Amoy mandarins, have at last met their match, in the Alligator assisted

by the Braemar. A lieutenant of the Alligator was on board the Lyra, and described the effect of their shot on the junks as splendid, passing clean through them and then going on shore. They sunk 16 or 17 junks, and there could not have been such destruction among the vessels, without a very great loss of life; they had nobody hurt on board the ships. When the Chinese found that their junks could not stand the fire from the ships they threw up a breastwork in one night, on the low sandy beach, fronting the channel into the junk's harbor, and there they have now mounted 204 guns, some of them very heavy. The ships not having force sufficient to force a landing, retired out of reach of the shot, many of which had struck them, some they have got of 18*lbs*. The sloop-of-war's main-yard arm was shot away, and a shot lodged in her hull. They have also built a fort on the island on the south of the channel leading into the harbor, and several other forts on projecting points of land in the harbor, and are making active preparations for defence. I rather think the ships have again gone north, as we have seen nothing of them for some days. From what was told Woodrow, the Blenheim is to be stationed at Amoy to blockade, and they seem to think from the resistance they had, that troops would also be sent down to assist."

4. In *Canton* only three or four foreign merchants are now residing; and two ships, the Panama and the Kosciusko are, with their officers and crews, at Whampoa.

5. *Mr. Stanton*, we have with deep regret to report, still remains a prisoner, in custody of the magistrate of Nanhae, the district in which the foreign factories are situated. If peace be restored, ere-long he will be able, we trust, to give his friends an authentic narrative of his sufferings. The door of his apartment is guarded by two soldiers, and he is attended by a servant and linguist—the latter, by permission of his superiors, and at the request of Mr. Stanton, has furnished him with a Bible and an English prayer-book. The story of his having been offered as a sacrifice to the demon of war, though false, was not without foundation.

6. *Some reminiscences* of the attack on the Barrier, the 19th ult., will serve to complete the account of that action, as given in our last. From that day to this (the last of September), not a Chinese soldier, except in disguise, has been in Macao, nor have any of the war-junks or troop-boats returned to their former anchorages in the Inner Harbor. On the hills beyond and on the east of Caza Branca the troops have pitched their tents, and have also thrown up a small redoubt on a knoll about three quarters of a mile north of the Barrier, to which place they have taken the cannon left spiked by the British, unspiked them, and planted them so as to command the upper part of the Inner Harbor, and the northern neck on which the Barrier stands. The taoutae, *Yih*, once so valiant and brave, has suffered much and just reproach for his conduct on the day of the attack; he has not been displaced, as was at one time reported, but has been superseded by another officer, surnamed *Ma*, of the same rank.—Four Chinese spectators of the action on the 19th, received gunshot wounds; two of them have been received on the list of patients at the Medical Missionary Hospital in Macao: the first came to the institution the next morning, and was discharged on the 6th instant. He was one of the crowd of spectators, covering the top of the hill in the rear of the New Temple. "The ball from a musket entered the front of his thigh a little distance from and to the inside of the femoral artery, traversing through the cellular tissue to the back of the

limb, where it could be felt distinctly under the skin." The ball was easily extracted through an incision, much to the surprise and joy of the wounded man. Strange to say, he did not know he was shot, till, when running from the hill, he perceived the blood on his clothes, and was thus directed to the cause. The other one in the hospital received a musket ball through his foot, while running from the scene of danger. The Barrier still remains unfortified, though the buildings are occupied.

7. *P. W. Snow, esq. U. S. A. consul,*—as we ought to have, and but for an oversight should have, reported in our last number—embarked the 21st ultimo, in the Valparaiso, captain Lockwood, for New York, *viâ* Manila. Mr. Snow expects to return to China,—and after only a short absence, if an adjustment of the existing difficulties with the government in China is speedily effected. In the meantime, *W. Delano, jun. esq.* acts as vice-consul.

8. *The death of an American seaman*, in Macao, on the night of the 9th, has been noticed in the Portuguese papers, from which the following particulars are extracted.

"On Thursday, the 9th inst. about 9 o'clock in the evening, a patrol of the people attached to the district of San Lourenço, siezed a negro at the Painha in consequence of his making disturbance with the Chinese, and delivered him over to the officer with four of his men to be carried to prison. While on the way, he endeavored to escape, running down to the Praya Manduco, where, meeting with many people, and finally a guard of soldiers, he, while endeavoring to defend himself with a seat which he had picked up in the street, and then with other arms procured from the boarding-house where he lived, and into which he run, unhappily fell dead from a shot. It is said by some that the shot was not from the military, nor from the patrol, but from some person assisting. This black was a sinewy man, and very violent; he arrived here in the Am. brig Duan, in which he alone, in a mutiny, had overcome the captain and all his crew, who therefore sought aid from the governor, by whom he had been imprisoned. The captain, fearing a second mutiny, had left him behind." *O Commercial, Sep. 12th.*

In consequence of this casualty, the governor, on the 11th inst., prohibited the use of loaded arms to the nightly patrols, except in case they should be attacked by a superior armed force, an event which, his excellency remarked, was not likely to happen.

9. *The foreign shipping*, now in the Chinese waters, can hardly be estimated with accuracy. The port of Canton continuing under blockade, all or nearly all the regular trade is suspended; that in opium flourishes as formerly. In a letter now before us, dated the 4th instant, it is stated that 16 ships and barks, mounting 6 to 16 guns and carrying 30 to 90 men each, and 27 brigs and schooners with 4 to 12 guns and 20 to 60 men each, are now engaged in the opium trade. It is also stated that there are (or was on the 4th) not less than 12,000 chests in the Chinese waters, and 28,000 to 30,000 more in the ports of India.

10. *Pilots*, it is said, have been directed early to visit the foreign vessels as they come in from sea, in order to keep them separate from the English shipping, and if possible to induce them to go up to Whampoa.

11. A move on *Nipál*, at the beginning of the cold season, is confidently spoken of in the Indian papers.

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ART. I. *Chinese Grammar; introductory remarks, respecting the principles and rules on which it is constructed.*

LANGUAGE, written and oral, in every tongue and dialect, necessarily contains general principles. By examining, in any language, the nature of its single words, and their arrangement into propositions; these principles can be drawn out and reduced to a system of rules; and then they will constitute the laws of that language, i. e. its *Grammar*. It is an error, therefore, to suppose the Chinese language has no grammar, since, like every other, it has its own general principles or rules of construction. Both in speaking and in writing, all manner of things, and all manner of actions and ideas, are expressed or described rapidly by the Chinese,—thus evincing that they are not wanting forms of speech to communicate their knowledge with ease and accuracy. The want of a better acquaintance with the language, rather than its defects, is doubtless the reason why so many errors have been entertained respecting it, and why in the use of it, by foreigners, it has been so frequently the cause of misunderstanding. The people cannot be understood without a thorough knowledge of their medium of communication; and this cannot be fully comprehended without close and long-continued application to study. "It is impossible to make many steps in the search after truth and the nature of the human understanding, of good and evil, or right and wrong, without well considering the nature of language, which is inseparably connected with them." In like manner, for the communication of truth, an accurate knowledge of words and of the principles on which they are arranged, is indispensable.

Words, like old coins and ancient monuments, having an origin and history, may be examined and traced through all their stages and changes, their forms described and their nature analyzed. To do this is the part of the lexicographer, when he undertakes to define their primary and secondary significations; and it is the part of the grammarian, availing himself of the aids of lexicography, to classify them according to their nature and uses, and to draw out and define the rules by which they are framed into discourse. Hitherto the principles on which the Chinese language is constructed have been almost entirely overlooked by European students.

Concerning the arrangement of words into sentences, it may be here premised, before attempting to classify them, that generally:—(*a*) The Chinese adopt the *natural order*, placing the subject first, the verb next, and after it the complement direct or indirect. (*b*) Modifying expressions precede the words to which they belong; thus (1) the adjective is placed before the word to which it is joined; (2) the noun governed before the verb that governs it; (3) the adverb before the verb; and (4) the proposition incidental, circumstantial, or hypothetical, before the main proposition, to which it attaches itself by a conjunctive adjective or by a conjunction. (*c*) The relative position of words and phrases—the casuation of propositions—thus determined, supplies the place, often of every other mark intended to denote their dependence and character,—whether adjective or abverbial, positive or conditional, deliberative, affirmative, or volative. And, (*d*) If the subject is understood, it is because it is a personal pronoun, or because it has been expressed in a preceding clause or sentence, and is to be understood in the same sense. (*e*) If the verb is wanting, it is because it is the substantive verb, or some other easily supplied, or one which has already found a place in preceding sentences, with a subject or complement not the same. (*f*) If several nouns follow each other, either they are in construction with each other, or they form an enumeration, or they are synonyms which explain and determine each other. (*g*) If several verbs follow each other, which are not synonymous, the first ones should be taken as adverbs, or as verbal nouns, the subjects of those which follow, or those latter as verbal nouns the complements of those which precede. [This brief 'summary,' taken chiefly from Rémusat, will serve as a clue to the general principles of Chinese grammar.]

Chinese lexicographers attribute the origin of language to their ancient sovereigns. Before the invention of writing, Suijin, they say, contrived to keep a record of events by the use of cords. For great

events he tied great knots, and small ones for small events. Fuh-he subsequently invented a system of writing, intended as a substitute for strings. Tsanghee, an imperial historiographer, by observing the footsteps of birds and beasts, and the phenomena of nature, was enabled to construct words,—the originals of those now in use. After all, however, the Chinese historian has to confess, that with regard to its origin—"There is yet nothing clearly ascertained."

There is a short system of rules for the formation of characters, which, by some writers, is attributed to Fuhhe and his cotemporaries or immediate successors, and is often referred to as being worthy of particular notice. It is described in the Repository, vol. III. pages 17, 18.

These rules, for the formation of words, are somewhat modern, their claims to antiquity notwithstanding. We must not, however, suppose that, in the formation of their language, the Chinese proceeded wholly regardless of principles and general rules. From a few words—the names of things—they would gradually advance to the formation of others, and to classes; the things first named, would be natural objects—animal, mineral, vegetable—such as man, horse, hills, rocks, trees, flowers, fruits, sun, moon, stars, &c.; next celestial phenomena, such as thunder, lightning, rain, winds; and then the productions of man, and his actions. Something like this, it is easy to suppose, was the origin and advance in rearing up this immense fabric. Still concerning the earliest steps of the workmanship, we are compelled to form our opinions chiefly from analogical and *a priori* reasoning,—there being no historical records, no monuments, nor even traditional evidence, on which we can depend.

The object of language—and it is everywhere the same—is twofold: first to *communicate* thoughts, and secondly to communicate them with *rapidity and precision:* In order of time, oral always precedes written language. The names of things, by continued use, would become familiar, and as well-known, and as easily recognized, as the things themselves, long before any occasion would call for a record of them. Articles of food, natural and artificial objects, &c., by degrees becoming familiar, would for special purposes or for amusement be delineated in rude pictures, while the articles and objects would still retain their original names, which would also be given to the pictures. In the process of time, there would come to be pictures of all manner of things, and these would be reduced to words; yet these words as well as the pictures would be regarded as the representatives of our thoughts. By and bye, the use of the words

would supersede the pictures; and the latter, giving place to the former, would become obsolete. Actions also would first be delineated in this manner, and the pictures subsequently be reduced to words. Qualities and circumstances, both of things and actions, would erelong need to be expressed, which would be done by the same process. In length of time, words would become numerous, and the forms of speech long and cumbersome, and they would need to be abbreviated in order to facilitate, or to give more precision, to the communication of our thoughts. And there would be required three distinct classes of words: *nouns* or names of things; *verbs*, or words which connect other words and give life to discourse; and *particles*, or abbreviated forms of speech. The first and second are the necessary parts of language; for, as Quinctilian says, *alterum est quod loquimur, alterum de quo loquimur.*

Though the object of language is necessarily the same everywhere, yet both its idioms and the modes in which they are described are varied exceedingly among different people. The *usus loquendi* of the Chinese is, perhaps, oftener, than that of any other language, *sui generis*; its usual forms, however, are as well established and supported, and probably are as rigidly adhered to, as those of any other tongue. The language of any people ought to be viewed by foreigners as it is by those to whom it is vernacular. The lexicons of the Chinese and of the Hebrews are arranged according to the genius of each language respectively; but that used by the one could not be well employed by the other.

Chinese lexicographers have adopted various methods in arranging their words. The most philosophical perhaps is that of the 六書 *lŭh shoo.* Next to it is the arbitrary method adopted by the authors of Kanghe's Dictionary, now most in use, and in which all the words of the language are arranged under 214 heads. A third method is somewhat analogous to the alphabetic arrangement; with this special difference, however, that, with the Chinese chief regard is had to the final part of the words. In all these three methods, the tones are noticed, and in the first and third they form a very essential part of the classification.

To assist the young student in the language, who aspires to literary fame, the Chinese have *model-books*, in which, chiefly by examples, both the principles of the language, and a great number of rhetorical terms, are explained and illustrated. One of these books is called The Tyro's Paragon, 初學玉玲瓏 *Chŏŏ heŏ Yŭh Linglung.* The mode of education most prevalent among

the Chinese, who learn chiefly by following examples, has prevented the elaboration of grammatical systems, such as have been framed for most other languages. The fundamental principles of the language, however, they have noticed; and it is highly desirable that these be collected and arranged in such an order as to serve for general rules.

In the second volume of The Tyro's Paragon, the author says, 文之機無他虛實死活之間辨之矣 *wăn che ke woo ta heu shĭh sze hwŏ che keën, peën che e*; i. e. "The essential parts of language consist entirely of particles and substantives—nouns and verbs, into which they are divided." *Wăn che ke* might be rendered, the machinery of language, or more freely, 'the vehicle of thoughts:' *ke* denotes the mainspring of any machinery, or that from which its motion issues. *Heu* includes all words which are not used as nouns or verbs, and is equivalent to particles, of which the Chinese have numerous classes, designated according to their use. *Shĭh* is the opposite of *heu*, and denotes substantial words, viz. nouns and verbs, the only two sorts, which, according to the Diversions of Purley, are necessary for the communication of our thoughts. This threefold division of words, equally natural and philosophical, may with propriety be preserved—at least, until a better one can be devised to serve in its stead. The Chinese justly lay great stress on the particles, considering a thorough knowledge of them more important than a knowledge of the other parts of speech.

There is one more topic, that of punctuation, which may be introduced here, as preliminary. In the best kinds of Chinese composition, sentences are so framed that the intelligent reader feels no need of any marks to indicate their respective parts, into periods and clauses; and usually no punctuation is employed either in manuscripts or in printed books. Sometimes, however, it is otherwise. An explanation of the system adopted by the Chinese, may be found at the close of the preface in the *Kang Keën E Che*, or "History Made Easy." Whether any punctuation is used or not, in good writing great care is required in order to construct correctly as well as elegantly the several parts of propositions, or sentences, whether they be simple or compound. In the construction of propositions or sentences, special attention is necessary; and in examining the principles of this language, this subject—the casuation of propositions—should be early brought to the notice of the student, and should be most thoroughly understood.

Art. II. *Account of the Foe Kúe Ki, or travels of Fa Hian in India, translated from the Chinese by M. Rémusat.* By H. H. Wilson, Director of the Royal Asiatic Society.

(Selected from the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, No. IX. Aug. 1838.*)*

To all those who take an interest in the early condition of India, and who are anxious to see that obscurity which hangs over the periods of its history prior to the Mohammedan invasion, dissipated, in however partial a degree, some most acceptable glimmerings of light have been presented in a recent continental publication. This work is derived from Chinese literature, and has been made accessible to European readers, by the talents and industry of some of the most eminent of those who have rendered Paris illustrious as a school for the cultivation of the language and literature of China. In the course of last year, a book, which was announced some years ago, but was suspended by the lamented death of its distinguished translator, the late M. Rémusat, and again interrupted by the demise of another celebrated orientalist, M. Klaproth, who had undertaken to continue it, was brought to a completion, and published by M. Landresse. It is entitled the "Foe Kûe Ki," or "Relation des Royaumes Budhiques," and is an account given of his travels by Shi Fa Hian, a Budhist priest and pilgrim, who went upon a pilgrimage to the chief seats of the Budhist religion in India, at the close of the fourth century of our era. Shi Fa Hian, or simply Fa Hian, a name which signifies, accordiug to M. Rémusat, "Manifestation de la Loi de Sakya," or "Manifestation de la Loi," quitted China with this purpose in the year of our Lord 399. He was six years on his route to Central India, including of course a residence, more or less protracted, at various places on the way; he spent six years in India, and was three years in his return, arriving in China, A. D. 415. The accounts which he gives are such as might be expected from his religious character, and, to say the truth, are somewhat meagre, relating almost exclusively to the condition in which the religion of Budha existed at the different places which he visited. Such as they are, however, they are exceedingly curious and instructive, even in this limited view, and exhibit a picture of the state of Budhism in India, flourishing in some situations and declining in others, which, although we were not wholly unprepared to expect, yet we were hitherto without any accurate means of appreciating. Besides, however, their especial subservience to an authentic history of the

religion of Budha, the travels of Fa Hian are of great value, as offering living testimony of the geographical and political division of India at an early date, and one at which we have no other guide on whom we can rely. I have, therefore, thought that a summary review of the principal subjects which are described in the Chinese traveler's journal might not be unacceptable to the Society.

The translation of the Foe Kúe Ki is illustrated by copious notes, by both M. Rémusat and M. Klaproth. Those of the former are peculiarly valuable as explanatory of the system of Budhistic faith, and elucidations of the legends and doctrines to which Fa Hian constantly alludes. He had also explained and verified much of the geography, in which he has been followed by M. Klaproth in still greater detail. In general the verifications are satisfactory, but there are some in which it is difficult to acquiesce. It may be possible, therefore, to improve or correct the attempts which the translators have made, from sources not within their reach,—the notices to be found in Sanskrit writings, and the information furnished by the most recently published travels and researches in the provinces of India, and the countries on its northern and western confines.

Fa Hian is by no means the only Chinese traveler who visited India in the early centuries of Christianity, both before and after the period of his pilgrimage. Of one of these, Hwan Thsang, who traveled to and in India in the first half of the seventh century, M. Landresse has compiled and translated the itinerary as extracted from the Pian-i-tian, a general historical and geographical compilation, the original work of Hwan Thsang, entitled Si-iu-ki, or Description des Contrées de l'Occident, not being procurable at Paris. Some parts of this itinerary afford very useful illustrations of Fa Hian's travels, and will be occasionally referred to. It is much to be regretted that the original work is not available, for it embraces a still more extensive journey through India, than the travels of Fa Hian; but in its present form it is not easy to determine how much is from the personal observations of Hwan Thsang, and how much has been collected from other sources. It would be an object worthy of this Society to procure the original from China, if possible, and contribute to its translation.

Fa Hian, with several companions, set out on his travels, from his usual place of residence, the city of Chang-an in China, in the second year Hung-chi, a name given to the years of the reign of Yoe-heng, a prince of the later Tsin dynasty, of which the second year corresponds with A. D. 399. From Chang-an, which is still a city

south of Sing-nan-fu, in the province of Shense, the travelers crossed the Sung mountains and proceeded to Chang-y, identified by M. Rémusat with the modern Kan-chu. Thence they arrived at Thun-hwang, the modern Sha-chu, and from that city traversed in seventeen days the great desert, Sha-ho or Sha-mo, to the kingdom of Shen-shen, in the neighborhood of lake Lob or Lop. This country was known, first by the name of Leu-lan, and then under the denomination given it by Fa Hian, to the Chinese, through political relations, prior to the Christian era. At the *time* it was visited by the pilgrims, the people resembled the Chinese in their manners and dress, and professed the faith of Budha. *From* thence to the westward, the same religion prevailed amongst the inhabitants of all the different states; it is worthy of remark that Fa Hian observes of them, "although they speak different languages," which he is pleased to term barbarous, "yet the religious orders in all of them apply themselves to the study of the books and language of India." These books were probably composed in Mágadhi or Páli, a form of Sanskrit which has been apparently always adopted by the Budhists for their practical writings, their ritual and their morality, although they seem to have retained the use of Sanskrit for their metaphysical speculations. According to Rémusat, the Chinese make no distinction between the two, but confound Sanskrit and Páli, under the common appellation of Fan. In either case we have a religious literature derived from India, widely diffused through Central Asia in the first centuries of the Christian era.

From Shen-shen, fifteen days to the northwest, Fa Hian came to the kingdom of U-i, or as the French writers preferably read it, U-hu, the barbarians of U, or the Oigurs. Thence again he journeyed to the southwest, and after a difficult and perilous route of thirty-five days arrived at Yu-thsan, the Chinese appellation of Khoten, described as a highly flourishing kingdom wholly devoted to Budhism. Fa Hian took up his abode in a Sang-kia-len, a monastery of which the brotherhood consisted of no fewer than three thousand persons. Sang-kia-len, as M. Rémusat intimates, is clearly a Sanskrit term. It is explained by Chinese writers to signify "Jardin de Plusieurs, ou de Communauté." M. Burnouf suggests that the original term may have been Sangágáram, "Maison de la Réunion, ou de Frères Unis." Perhaps a better etymology would be Sang-álaya, or Sankhy-álaya; álaya signifying habitation or receptacle, and sankhya, number; or sanga, a community; or possibly it may have been Sangá-vihára, Vihára signifying a Budhist temple, and also a pleasure-

ground. It is used in either sense alone, and Rémusat mentions that Chinese dictionaries give the word also by itself, Ki-á-la. They would no doubt render the word Vi-há-ra, Vi-ha-la, as *l* is uniformly substituted for *r* in Fa Hian's orthography of Sanskrit terms. Whether the first syllable is susceptible of the requisite change, I submit to more competent authority. The peculiar appellation of the establishment was Ki-u-mati, a word evidently of Sanskrit origin, though of doubtful signification.

Thus far the route of the Chinese travelers may be easily followed, but we now begin to encounter difficulties. One of the party left his companions, and went on alone to Ki-pin, or Co-phene, the country, according to the annotators, in which Ghizni and Candahar are situated. Fa Hian proceeded to Tsu-ho, twenty-five days' journey from Kho-tan, but in what direction is not specified. It appears, however, from Chinese geographers, quoted by M. Rémusat, that Tsu-ho was considered sometimes as the same with Chu-kiu-pho, the modern Yarkand; and although this is questioned by others, yet it is placed by them in the same neighborhood. According to a work quoted by Klaproth, it is the actual canton of the Ku-ke-yar, some distance southwest from Yarkand on the Kara-su, one of the feeders of the Yarkand river. It is clear by what follows that it is close to the mountains, and therefore it is necessarily more to the south than Yarkand.

Four days' journey south from Tsu-ho brought the travelers to the Tsung-ling mountains, the Onion mountains of the Chinese, forming the western portion of the great Kuen-lun chain and blending with the Bolor range which unites the two systems of the Teënshan and Kuen-lun, comprising the Karakoram and Pamer ridges, which separate Little Tibet and the country of the Dardus from Badakshan. At this distance Fa Hian found the kingdom of Yu-ho-ei, from whence he resumed his journey, and in twenty-five days arrived in the kingdom of Kie-sha.

M. Rémusat informs us that Chinese geography affords no means of verifying these places, and leaves them himself undetermined. M. Klaproth has no better authority, but he endeavors, it may be suspected not quite successfully, to supply the deficiency: observing, what is no doubt, generally speaking, true, that in the high mountains of Central Asia the roads which cross the glaciers, or which turn them, continue to be the same for long periods of time, he takes it for granted that the Tsung-ling could be crossed from Ku-ke-yar, only by the route followed by Mir Izet Ullah, in his journey from

Leh to Yarkand, which passed through Ku-ke-yar, or by Ka-ka-lun. He, therefore, identifies Yu-ho-ei with Ladakh, and, taking the Chinese traveler on a retrograde course to the southeast, supposes that he thence proceeded westward to Balti. To this there are objections which appear not easily set aside. Four days would not have brought the travelers into Ladakh, and going thence to Balti they would have had to follow for a considerable portion of their journey the large northern arm of the Indus, the Shayuk, which they would scarcely have omitted to mention. Neither is it necessary to send them so much out of their way, for there are several routes along the mountains to the west, and Izzet Ullah reports, that from this very vicinity, or Kakalun, there had been a road to Balti, by which in former times the Kalmuks and Kirghizes penetrated into the country. The passage had been closed, artificially, according to his story; but no doubt by some natural impediment, if it really was no longer practicable. We must, therefore, question the identity of Yu-ho-ei and Ladakh.

Where then was Kie-sha? Its bearing from Yu-ho-ei is not stated, but it must have been towards the west, whether due west or deviating to south or north is doubtful. M. Rémusat, we learn from Klaproth, was inclined to suppose it to be Kashmir, but the latter takes what appear to be reasonable exceptions to the conjecture. Fa Hian, for instance, says the only grain that ripens in the country is wheat; the principal harvest of Kashmir is of rice. The country, he says, is mountainous and cold, and much snow falls in it: this is only partially true of Kashmir, particularly in the last respect, as little snow falls there. To get to Kashmir, also, the travelers must have crossed the Shayuk, as Klaproth observes, a circumstance to which they would possibly have adverted. It seems more likely, therefore, that we must look to the west, and Balti, as suggested by Klaproth, is not improbably the direction, somewhere, perhaps, in the vicinity of Skardu or Hounz. The objections to it arise from the specified distances to Kie-sha, and from it to India: the first is twenty-five days' journey, the latter thirty days to the west, then fifteen more to the southwest, when the Indus is crossed. During the whole of this time the travelers are engaged in a very rugged country, and have to make their way over precipitous passes and by tortuous defiles. Supposing them, therefore, to have walked from fifteen to twenty miles per day, the direct average distance would probably not have exceeded four or five. Still, at the lowest computation, they could not have gone much less than three hundred miles, and this interval should have carried them far beyond the parallel

of the Indus, where it makes its way through the Indian Caucasus. The French annotators, indeed, conduct Fa Hian to the Kama instead of the Indus Proper, and this gains something in the westing, but not sufficient to accord with the specified distance, although more perhaps than is compatible with the position of countries subsequently described. It is impossible, therefore, not to suspect something wrong in the distances or the bearing, perhaps in both. The whole journey lay amongst the Tsung-ling mountains, and Kie-sha is said to be in the midst of them. This and the distance would agree best with Badakhsan. But then it would be necessary to take Fa Hian from thence rather to the southeast than to the west, or by Chitral along the northern edge of the Caucasus towards the India. Upon the whole, therefore, it seems most probable that we must look for Kie-sha in one of the divisions of Little Tibet, towards Skardu.

Wherever the Kie-sha was situated, it was an eminently Budhist country. The king celebrates the Pan-che-yue-sse, which is explained to signify the great quinquennial assembly. Klaproth proposes as its Sanskrit original, for it is clearly Sánskrit, *pancha*, five, and *yukti*, union; but yukti is never used to denote an assembly or meeting of men: the expression was more probably Pancha-varshí, from *pancha*, five, and *varsha*, a year. Besides this the kingdom was sanctified by the possession of a stone vase, which served Foe or Sákya as a pík-dání, or spitting-pot. It was also happy in preserving one of his teeth, over which the people of the country had erected a tower, a sthupa or *tope*.

The whole of the journey from Kie-sha lay amongst mountains covered with snow, summer and winter, a description sufficiently applicable to the lofty peaks of this part of the Indian Caucasus. On crossing the range, or rather the northern branch of it, occurred the little kingdom of Tho-lí, one of the provinces of the India of the North,—a division of India which, according to Chinese geographers, was situated to the northeast of the Indus, south of the Hindú Kosh, forming the eastern portion of Afghanistan. If M. Rémusat has thus accurately represented the position laid down by Chinese geographers, we have evident proof of erroneous bearings at least, for no part of Afghanistan, nor of India of the North, if comprehended within its limits, can be said to be northeast of the Indus; it is either North or northwest. The proper position, however, of India of the north may be conjectured to have been along the upper part of the course of the Indus, on either side of the mountains and either bank of the river, extending westwards to the Kohistan of Cabúl, and

eastwards to Kashmir or Ladakh, a position confirmed by Hwan Thsang, who places the boundary of the north of India six hundred *le*, or about two hundred miles, east from Cabúl. Tho-lí is conjecturally identified by Rémusat with Darda, and the conjecture is better founded than, perhaps, he was aware, for Chilas, or Dardu, the capital of the Dard country, is situated amongst the mountains where the Indus enters the main range. It lies on the southern or eastern bank.

At Tho-lí, it is related that a colossal statue of Mi-le Phu-sa, the future Budha Maitreya, was to be seen, copied after the original by an arhat, or saint, who was allowed to visit the heaven in which Maitreya dwells until the time of his advent on earth, in order to take his likeness. The image was of wood; or from its size, eight toises, or about eighty feet high, we might have thought the famous figures at Bamian were intended; not that it is necessary to go so far to the west to find similar monuments of Budhism, for amongst the information gathered by Mr. Trebeck respecting the countries on the north of the Indian Caucasus, he was informed that near the capital of Upper Chitral, was a gigantic figure of a man, cut out of the rock, in all probability the representation of a Budha, past or to come.

Following the direction of southwest, along mountains whose sides rose prependicularly to the height of eight hundred feet, and at whose base flowed the Sin-theu, the Sindhu of the Hindús, the Indus of our maps, Fa Hian came, at the end of the fifteen days' march, to the place where it was crossed by a bridge of ropes, the jhula, or swinging bridge, still so frequent in the mountains: the descent to the river was by seven hundred steps cut in the mountain; the breadth of the river was eighty paces. No European has yet had an opportunity of knowing as much of the upper course of the Indus as the Chinese did fifteen hundred years ago.

When the river is passed the traveler is in the kingdom of U-chang. This country forms the northern part of India, and the people, in language and manners, are the same as those of Central India. According to M. Rémusat, the term U-chang, which is also read U-cha and U-chang-na, signifies garden, and is therefore the Sanskrit word *Udyána*. Agreeably to his notion of Fa Hian's crossing the Kama, not the Sindh, U-chang must lie to the west of the Indus, to the north of Cabúl. If, however, the Indus was the river crossed, it lies towards Kashmir, or in the Bamba and Khatak country; and this is the position in which it might be expected, accord-

ing to Sanskrit authorities. M. Rémusat observes that no such appellation is found among the modern names of places in this part of India, nor in the lists extracted by Wilford and Ward from the Puránas. The remark, he adds, may be considered of general application, and is true of the greater part of the rest of the itinerary. He seems to doubt if Hindú geography would furnish much illustration of these travels, but recommends the perusal of some of the standard compositions of the Hindús, such as the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana, "pour en dépouiller toute la partie géographique," a task, as he observes, too dry, arduous, and often ungrateful to have many attractions for European scholars, but one that would be of inestimable service to learned investigation. The task is well worthy of being undertaken, and would prove, I apprehend, less ungrateful than M. Rémusat imagined, the notices of places in the works referred to, and in others of a similar class, being very numerous, and their general position being frequently verifiable. It is, I understand, in a fair way of being accomplished, although the credit of it will not be reaped by the Sanskrit scholars of our country; and professor Lassen of Bonn will have the merit of supplying that deficiency which M. Rémusat bewailed.

To return, however, to U-chang: it is not correct to say that its name is not traceable in Sanskrit authorities; and is rather remarkable that we find the name in what may be considered rather its vernacular than its classical form. We have not Udyána, but Ujjána, the U-chang-na of the later Chinese traveler. Ujjána is named in the Mahábhárata in the Vana Parva, as one of the Tirthas, or holy places, of the north, and its mention follows close upon that of Kashmir, from which, therefore, its contiguity may be inferred. We have, therefore, the Sanskrit verification of its name and site, and this confirms its position on the upper part of the Indus, possibly on either bank, extending westward towards Cabúl and eastward to Kashmir. Chinese authority, also, is not wanting for such a position, for Ma Twanlin, as quoted by Rémusat, states that it lies east of Kian-to-lo; and in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, Kian-to-lo is bounded on the east by the Indus. He places U-chang six hundred *le* to the north of Kian-to-lo. In accounts extracted by M. Rémusat from Chinese geographical compilations, U-chang is evidently confounded with Kashmir: the description of its mountains, its valleys, its forests, its fertility, its irrigation, its rice, its lakes tenanted by dragons, the Nagas of the Raja Tarangini or Kashmirian chronicles, and the character given of its people as ingenious and gentle, but cowardly and crafty,

are still perfectly applicable to Kashmir. At a later period, however, the Chinese knew Kashmir by its own name: Kia-she-mi-lo is its appellation in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang. It is easy to understand, however, this seeming confusion. Kashmir had at various times a political boundary, considerably exceeding its natural limits. At different periods, therefore, different districts, such as Ujjána, were or were not considered to be portions of Kashmir.

From Ujjána, Fa Hian proceeded to the south to the kingdom of Su-ho-to: the distance is not particularized, but from what follows it does not seem to have been considerable. M. Rémusat, considering Fa Hian to be on the west of the Indus, would look for this place towards Persia, but this seems unnecessarily remote. No Indian appellation is proposed for Su-ho-to, but we might suspect its offering some analogy to Suvata, the probable original of Swát, or Sewát. That district, it is true, is to the west of the upper part of the Indus, and we have no intimation that the Indus had been again crossed; it is clear, however, from the description of the ensuing portions of the route, that Fa Hian must have passed to the west of it at some time or other, and it is possible that it was at this period that he recrossed the river. His omitting to mention the circumstance is of no great importance, as similar omissions frequently recur in the course of the journey. It need not, however, have been necessary to have crossed the river so soon, for the kingdom of Swát, or Suvát, as late as the time of Baber, extended on both sides of the Indus. Whatever may have been its exact situation, there is no doubt of its being properly included within the limits of India, as it is the scene of a legend, which may be traced to a Hindú origin. It is said that Shy, the celestial emperor, tried the benevolence of Fo, or Sákya, in this country; he changed himself into a hawk and a dove, and gave chase to one of his transformations in the disguise of the other. Fo, to redeem the dove, offered the supposed hawk his own flesh. This story is told in the Vana Parva of the Mahábhárata, at some length, of king Usínara. His charity was similarly tested by Indra, the Shy of the Budhists; but instead of the double transformation of the same divinity, which Rémusat himself thinks requires some apology, Agni, the god of fire, in the Hindú legend personates the pigeon. The scene of the story, as told in the Mahábhárata, is left undefined; but it is either near the Vitasta, the Jhelum, or the Yamuná. In other places, the story is told of Sivi, the son of Usínara, after whom the Saivas, or Siviras, or Sauviras, a northern tribe, situated near the Indus, was named. Usínara is also a descendant of Anu, the son of

Yayáti, emperor of all India, and to him the north of India was assigned as his portion. It seems most likely, therefore, that we need scarcely cross the Indus for Su-ho-to, or if we do, that we have not far to go for it.

Descending to the east, at five days' distance, Fa Hian comes to Kian-tho-wei. This M. Rémusat proposes to correct to Kian-tho-lo, upon the authority of Hwan Thsang; and the Kian-tho-lo of the Chinese is the country of the Gandaridæ of classical writers, the Gandhára of the Hindús, and Candahar of the Persian. The latter, however, may no doubt be regarded as an instance of the migration of a name, for the modern city is more to the west than was probably the most westernmost boundary of the ancient principality. As mentioned above, Hwan Thsang makes the Indus the western boundary of Kian-tho-lo; and, as I have explained at some length in another place, in the appendix to the Essay on the History of Kashmir, the Gandhára of the Hindús, or at least one division of it, was situated on that river, and thence was distinguished in Sanskrit writings as Sindhu Gandhára. The province extended, indeed, at some periods, across a considerable portion of the Panjáb, for Strabo has a Gandaris between the Hydraotis and the Hydaspes; and in the Mahábhárata, the Gandháras are first met with upon crossing the Satlej, and approaching the Airávatí, the Hydraotis, or Ravi. We have, therefore, no objection to M. Rémusat's correction or verification, although we have to his supposition that the route of Fa Hian lay so far west as the modern city of Kandahar. Kian-tho-wei is said to be the kingdom of Fa-i, or Dharma-vardhana, son of A-yu, or Asoka; the first words meaning, in both Chinese and Sanskrit, increase of the law,—the second, exemption from sorrow. We have no such prince as Dharma-vardhana in any of the Indian dynasties, but Asoka, either as a king of Kashmir or of Magadha, is a person of great celebrity. I shall have occasion, I hope, before long, to introduce him more particularly to the notice of the Society.

Seven days east of Kian-tho-wei is the kingdom of Chu-cha-chilo, explained to signify decapitated,—and leading us, therefore, to its Sanskrit etymology, Chyuta-sita, fallen head, Foë having here made an alms-giving of his head: more to the east is a place where he gave his body to a hungry tiger. In both places, lofty towers or topes were erected to commemorate these instances of self-abandonment. They were not visited by Fa Hian, and they cannot be readily verified; but many topes have been discovered in this part of the Panjáb, and especially between the Indus and the Jhelum, which may mark

the situation of the spot. There may, indeed, be some reference to the name which it has been agreed to assign to Manikyála, and Chu-cha-chilo may be a Budhist corruption and alteration of Taksha-sila.

Four days' journey south from Kian-tho-wei, the road comes to the kingdom of Foe-leü-sha. M. Rémusat observes, we can scarcely doubt that we have here the earliest mention of the name of the Beluches, borrowed apparently from Sanskrit; for this supposition, however, he has no warrant except a similarity of sound, and his notion of the western route of Fa Hian. His conjecture, however, is acquiesced in by Klaproth and Landresse. The situation of the Beluch tribe is, however, evidently quite beyond the possible route of Fa Hian in this part of his travels. Hwan Thsang has a city in the southeast of Gandhára, east of the Indus, called Pa-lou-sha, whilst he terms the capital, west of the river, Pu-lu-sha-pu-lo; no doubt intended for Purusha-pur, and possibly the origin of the modern Peshawar. One of these is possibly the Foe-leü-sha of Fa Hian, and, as situated west of the Indus, it must be the latter. The most magnificent monument in all India, a sthupa, stood at this place; erected, it was said, by king Ki-ni-kia, or Kanishka, known as a Scythian sovereign of Kashmir. It was forty toises high, equal to one hundred and twenty-two metres, or above four hundred feet. This elevation much exceeds that of any building yet met with, and is no doubt much exaggerated, but it probably included a spire or steeple which the sthupas or topes seem to have borne, but which has in every instance fallen down; at any rate there is no doubt that some of the most stately edifices of the class of sthupas and topes were erected in the neighborbood of Peshawar, or between it and Jelalabad. The country, indeed, possessed the most valuable relique of Budhism, the Kamandalu, or water-pot of Foë, to possess himself of which, according to Fa Hian, the king of the Yue-chi, who was a zealous worshiper of Budha, invaded the country: the pot, however, was not inclined to travel, and although it was placed upon a stout carriage, drawn by eight strong elephants, not an inch would it stir. The king was therefore obliged to leave it in its place, building there a tower or tope, endowing a monastery and establishing a garrison. The pot was there when Fa Hian arrived, and was the object of daily adoration. This notice of the invasion of the Panjáb by the Yue-chi, the Getæ or Scythians, at a period which a Chinese traveler in the fourth century calls ancient, and the mention of their attachment to Budhism, afford us historical facts which confirm in a very interesting and authentic manner the information gleaned from other sources

regarding the political condition of this part of India, shortly before and after the era of Christianity.

Sixteen yojans to the west, we come to the position of the kingdom of Na-ki-e and the city of Hi-lo; and adopting the smallest as the most probable valuation of the yojan at four miles, we are thus carried sixty-four miles. Hwan Thsang calls it Na-ko-lo-ho, and describes the route hither from Kia-pi-she or Cabúl, as going first to the east six hundred *le* to Lan-pha, and then one hundred *le* across mountains and the great river (the Indus, or one of its feeders,) southeast; bearings and distances that are quite irreconcilable with those of Fa Hian, as well as incompatible with the notions of Rémusat, that we should look for these places about Kandahar. They, however, may be taken, with much reservation, as establishing the position of these places east of Cabúl. For Na-ki-e, a probable Sanskrit origin can scarcely be suggested; but in Na-ko-lo-ho we have evidently an attempt to represent Nagara, a city; often used also as a proper name. It is probably to be looked for about Jelalabad, which is between fifty and sixty miles west of Peshawar, and in the neighborhood of which very many topes have been found. Fa Hian states that many towers and temples are described as being situated in the country of Na-ki-e.

Proceeding from thence, Fa Hian crossed the Lesser Snowy mountains: he describes the cold as so intense that it endangered the lives of the party, and one of them actually perished: the snow is said to rest upon the range in summer as well as winter. According to M. Rémusat's view of the western journey of the pilgrims, these mountains are supposed to be part of the Solimani range, running parallel with and west of the Indus; and the description leaves no doubt that it must have been some part of this range which they traversed,—consequently proving their having passed to the west of the Indus. At the same time, if the range was crossed as far to the south as would be necessary on coming straight from Kandahar, it is very unlikely that such intense cold would have been experienced, as the Solimani mountains decrease rapidly in elevation, and the temperature proportionably augments as they extend to the south. The coldest part of the range is from the Safed-koh to Ghizni, and the latter is therefore the limit of the migrations of the Chinese pilgrims to the west and south. It does not seem necessary, however, to take them so far, as supposing Na-ko-lo to have been on the site of Jelalabad, the southern road to India would conduct them across the highest part of the Khyber range in the immediate vicinity of the Safed-

koh, a part of the range on which, as Mr. Elphinstone mentions, the snow lies till the spring is far advanced. Fa Hian and his companions chose a rather unfavorable season for traveling, proceeding in the second moon of winter—or some time in December, M. Rémusat infers from the computation of the Chinese calendar, but very possibly later—and it is not wonderful therefore that they met with severe weather.

After crossing the chain, the travelers came to the kingdom of Lo-i. M. Rémusat observes that this is a name elsewhere totally unknown, but it is not improbably intended for Lohita, a name found in the Mahábhárata, as that of a country, as is also Lo-ha, the appellation of a people, in the north of India; associated with the Kambojas, and others in the same locality, subdued by Arjuna. The principal tribes of the Afghans, between the Solimani hills and the Indus, are known collectively by the term of Lohanis; and in them we may perhaps have the Lohas of the Hindú geographers, and the Lo-i of the Chinese. It will be necessary, however, consistently with what follows, to place them more to the north than the position they now occupy, or in the present seats of the Khyberis or Vaziris.

At the distance of ten days' south occurs the kingdom of Po-na, a name for which I cannot offer any equivalent, nor has M. Rémusat attempted any. To the east of it, at three days' journey, the Sin-theu is again passed; and here we are all somewhat perplexed. Consistently with the western course of Fa Hian's journey, he must, it is true, cross the Indus a second time; and, according to the view taken of his route by his translators, he does this at a point below the junction of the rivers of the Panjáb with the main stream, and either at Mitan or Bhakar. To this there are various objections which seem to be insuperable. In the first place, it depends upon Fa Hian's journey to Kandahar, a circumstance in itself exceedingly improbable. In the next place, had he proceeded in this direction to Mathura on the Jumna, the place where he next arrives, he would have had an extensive tract of inhospitable desert to cross, in which the travelers must have suffered severely from fatigue and privation, of which he makes no mention. On the contrary, he observes, as soon as the Sin-theu is passed, the country towards the south presents nothing but plains without mountains or great rivers, but abounding in small streams and water-courses, a description far from applicable to the sandy tracts of Jysalmer and Bhikaner. Finally, he says, on crossing the Sin-theu he comes into the kingdom of Pi-cha, or Pi-thsa, a word probably, as Rémusat supposes, intended to represent

Pan-cha-nada, or Pánjáb; but if the Indus was crossed as low down as Mitan, it was the desert, not the Panjáb, into which the travelers must have come. It seems, therefore, most likely that we are to look for Po-na somewhere about Tak, the chief town of the Doulat Khel tribe, situated about one hundred miles south from the Khyber mountains, and through which passes the great road to Cabúl. It is also about thirty miles west of the Indus. Crossing the river at this distance something to the southeast of Tak, the travelers would soon have been upon what has been, in all ages, the high road to India by way of Lahore, and would have prosecuted his journey through such a tract as he describes Pi-cha to have been.

The next stage was a long one, but it brings us on sure ground. At a distance of eighty yojans to the southeast is the kingdom of Mo-thu-lo, a kingdom which, from its name and position relatively to places subsequently noticed, can be no other than Mathura. Fa Hian says he followed the river Pou-na, meaning probably the Yamuna; another proof, by the way, that he came from the northwest rather than the west. Throughout the whole of this route all the princes, according to our traveler, were firmly attached to the faith of Budha, and treated his priests with profound respect. They offer food to them with their own hands, and spread a carpet before them, and then sit down in front upon a seat. In the presence of holy men they dare not sit down upon a bed: "En presence des religieux ils n'oseraient s'asseoir sur un lit." Several Budhist towers are described as existing in Mathura and its vicinity; but we have also mention of Brahmans, and it would appear as if on the journey no Budhist monasteries or monuments of any importance had occurred, —none are described.

Eighteen yojans, about seventy miles, to the southeast is the kingdom of Sang-kia-shi, a name found in Pali lists of countries as Samkassam. It occurs also in Sanskrit; and Kusadhwaja, the brother of Janaka, is called in the Rámáyana king of Sankásya: this is changed in some authorities to Kási, but no doubt erroneously. In the time of Hwan Thsang this name had become obsolete, and he terms the place Ki-ei-pi-tha. A large sthupa was in its vicinity; its site may be be regarded as somewhere about Mainpuri, or Farrakhabad, in the Doab. From thence Fa Hian goes seven yojans southeast to Ku-jo-kie-che in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang, for the Sanskrit Kanya-kubja. It is also termed, or rather translated, in Chinese Buddhist works, Khiu-niu-ching, the city of Humpbacked Damsels, the literal meaning of the Sanskrit word, in reference to

the legend of Váyu's cursing the hundred daughters of king Kusanábha to become crooked as a punishment for their scornfully rejecting his suit, and refusing him as a bridegroom: the story is told in the Rámáyana. The Budhists have adopted the legend, converting the God of Wind into the Hermit of the Great Tree, and making the number of offending damsels ninety and nine. Heng and Hengkia are the common denominations of the Gang or Ganga. West of the city Fa Hian finds a tower erected to commemorate Foë's having preached there. There are plenty of remains and ruins about Kanoj, but we have had no notice yet of anything like a tope. Three yojans across the river is the forest of Ho li.

Ten yojans to the southwest is the great kingdom of Sha-chi. Klaproth places this in the Oude country on the Gumti, but neither the distance nor the direction would bring us to that river: they would agree better with the position of Cawnpore, but that the district is on the north bank of the Ganges, probably on the river opposite. No Indian original is proposed for the name. It might be supposed to represent Srávastí, a city celebrated in both Budhist and Brahmanical writings; and it probably does so with this modification, that it was a more modern and more Brahmanical city than the ancient Srávastí, known at the time of Fa Hian's journey by a different appellation, She-wei, a city at which Fa Hian next arrives, at the distance of only eight yojans south from Sha-chi.

She-wei is situated in Kiu-sa-lo, a province in which we readily recognise Kosala, the Sanskrit name of an extensive kingdom which, although varying in its limits at various periods, originally and for the most part comprehended the modern Oude. That She-wei was the same as Srávastí, a city which, according to the Vishnu Purana, was founded by Sravasta, the ninth prince of the dynasty of Ikshwáku, we have various intimations. In the itinerary of Hwan Thsang it is called also She-lo-fa-si-ti; and he mentions that it was the capital of king Po-lo-sí-na-chi-to,—in Sanskrit, Prasena-jit, who is said, in Budhist works, to have been king of Srávastí at the time of Sákya's appearance. Fa Hian calls the king Pho-see-ho, an abbreviation quite admissible, as the name occurs in Sanskrit Prasena, as well as Prasena-jit. It is clear, therefore, that the Chinese travelers looked upon She-wei as Srávastí. At the time, however, that the first of them visited it, it must have undergone a great alteration from the flourishing state in which it is described at the period of Sákya's teaching. Fa Hian observes, the population was trifling, and the town contained not more than two hundred houses. It seems likely,

therefore, that the prosperity and name had been transferred to the neighboring city of Sha-chi, where the Brahmans seemed to predominate; as they had repeatedly endeavored, it is said, to eradicate a shrub planted by Budha himself, although it continued to grow in spite of them. In the neighborhood of She-wei were very many Budhist temples and towers of great sanctity, some vestiges of which might possibly even yet be discovered in the neighborhood of Fyzabadad, or Oude. Its distance and bearing from Sha-chi seems to be not accurately stated, as from what follows it must lie rather east than south.

At twelve yojans to the southeast occurs the city Na-pi-kia. We have no Sanskrit name for it. It is said to be the birth-place of the Budha Krakuchhanda, the name given to which in Sanskrit is Kshema-vati: the situation of the place, with reference to the succeeding as well as preceding route, should be to the north of Gorakhpur. East from this one yojan is Kia-wei-lo-wei, a place of all the most eminent in Budhist topography as the native city of Sákya himself: this circumstance, as well as the similarity of the name, leaves no doubt that Kapila, or Kapila-vastu, is intended.

Kapila-vastu is, under different modifications, the appellation by which the birth-place of Sákya is designated by all the Budhist nations. The Burmese call it Kapila-vot; the Siamese, Kabila-pat; the Cingalese, Kimbul-vat; the Mongols, Kabilit; the Chinese, more commonly Kia-pi-lo, or Kia-pi-li: Hwan Thsang writes it Kie-pi-lo-fa-su-tu. The Mongols and Tibetans also use other words which are translations of the Sanskrit, Kapila, tawny, and Vastu, site; Sarskyas-gji, and Ser-skyas-ghrong, "Sol ou ville de jaune foncé." Kapila-vastu also means the cell or abode of Kapila, a celebrated sage, by whom, according to the Budhist legend, this place was assigned to the emigrant tribe of the Sákas, of which Sákya Sinha Gautama, or Fo, was a member; and hence his appellation.

Although, however agreed as to the name, the authorities of the different countries were but ill informed as to the exact site of Kapila, as I have had former occasion to notice in some remarks added to an abstract of Mr. Csoma's "Analysis of the Dul-va, or first portion of the Kah-gyur," published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, January, 1832. It was most commonly said to be in Magadha, or Bahar; but it appeared from Tibetan writers, that although this might be politically, it was not topographically correct, and that Kapila-vastu must have been situated to the eastward, somewhere near the hills separating Nipál from Gorakphur, it being

described as situated on the Rohini, a mountain-stream which is one of the feeders of the Rapti. The itineraries of both Fa Hian and Hwan Thsang show that the position was accurately described, and that Kapila, or Kapila-vastu, the birthplace of Sákya, was situated north of Gorakhpur, near where the branches of the Rapti issue from the hills.

No less valuable service is rendered to history than to topography by this part of Fa Hian's journey, for whilst it shows that the accounts of cities and their princes, given by Budhist writers, were the same in his day as in the present, it proves also that even in his time the religion of Budha had suffered in the eastern districts of Hindústan a serious and irreparable decline. From the period when he arrives at Mathura and proceeds towards the east, however numerous may be the temples and towers, the work of past ages, the Seng-kia-las, the convents of Budhist mendicants, are rare and thinly inhabited; instances of persevering, if not of triumphant malignity, on the part of the Brahmans become frequent. Srávastí, at least the Srávastí of the Budhists, has shrunk to a village; and now when we come to the native city of the Budha Sákya Sinha himself, where his ancestors had been princes, and where we might naturally expect to find a numerous population, enriched by the liberal endowments of the pious, and the expenditure of innumerable pilgrims, we meet according to an eye-witness, one too who is evidently not disposed to undervalue proofs of the prosperity of his faith, we meet with neither prince nor people, with none but a few religious ascetics, and a dozen or two of huts occupied by their votaries, insufficient to redeem the scene from being, "as it were, one vast solitude." Every spot in the neighborhood was sanctified as the scene of some recorded incident in the early life of Foë, and on every such spot a tower had been erected. These towers were still to be seen, but the principality was what it is at present, a wilderness untenanted by man, the haunt of wild animals which made traveling through it dangerous. "Sur les routes on a à redouter le éléphants blancs, et les lions, de sorte qu'on n'y peut voyager sans précaution." Now these circumstances place us in the Terai, a tract which in our day is not only characterised by solitude and beasts of prey, but for a considerable portion of the year by its deadly hostility to human life. Yet at the birth of Sákya, and for some ages afterwards, it was the habitation of mankind, and the field which religious piety loved to decorate with structures intended to testify its own fervor, and stimulate the faith of posterity. By the fourth century of the Christian era, the

wilderness had usurped the place of the cultivated plain, the hum of men had yielded to the silence of the forest, but we have yet no intimation of the unhealthiness of the district, and the only danger apprehended by travelers was from elephants and lions. The monuments were still erect, and some few of the human race still lingered amongst their shadows. The work of desolation, however, remained unarrested, and even those few, and the still more durable existences of brick and stone were finally swept away. Such is the history of the past: from that of the future a more cheering prospect is to be expected; and deadly as may be the vapors which the deep shades of the Terai engender, the time may yet come when they shall be scattered before the advance of culture and civilization, and a more permanently prosperous city, and other and holier and more lasting shrines shall rise on the site of the birthplace of Foë.

Having left the place of the nativity of Sákya Sinha, Kapila or Kapila-vastu, Fa Hian traveled five yojans to the east of the kingdom of Lan-mo, where stood a tower erected over a portion of the body of the saint. This part of India was in ancient times included in the kingdom of Mithila, the king of which was Janaka, the father-in-law of Ráma, and many vestiges of those two princes are still found in the names and traditions of different places in the district. Lan-mo, as Klaproth conjectures, is probably intended for Ráma; and we have in the present day more than one Ráma-pur in that part of the country where we might look for Lan-mo. Lan-mo, however, must have been within the limits of the Terai at the time when it was visited by Fa Hian, as it was entirely deserted, and the only habitation there was a monastery, recently founded, it is said, by the king of the country at the instigation of certain Tao-sse, intending, according to the French writers, a particular Chinese sect, but possibly here designed for the Tapaswis, Hindú religious ascetics, who had become Sha-mi, Samanæans, or Sramanas, ascetic followers of Budha, and had established a religious society in the forest.

Proceeding still towards the east, two other towers were passed, at the distance of three and of four yojans respectively, and from the last, twelve yojans, was the city of Kiu-i-na-kie, near the bank of the Hi-li-an-river. This river, as appears from what follows, is no doubt the Gandak, but the distance is in that case much exaggerated. The direction, however, is southeast rather than east, and as the pilgrims must have approached the foot of the mountains in their visits to Kapila and Lan-mo, the distance may in part be thus accounted for.

Kiu-i-na-kie is called by Hwan Thsang, Kiu-shi-na kie-lo, in which we have the Sanskrit Kusa-nagara and Pali Kusi-ná-râ, the name of the city near which, according to Budhist works, Sákya terminated his career. The identity of the term is confirmed by the Tibetan appellation, Tsa-chog-grong, which means the city of the Excellent Grass, and Kusa-nagara is the city of Kusa grass, the *Poa cynosuroides*, which is held sacred, and is much used in the rites of the Brahmans. The word, in various modifications, was familiar to Sanskrit accounts of the country somewhat to the east of this, the residence of one branch of the descendants of Kusa, of whom the sage Viswámitra was a distinguished individual. His sister, after her death, gave her name to the Kausiki river, the modern Kosi. According to Tibetan authors, Kusa-nagara was in Kamrup, which is the most western portion of Asám, or the northern portion of Rangpur. This position, an improbable one enough, was perhaps the consequence of confounding Kusa-nagara with the Kausiki river, and carrying events which occurred on the east of the former to the east of the latter, thus coming near to the frontiers of Kamrup. We need not, however, go so far to the east as even the Kosi river for proofs of Fa Hian's accuracy, both as to site and name, and the identification is remarkable and interesting. In the number of the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for June, 1837, is a notice of a colossal alto-relievo, found by Mr. Liston, of which a sketch was sent by him to the editor. It proved to be an image of Budha, surrounded by compartments in which various actions of his life were represented, surrounded by figures of celestial spirits, and supported by the elephant and lion. This was found in Pergunna Sidowa, in the eastern division of Gorakhpur, at a place called Kusia, no doubt the Kiu-i of Fa Hian; for not only do the name and site, and the presence of this image of Budha confirm the identity, but Mr. Liston mentions also several pyramidal mounds and heaps of rubbish in the same neighborhood, the remains of a Budhist city of some extent. This, it is said by the people of the country, was the residence of Mata-kuanr, or mrita-kumára, that is, of the dead prince. The country people have a legend of their own to account for the appellation, but they look upon the dead prince as a powerful divinity; and the genuine owner of the appellation is no doubt the prince and prophet Sákya Sinha, who, according to the records of all his followers, expired in this vicinity.

Hi-li-an is conjectured to be intended for Hiranya, gold. The same river is also called by the Chinese Shi-lai-na-fa-ti, and they

translate it, "having gold," the sense of the Sanskrit, Suvarnavatí, which is therefore no doubt the original. Hwan Thsang calls it A-shi-to-fa-ti, which he explains "unparalleled." It is no doubt a Sanskrit synonym, Ajitavati, or unsurpassed. These are all names applicable to rivers, though I do not find any Hindú authority for applying them particularly to the Gandak.

On the bank of the river, Sákya or Foë, obtained Pan-ni-huan, the Sanskrit Parinirvána, 'liberation from existence.' Fa Hian merely adds with respect to the locality, that the scene of this event was north of the city. Hwan Thsang says, that at three or four *le* north-west from the town, the river is crossed to a forest on its west bank, in which the Nirván of Foë was obtained, but it must be rather the eastern or northern bank. A tower was built on the spot by king Asoka to commemorate the occurrence, and a column of stone was erected in front of the tower, on which was inscribed "Budha, aged eighty years, entered into Nirván at midnight, the fifteenth lunation of Vaisakh."

Now here, again, we have in the mention of this tower and column particulars of great interest, for in all probability the very column seen by Fa Hian is still standing. It is thus described by Mr. Hodgson: "I found it in the Tarai of Zillah Saran, half-way between the town of Bettiah and the river Gandak, west and a very little north of Bettiah, and very near to the Nipál frontiers." The column, or *lát*, of which a drawing is given in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, for October, 1834, stands close to a village called Matiya, in which name we have again an allusion to the Mata, or Mrita, the deceased Sákya. The column bears an inscription, but a much longer one than that which Fa Hian has translated. It is in the same characters as the inscriptions on the lát of Firoz Shah at Delhi, and the pillar in the fort of Allahabad, and is, in fact, the very same inscription on all three. The character has been deciphered by the extraordinary ingenuity and persevering diligence of Mr. Prinsep, and presents an edict enjoining the observance of Budhism, by a prince yet untraced in the dynasties of India, Deva-priya, or Priyadarsí: the latter was at first supposed to identify him with Deveni Peatissa, king of Ceylon, B. C. 307, by whom Budhism was introduced into that island; but the latest notice we have from India mentions that Mr. Turnour has discovered that Piya-dasi is an epithet applied to Asoka, the grandson of Chandragupta and king of Magadhá, about 280 B. C., the great patron of Budhism. The inscription is in Mágadhi or Pali, and is no doubt the work of a Bud-

hist prince or princes. That the particular inscription on the Matiya lát bore the record of Sákya's nirván, may have been a piece of misinformation given to Fa Hian by persons unable to read it, or it may perhaps be yet made out. When its purport and locality are considered, we can scarcely doubt that it is the monument which Fa Hian beheld.

Twenty yojans to the south we come to the scene of many of Sáyka's adventures, and one in which many monuments of his actions occurred. Amongst them we have another stone pillar with an inscription; the purport of this is not named, but it is said to have been erected by the family of Sákya at his injunction. Here again we have an interesting verification; for proceeding along the Gandak to the distance of about seventy miles we come to Bakra, where stands another Budhist column. It is of stone, but no inscription has yet been found: at the same time it is considered by Mr. Stephenson, by whom it is inscribed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, March, 1835, that half its height is buried in the ground, and there may be an inscription on the lower part. Of its character there is no doubt, for at a short distance to the north was a considerable mound of solid brick-work, a tower, or tope; and in the vicinity was found a mutilated image of Budha, with an inscription in an ancient form of Nagari, which, thanks chiefly to Mr. Prinsep, has also been made legible. The inscription, which has been found since in many other places, is a moral stanza, importing that Budha has enjoined the motives of actions which are the sources of virtue, and prohibited those which are its impediments:

Ye dharma hetu prabhavá
Hetúnstesham Tathagato
Hyavadach cha yannirodham
Tesham cha mahásramana:

being a memorial-verse, found, with unimportant variations of the reading, in various Budhist books in different languages.

Again we can tread in the footsteps of Fa Hian. At five yojans to the east or southeast, he comes to the celebrated city of Phi-she-li, a city easily recognised in the Vesáli of the Budhist, and Vaisálí of Sanskrit writers. We have very early authority for its name and site. In the Rámáyana, Ráma and Lakshmana, after crossing first the Sona river, and then the Ganges, come, after some short distance, to the pleasant city of Visálá or Vaisálí, founded by Visala, the virtuous son of Ikshwaku and Alambushá. In the days of Sákya, Vaisálí was the seat of a republic; the population termed Li-chchi-

vis, had no king, but governed themselves, and were very opulent and powerful. Fa Hian calls Vaisálí a kingdom, but he makes no mention of its condition beyond specifying various Budhist towers or topes. In Hwan Thsang's time it was entirely in ruins, and it was probably in progress of decay in that of his predecessor. One tower is ascribed to a holy woman, named An-pho-lo, in whom we have probably the Ahalyá of the Hindús, the wife of Gautama, who resided here at the time of Ráma's visit to Vaisálí. We need not be at a loss for the remains of Vaisáli, as at such a distance from the Bakra lát as we might expect, Mr. Stephenson met with the remains of a large mound and an extensive fort, which he considered to be of considerable antiquity; heaps of brick rubbish were also found in the neighborhood of the column. The city of Vaisáli no doubt occupied part of the tract between Bakra and Sinhiya.

From Phi-she-li, at the distance of four yojans, about the actual distance from Sinhiya, Fa Hian came to the confluence of the five rivers. Three are easily identified, the Gandak, the Ganges, and the Sone; the two others may have been formed by the branches of the Ganges, opposite to Danapur, which in Major Rennell's map were separated by an island of some extent. The mouth of the Deva, also, is not very remote. Having crossed the river, and gone one yojan to the south, the travelers entered the kingdom of Mo-kie-thi, the Sanskrit Magadhá, and the city Pa-li-an-fu. The latter is called by Klaproth the ancient Chinese mode of writing Patali-putra, which in the itinerary of Hwan Thsang appears as Pho-ta-li-tsu-ching, the ching, or city of the Son of the tree Pho-to-li, the literal meaning of the Sanskrit Patali-putra. It was also known to the Chinese by another of its Sanskrit names, Kusuma-pura, the city of Flowers, converted into Kiu-su-mo-phu-lo. Both names occur in a legend explaining their origin, extracted by Klaproth from a Chinese work, which he terms "Mémoires sur les Pays Occidentaux sous les Thang," written A. D. 640. The legend is not the same as that given in the Vrihat-kathá, which I translated and published in the Calcutta Quarterly Magazine, for March, 1824; but we need not advert to it except for one curious statement, that at this time, or early in the seventh century, the ancient city was in ruins and over-run with jungle. "*Au sud du fleuve Khing-kia, est l'ancienne ville: son emplacement est vide et couvert d'herbes; on n'y voit que des fondations et des ruines.*" If this was the case so long ago, we need be surprised that we cannot now discover vestiges of Palibothra in the vicinity of the Ganges, the Erranoboas (or Gandak), and the Sone.

At the time of Fa Hian's visit, the palace of A-yu, or Asoka, was entire, and presented specimens of sculpture so superior to the efforts of actual art, that they were ascribed to superhuman architects. Genii labored for the patron of Foë.

Three *le* south from the capital was the city Ni-li, built by A-yu, embellished by a handsome column surmounted by a lion. The columns of Matiah and Bakra, both have lions for their capitals. The pillar at Ni-li is said to have borne an inscription, and another pillar with an inscription, recording the liberality of king A-yu, or Asoka, was close to the town. At the same place stood a great tower, and a temple with a stone bearing impressions of the feet of Foë. The columns and stone were also seen by Hwan Thsang, who reports, however, that not long before his arrival the king of Magadhá, She-shang-kia, who persecuted the Budhists, had had it thrown into the river. It returned, however, to its old berth. The inscription on the column bore, he says, "The king without sorrow, firm in his faith, has thrice made a gift of Jambudwipa (India) to the priests of the law of Budha, and has as often redeemed it from them with all his pearls and all his treasure." It may be worth while to look about in Bahar for traces of such reliques; an inscription of king Asoka, particularly if it had a date, would be an inestimable prize. We do not find a name amongst the later Andhra kings of Magadhá, as specified in the Puránas, that can be supposed to be the original of She-shang-kia. Ni-li is evidently Sanskrit, though there is no such name at present in the vicinity of Patna.

Having now entered upon the field of Sákya's first career as a religious teacher, places of note in Budhist hagiography occur in rapid succession. Nine yojans to the southeast is a mountain where Sákya was entertained with a concert by the Gandharbas. Thence one yojan was the hamlet of Na-lo, the birthplace of Sariputra, one of Sákya's first disciples; thence one yojan to the west was the new city of the royal residence, now Lo-yue-khi, or Rája-griha, built by A-che-shi, the Ajáta-satru of the Hindús. Thence to the south was the old capital of Magadha, the ancient Rájagriha, the residence of Ping-sha; also called by the Chinese Pin-po-so-lo, in whom we have therefore the Bimbasara, or Vimbasára, of the Puránas, the father of Ajáta-satru, by whom the site of the capital was removed. The ancient city was the abode of Jarasandha, the first of the Magadhá kings, who was slain by the sons of Pandu, Arjuna, and Balaráma. Rájagriha is described as situated amongst five mountains, which formed, as it were, its walls. It was deserted at the time of Fa

Hian's visit, and we need not be surprised, therefore, if fifteen centuries should have effaced all traces of a city which was one of the most ancient and celebrated in the India of the Hindús. We might suppose this to be the case, from the total silence of European travelers and residents, in respect to Rájagriha, but it is not so; and although little known, vestiges of the old capital of Magadhá do exist. The best account of them is to be found in two Calcutta publications, the Calcutta Annual Register for 1822, and the Oriental Magazine for 1823. It is part of the journal of a native traveler, of a route from Calcutta to Patna by Gaya and Behar in 1820. The traveler was, in fact, a Jain in the service of colonel Mackenzie, and the journal is the report which he furnished of his proceedings, translated by other natives in colonel Mackenzie's employ, and revised for publication by myself. Sri-nivasia, as he was named, saw many things which Europeans would have had few opportunities of seeing, or would probably have overlooked if they had. Amongst these he saw the remains of Rájagriha. "Traveling amongst the Rájgiri hills," he observes, "I came to an open place strewed with the ruins of a city, for about four miles from south to north, and two miles from east to west. On the four cardinal points of this ruined city are four hills. It was amidst these four hills that Srenika Mahá Rája founded his capital, giving it the name of Rájagriha, or Giripur, subsequently modified as Rájgiri." On the hills, also, he describes the remains of temples which he claims, as he is bound to do, for Jain, but which were probably Budhist; and he notices a mound of singular appearance, the reliques of a lofty tower, erected, as he relates after the vulgar tradition, for the residence of Sálabhadra, who was a spirit of heaven in the form of the son of the minister of Srenika. His father reared a lofty edifice, in the upper chamber of which the son was nearer to his proper sphere. The tower was possibly one of those here seen by Fa Hian. In a work now in course of publication, the first volume being printed, the report of Dr. Buchanan on different provinces of Gangetic Hindústan, edited by Mr. Martin, there is also in the description of the Bahar province an account of Rájagriha. Dr. Buchanan describes the remains of the fort noticed by Sri-nivasia, also the mound, which he says is of a circular form. He also particularizes the remains of an extensive bund, answering at once the purpose of a road across the low country in the vicinity; and a bank to confine the water of the rains between it and the hills. It was about twelve feet high, or perhaps more, and one hundred and fifty feet broad, running about four miles to the east, and must have been a work of great cost and labor.

Fifteen *le* to the southeast, Fa Hian came to the mountain Khi-she. In this were several excavations, in one of which, Ananda, a disciple of Foë, had been detained by the demon Phi-si-un, in the form of a vulture. Phi-si-un is the Sanskrit Pi-su-na, any malignant being. Ananda was extricated by his master. The mountain derives its name from the legend, being called in Sanskrit Budhist works, Gridhra-kúta, Vulture-peak, expressed in Hwan Thsang's itinerary by Ki-li-tho-lo-Kiu-to. The more classical name is Giri-vraja, the Mountain Tract, by which it is mentioned in the Mahábhárata. Klaproth conceives it to be the same with Ghidore, a place on the borders of Bahar; but although the name may be derived from the old designation, the situation of Ghidore shows that it could not have been Khi-she. We need not be at any loss, however, and the identification is of peculiar interest, as it proves that, in some instances at least, Fa Hian's bearings and distances are worthy of confidence. In Buchanan's description of Bahar we find a mountain termed Giriyak, which the people of the country identify with *Giri*-vraja, and it is precisely in the spot where the Chinese traveler places Khi-she, or between seven and eight miles (fifteen *le*) southeast from Rájagriha. The name and position are not the only points in which the places agree; Fa Hian particularizes one cavern, and mentions that there are several hundreds. He notices also a stone grotto, a throne of the four Budhas, a stone block once hurled at Foë, and the ruins of the hall in which Foë had preached. Buchanan describes the remains of a paved road to the summit of the mountain, a platform and the remains of a temple, which had probably been solid, like those, as he particularly mentions, of the Budhists. A column of brick, sixty-eight feet in circumference rises here, from a pedestal twenty-five feet square. This pillar is called in the neighborhood the seat of Jarasandha, and Buchanan is at a loss to conjecture its purport: but it is no doubt a monument of the same class as the pillars or láts already described, and is a Budhist monument. It is rather singular that Buchanan does not describe any excavations. There are numerous caverns in the Bahar hills, west of the Phalgu, the Barábar-pahár; but Rájagriha and Giri-yak are in the range running east of the Phalgu, extending to Ramgur. The former range has been visited by different Europeans, and many caves and inscriptions have been discovered; the latter has been visited by none but Buchanan, and it is possible that the excavations concealed by thickets, and situated in places of difficult access, may have escaped his observation. There are, nevertheless, sufficient proofs of the identity of Khi-she and Giri-yak.

Fa Hian then returns to the new capital, that is, to the more modern Rájagriha, which must have been somewhere about the city of Bahar,—a place where numerous vestiges of Budhism are still to be traced. He then proceeds four yojans towards the west, to the town of Kia-ye, manifestly Gaya; and it is curious to find it stated, that even at this early date it was entirely deserted. Of course the Gaya of Fa Hian was the Budha Gaya of the present day, a mass of ruins of an eminently Budhist character. Fa Hian takes no notice whatever of the Hindú Gaya, in which he probably sacrifices topographical correctness to sectarian resentment at its having eclipsed the sacred city of his religion. He passes on to the south some eight or ten miles to the mountain Kukutapáda, and on the route notices many places sanctified by incidents in the life of Sákya. In the mountain was a habitation of arhats, meaning excavations, and near it the sepulture of Kasyapa, the Budha preceding Sákya. At Fa Hian's visit the mountain was overrun with thick and tangled forest, abounding with wild beasts, as is still the case on the confines of Bahar and Ramgur. Hwan Thsang places this mountain east of the river Mon-ho, the Mohani branch of the Phalgu, which rises in Ramgur, about twenty miles sontheast from Gaya.

Fa Hian, although he seems to have avoided the Gaya of the Hindús, considered Benares to be worthy of a visit: he, therefore, returned to Pa-lian-foe, or Patalipur, and proceeded along the Ganges westward, to Pho-lo-na-i in the kingdom of Kia-shi, or to Varanásí in the province of Kasi. Ten *le* northeast was a celebrated temple, erected in memory of a pious Phy-chi-foe, a Bhikshuka or mendicant, who obtained nirvána here; the origin, perhaps, of that erected in the twelfth century by Budhist princes at Sárnath. Many establishments of Budhist ascetics, and towers or topes, were found by Fa Hian in this locality.

Whilst engaged in this visit, Fa Hian notices the situation of a kingdom two hundred yojans distant to the south, which he calls Ta-thsen, intending probably, as M. Klaproth supposes, Da-khin, or Dach-chin. The circumstance, however, which attaches particular interest to this notice is an account which he gives of a cavern-temple, called, he says, the temple of Pho-ho-yue, which is the Indian for pigeon. The word is not easily recognised, as it is rather unlike the Sanskrit parávata, which is the synonym of pigeon, that most resembles it. This, however, is of less importance than the description of a temple in five stories, each story containing numerous chambers or cells, all cut out of the solid rock, and tenanted by arhats: establishing, con-

sequently, the existence of a Budhist cavern-temple at the end of the fourth century. The hill is said to be uninhabited and remote from any village, and the people of the country are a perverse generation who do not know the law. The description is too fanciful and vague to allow us to propose its identification, but Ellora, Keneri, or Ajanta furnish us with the original of the picture. The existence of cavern-temples in the Dekkan, prior to the fourth century of our era, is thus established.

From Pho-lo-na-i the Chinese traveler returned to Magadhá, where he sat himself down in a monastery for three years, to study the sacred language and copy the books. In the north of India, he complains that the heads of the different establishments preserved the precepts of the law by tradition only, communicating them orally to their disciples, being, therefore, even less conversant with their literature than the Budhists amongst whom he had sojourned beyond the Himálaya. In Central India he obtained several Budhist works, which it would be interesting to identify with some of those still current in Tibet, Nipál, Ava, and Ceylon. Those which Fa Hian actually procured were a collection of the precepts of the Mo-ho-seng-tchi, or Mahá Sankhya, which, he says, had been followed ever since the days of Foë; and a collection of the united precepts of the Sapho-to, which, according to Klaproth, is the Sanskrit name of one of five classes of precepts attributed to Sákya, and means "La Somme," the sum and substance of the law,—intending, perhaps, Sarva, or Samánya-dharmma. It contained about seven thousand *ki-e*, that is, *gathas*, or verses. He had several extracts from the A-pi-tan, Abhidharmma, in six thousand stanzas; a copy of the Sútras, fundamental rules, two thousand five hundred verses; a volume of Sútras, on the means of obtaining final liberation, of about five thousand verses; and the Apitan, or Abhidharmma, of the Mahá-seng-chi. He speaks also of the greater and lesser Kueï, two of the three works which, according to Chinese authorities, form the three precious treasures, teaching reliance on Budha, on the law, and on the church,—the remarkable triad of the Budhist faith; and he alludes to eighteen collections of precepts, the authorities of different masters, still recognised, as M. Landresse shows, by the Budhists. At this early period, therefore, the great body of Budhist literature, either in Sanskrit or Pali, was in existence.

Having acquired these valuable means of giving a fresh impulse to Budhism in his native land, Fa Hian quitted the neighborhood of Patna, and proceeded down the Ganges, eighteen yojans to the

great kingdom of Chan-pho, on its southern bank. This is Champa, near Bhagalpur, the capital of Anga at the time of the great war, and a place of consideration from a very ancient date to at least the eighth and ninth centuries. Fifty yojans more to the east, at the confluence of the river with the sea, was the kingdom of To-mo-li-ti. The religion of Budha was in a flourishing state in this principality, and Fa Hian abode there two years, transcribing manuscripts and copying images.

To-mo-li-ti, or as Hwan Thsang writes it, Tan-mo-li-ti, is the undoubted representative of a town or province named Támralipta in the Mahábhárata, and Tamaliptí or Tamalipta in the Váya and Márkandeya Puránas, and in many other Sanskrit works. In the Dasa Kumára and Vrihat Katha, collections of tales written in the ninth and twelfth centuries, it is always mentioned as the great port of Bengal, and the seat of an active and flourishing commerce with the countries and islands of the Bay of Bengal, and the Indian ocean. Going upwards, then, to the fourth century, we find it possessed of the same character. At the end of his residence, the merchants, says Fa Hian, were embarking in large ships to sail to the southwest, and in one of them he took a passage. It was the beginning of winter, and the wind being favorable, the northwest monsoon having, in fact, set in, the vessel arrived at the kingdom of the Lions, Sinhálaya, Sinhalá, or Ceylon, in fourteen days; a passage which at such a season was very practicable. Támralipta being on the sea at the mouth of the Ganges, and corresponding with it in appellation, is always considered to be connected with the modern Tamlook. No inquiries, as far as I am aware, have ever been instituted in this neighborhood for antiquarian remains, and possibly they would not be very successful if they were, as although such monuments might have resisted the ravages of time, they would in all likelihood have been swept away by the encroachments of the sea. Molunghis now labor where Phy-chi-foës formerly practiced self-denial, and the Seng-kia-lan, where Fa Hian studied the Fan language, is now converted into the Cutchery of the salt agent of the English government of Bengal. Sinhala, it is said, has a number of small islands in its vicinity, and produces many precious things—jewels and pearls.

Sinhalá was formerly, it is said, tenanted by demons and evil genii, alluding evidently to the Hindú legend, of its being the residence of Rávana and the Rákshasas, in which character it appears in the Rámáyana. When Foë visited the island he left the impression of his feet, one on the north of the capital, and the other on the top of a

mountain. According to the Cingalese, an impression of the foot of Gautama is visible on the summit of Adam's Peak. In the time of Fa Hian, the supposed site of the other foot-mark was covered by a stately temple, forty *chang* high, or one hundred and twenty-two metres. On the mountain Abhayagiri was a Sang-kia-tan, with five thousand mendicants. In the city was a building, in which a tooth of Foë was preserved, and which was displayed to the people with great pomp and solemnity in the middle of every third month. Fa Hian remained two years in Sinhalá, and notices various places and occurrences, showing the prosperous state of Budhism in the island. His chief object in prolonging his stay was, however, the procuring of religious books; and he mentions having obtained the volume which contained the precepts of Mi-sha-se, also the long A-han and the miscellaneous A-han, and a collection of different Tsang,—books not found in China, and all written in the Fan language. Of these the first is said to signify, in Sanskrit, 'the unmanifested, the imperceptible,' meanings for which no similar Sanskrit term can be suggested. A-han is more manageable. It is said to mean 'the unequaled,' or rather unattainable law, and is the Sanskrit Agama, a term applied to religious writings. *Tsang* is a Chinese word, but it corresponds in purport to terms in Tibetan, Mongol, and Sanskrit, signifying a container, a receptacle, a vessel, a box or vase,—the Sanskrit word *pitaka*, a box or vase, is the designation still given, in Ava and Ceylon, to some of the most important of their religious books. "The revelations of Gotamo," says Mr. Turnour, "orally perpetuated for four centuries, were then collected into the Pitakattya, or the three Pitakas, which now form, if I may so express myself, the Budhistical Scriptures, divided into Vinayo, Abhidhammo and Satto Pitako." According to the same well-informed writer, the Budhist Scriptures were first transferred from oral to written perpetuation in Ceylon, in the reign of Wattagámini, between B. C. 104 and 76, a period quite compatible with their multiplication and extension in the fourth century of the Christian era, when copied by Fa Hian.

At the expiration of two years, Fa Hian embarked for Ceylon, and after a voyage of ninety days, in which his ship sprung a leak and encountered a violent storm, he arrived at Ye-pho-thi, Yava-dwipa, the island of Java. He remained there five months, and then again took ship; he again met with bad weather, and at the end of sixty days the crew were short of water. They, therefore, bore up to the promontory of Lao, part of a range in the district of Lai-chu-fu, in the province of Shantung,—still bearing the same appellation ac-

cording to M. Landresse. Fa Hian's companions, after taking in water and provisions proceeded on their voyage to Yang-chu, but he remained at Tsing-chu, a city still so called, in Shantung: after a short stay he resumed his route towards Chang-an, but stopped on his way in the south at Kiang-ning-fu, or Nanking, [?] as M. Landresse supposes,—having been absent from China fifteen years; six years on his way to India, six years a resident there, and three on his return,—the latter took place in the twelfth of the years I-yi, corresponding with A. D. 414.

Fa Hian records but few details of his voyage, but there are some that merit notice. He leaves Sinhalá in a merchant-vessel large enough to contain more than two hundred persons, and provisioned for the long voyage across the Indian ocean. The storm that he encountered was an incident likely enough to have occurred in those latitudes. His fellow-voyagers make for a small island, perhaps one of those along the western coast of Sumatra, where they find out and repair the leak, but they are in great alarm lest they should be attacked by pirates, with whom those seas abounded,—the Malays being then addicted to the same practices which they still pursue.

Of Java, Fa Hian merely mentions that the heretics and Brahmans are there in great numbers, but that there is no question of the law of Foë. Scanty as is the observation, it is of importance. Fa Hian remained five months on the island, and would most assuredly have found out any vesitige of Budhism, had such existed. The Brahmanical religion then preceded Budhism in Java, and the establishment of Hindús was prior to the fourth century. The evidence thus furnished corroborates the tradition of the natives, respecting the arrival of colonists from India, from Kling, or the Coromandel Coast, in the first century after Christ, although sir S. Raffles and Mr. Crawfurd have hesitated to believe in so remote a date. Fa Hian's testimony is decisive as to the non-existence of Budhists in the beginning of the fifth century, and their increase in numbers and influence so as to have led to the construction of the magnificent temple of Buro Bodor, must have been the work of two of three centuries at least, confirming opinions I have elsewhere advocated, that from the fifth to the eighth century was the period of the great migration of the Budhists to the eastward, consequent upon some partial persecution of the sect by the Brahmans.

Another important fact derivable from Fa Hian's testimony, is the extent and adventurous character of Hindú navigation. It has been sometimes denied that the Hindús ever were navigators, notwith-

standing the proofs afforded by the commerce of the Red Sea, that ships must have come from the continent of India thither, and that they were freighted *not* only with the products of India, but of the farther East. Now in Fa Hian's voyage from Tamoliti to Ceylon we have no reason to suppose the infrequency of Hindú voyages by sea, or that the voyagers or mariners were other than natives of India. Again, in the vessel that sails from Ceylon, we may possibly have Çingalese navigators; but we find Brahmans in Java, and if Hindús went not to sea, how did they get there? But in the subsequent part of the voyage we have proof that Brahmanical Hindús at least, if not Brahmans, voyaged even to China; and, by the way, we have also evidence that the Javanese tradition, mentioned by sir S. Raffles, which places the first intercourse with China in the tenth century, is wholly unfounded. With regard, however, to the crew of the vessel in which Fa Hian sailed from Java, it is related by *him* that when they reached the shore near Lao, they employed him to interpret for them with the people of the country,—consequently they were not Chinese. What were they then? We shall hear: "After a passage of a month, a frightful wind and a violent rain came on in the second watch of the night. The merchants and passengers were all equally terrified; Fa Hian immediately, and with all his heart, prayed to Ku-an-shi-in, and to all the religious of the land of Han, imploring the gods to succor them and make the heavens tranquil. When the weather became calm the Brahmans took counsel amongst them, and said, 'It is the presence of this Samanean on board that has brought all this danger upon us. Let us leave him on the shore of some island in the sea.' And so would they have done had not the Tan-yuei (the benefactor, the patron, from the Sanskrit *dána*, a gift), of the poor pilgrim taken his part, and threatened the merchants with the anger of the king of China if they abandoned him." Here then we have Brahmans on board ship,—merchants trading to China, and exercising an authority which showed that the mariners were subordinate to them, if, indeed, by merchants Fa Hian does not mean mariners also, as is most probable. Fa Hian had lived too long in India to mistake his men, and their hostility to a Samanean is a confirmation of the accuracy of the designation. It deserves remark also, that these Brahmans had no intention of creeping along the shore; for it is said that their vessel, like the former, carried two hundred people, and was provisioned for fifty days. In the voyage from Ceylon the ship was provided for ninety days, and for two hundred people to be maintained at sea for so long a term, shows neither

timidity nor inexperience in the art of navigation. It is wholly gratuitous, therefore, to dispute the claims of the Hindús to be considered as engaging in maritime commerce from early times. The well-known passage of Manu respecting marine insurance was not inserted without meaning; and although the Mahábhárata and Rámáyana are silent, having no occasion to refer to the subject, yet in other writings, in poems, tales, and plays, dating from the first century before, to the twelfth century after our era, adventures at sea are detailed, in which Indian sailors and ships alone are concerned. Fa Hian's testimony places the point beyond dispute.

We have thus accompanied the Chinese pilgrim through a protracted route, and although we cannot but wish that he had employed his opportunities to better purpose, yet we are indebted to him for interesting and valuable information.

We find the names of things and places throughout India, Sanskrit, and events and legends specified, or alluded to, evidently derived from Sanskrit writings. We find the Pali language, the immediate offspring of Sanskrit, studied from Khoten to Ceylon, and Budhist works studied over the same tract, some of which no doubt continue at the present day to be the chief authorities of Budhism whatever it prevails. With regard to the Budhist religion, we find it flourishing on the borders of the Great Desert,—prosperous on the upper course of the Indus, on either bank,—declining in the Punjáb,—and in a languid state, although existing, on the Jumna and Ganges. In its most sacred seats, east of the latter river, the birthplace of Sákya, and scene of his early career, it had fallen into irreparable decay, and its monuments were crumbling into those mounds of rubbish which are still found in Gorack-pore and Tirhut, although a few columns then standing are yet erect. Even in Magadha, or Behar, it had fallen off, and Budha Gaya was deserted, although some monasteries remained where Budhist books were preserved. We may infer from the rapidity of Fa Hian's journey eastward, that the faith of Budha was in no very prosperous condition along the Ganges until we come to Tamalipti; there we find both Budhism and commerce flourishing, although neither has left, as far as we yet know, the slightest traces there of its past existence. In Ceylon, Budhism triumphed, as we should have expected it to do from the tradition and annals of the island, whose veracity is thus most satisfactorily confirmed; and, finally, in Java, where it presently after rose into prosperity, it was unknown.

The political information afforded by Fa Hian's travels is less

particular than the literary and religious; but he confirms the occupation of the country on the northwest of the Indus, and their encroachments on the Panjáb, by the Yu-chi, or Scythians, at a period which even he calls ancient; and he shows that many of the political divisions, of which we have intimations in the Rámáyana, Mahábhárata, Puránas and other works, such as the principalities of Kanya-Kubja, Srávasti, Kosala, Vaisáli, Magadha, Champa, Tamralipti, were then in existence, thus bearing unquestionable testimony to the authority of the accounts which we have of them, and to their being antecedent to the fourth century at the latest, giving us in future that date as a fixed point from which to reckon in all discussions respecting the antiquity of the language, the literature, and the history of the Hindús.

ART. III. *Illustrations of men and things in China; mode of burning lime; passion for autographs; a beggar.* From a private note-book.

Mode of burning lime. In this part of the country, lime is obtained from the animal kingdom, and fossil shells furnish almost the whole of that which is used. It would appear that the Chinese do not know that there is lime in limestone; in those regions where that rock occurs, the people may burn it for lime, but if so I have never heard the fact stated. The shells are dredged by boats occupied solely in this business, and the number of boats thus employed, (safely estimated by hundreds,) and the many years they have been engaged, indicate that there are immense beds of these fossils in the shallows of the delta of the Pearl river. The traveler, as he passes up the Inner Passage from Macao, can hardly avoid observing numerous boats anchored not far from the shore, filled with men, women, and children, who are industriously dredging with scoops attached to long poles; and in the hold of the boat he will see shells covered with a blue marly mud. The Chinese say that they are thus procured almost everywhere in the shallows between the Bogue and Macao, and they probably would be found elsewhere, if the people possessed means to get them up from the deep water.

The mode of calcination is a good instance of the economy of this people. A circular piece of ground is marked out, ten feet or more

in diameter, and inclosed by a stone wall three feet high. In the middle, which is lower than the sides, a fire-place is built, connected with the outside by a draft which is under ground; a fly-wheel is hung at the outside just at the mouth of the pipe, to answer instead of a bellows, and so contrived with a trendle that a man can keep up a constant blast with his feet. Such is the kiln. The fire-wood, being placed like a pyramid over the central fire-place, is kindled, and clean dry shells laid on it; as it burns, the fire catches the wood placed around the sides of the kiln, upon which shells are the while being loosely laid. A man paddles hard at the fly-wheel to keep the fire up, and the others pile on the shells, until the kiln is heaped full. The blast is kept up until the whole mass is fully ignited, and the shells perfectly calcined, which requires about eleven hours. To complete the economical part of the operation, a part which indeed could hardly occur anywhere but in China, one must see the triple row of pots and kettles cooking by the heat of the kiln. The whole neighborhood improve the occasion, (after the fire has gone down, and the shells converted into a mass of glowing embers,) to bring their pots of rice and kettles of water to cook and boil them in the ashes. The merriment of the barefooted youngsters, whom their grandams have left to watch the dinner, hopping around the hot kiln, or the old women hobbling up to the fire, on their substitutes for feet, present a very characteristic Chinese scene. By the next morning, the kiln has become cooled, and the lime is emptied into baskets, amounting to seventy or more peculs, burned by about ten peculs of coal and wood. It is afterwards pounded and sifted for sale.

Passion for autographs. Observing that many copies of the edicts promulgated under the seals of the 'high imperial commissioner, and great minister,' as our worthy governor Lin's grandiloquent title used to run, had the stamp of his seal cut out soon after they were pasted up in the streets, I learned on inquiry that they had been thus taken out by curious collectors of seals and autographs. The seals of the governor and fooyuen were also in some instances cut out; their dimensions were about 3 *in.* long by 2½ *in.* broad. The passion for collecting the autographs of distinguished men is very common among the Chinese. Those who are desirous to procure a good one will provide a pair of scrolls of fancy paper, and request the person to write an elegant quotation or antithetical couplet, which being signed and sealed in a corner of the paper, are hung up in the hall of the house. To the writers of autographs of this sort, I have known ten dollars to have been paid in money and presents, and have heard of

one hundred dollars being paid to a Hanlin for a single scroll. Fans are, however, the most common mode of preserving these souvenirs; the person wishing the autograph buys a plain fan, and when written, signed, and sealed, he lays it up among his curiosities.

A beggar. Who, that has lived in Macao within the last ten years, does not remember the old blind beggar, who used to stand under the bamboos, by the wayside leading across the Campo to Cassilha's bay? It was his habit to take his station there about the time that foreigners walked abroad in the afternoon, but during the morning he was usually seen in the street near the Portuguese custom-house. The old man was easily recognized wherever he was met; and once seen was not soon forgotten. He was, in truth, a patriarch of mendicants; a beggar in every particular. His clapdish and rod, his broad umbrella-like hat, and his rags, were the 'graceful insignia' of his profession, integral parts of his character. And then, who could behold his imploring countenance,—it was one of conscious beggary,—his flowing gray beard, his bald head (not a shaven one), his furrowed face, begrimed by poverty and sorrow, and last of all his eyeless sockets, looking upwards as if supplicating compassion from every eye that could see them,—who could behold all these, and not pity the poor old man? His stooping gait and insecure step, as if a grasshopper would be a burden, watching every intimation of the nature of the path by the rap of his rod, were also in perfect keeping with his face and his dress, so that altogether, no one could harmonize better with all one's ideas of a beggar than did this old man.

He told me (for I used often to stop and talk with him) he had stood by that same stone post for sixteen years, there asking an alms; sometimes his luck was good, and sometimes for days and days, he said he could get nothing. He was once a stone-cutter, and lost his sight from a splinter; and trouble coming upon him about the same time in his family, his wife and children dying, he was reduced (no great descent for a poor Chinese) to beggary. He had only one little granddaughter, who took care of him as well as she could, and I remember once seeing her hand him his bowl of rice with much kindness. What led me to mention him at this time, is, that after so many years of penury and sorrow, he has at last gone down to the grave, like thousands and millions of his mendicant countrymen probably unpitied and unwept by every one, except, in this instance perhaps, by his little granddaughter.

Art. IV. *Notices of Japan, No. II. Nagasaki and its environs; visits of the Dutch thither; periodical journey to Yedo.*

It has been said, that the Dutch cannot pass either of the gates of Dezima without the express permission of the governor. This permission is, indeed, seldom, if ever, refused, but it is clogged with conditions that prevent its being indiscreetly solicited. When any member of the factory wishes to obtain a little recreation or relief from the monotony of his seclusion at Dezima, he causes a petition, soliciting liberty to take a walk in Nagasaki and its environs, to be presented, four-and-twenty hours beforehand, to the governor, through the intervention of the proper interpreter. Leave is granted, provided the captive be accompanied by *banyoos* as also by the *comprador*, whose business it is, upon the occasion, to defray whatever expenses or purchases the indulged foreigner may incur during the trip of pleasure. All these individuals are again attended by their several domestics, until the followers amount to twenty-five or thirty persons.

So cumbersome a train might seem in itself a sufficient drawback on the enjoyment of a ramble, especially when it is added, that all the boys within reach assemble and pursue the party wherever they go, incessantly shouting, *Holanda! Holanda!* or *Horanda! Horanda!* which appears to be the more usual pronunciation of the Japanese. But even so, the train is far from its complement. Every official attendant holds himself entitled to invite as many of his friends as he pleases to join the party, the whole of which the temporarily liberated Dutchman is bound to entertain. Nor can the heavy expense, thus rendered inseparable from every excursion, be lightened by partnership; as, in case of two members of the factory obtaining a joint permission for a stroll, the number of attendants is doubled.

The usual objects of these excursions are to explore the neighboring country, to banquet in a temple, to ramble through the streets of Nagasaki, or to visit its tea-houses. Each of these demands a few words, and it may be best to begin with the town itself, through which, whatever be the excursion designed, the rambler must pass. Nagasaki spreads up the side of a hill: like every Japanese town, it is regularly built, and, as every house has its garden, large or small, offers a pleasing *coup d' œil*. The houses are low, none containing more than one good story, to which is added in some a sort of cockloft, in others a low basement. The height of the street-front, and even the number of windows, are determined by law. All are constructed of wood, and a mixture of clay and chopped straw; but the walls are coated with a cement, that gives them the appearance of stone. In the windows, very fine and strong paper, unoiled, and protected from bad weather by external wooden shutters, supplies the place of glass. The windows to the street are further provided with Venetian blinds, and every house is encircled by a verandah, into which all the rooms open.

The front of the better class of houses is occupied by a large portico and entrance, where the sedans, umbrellas, and sandals of visitors are left, where servants and persons on business wait, &c.; and which is connected with all the domestic offices. The back of the house is the part inhabited by the family, and it projects into the garden triangularly, for the benefit of more light and cheerfulness. These gardens, however diminutive, are always laid out in the landscape-

garden style, with rocks, mountains, lakes, waterfalls, and trees, and uniformly contain a family chapel, or oratory. Absurd as these would be pleasure-grounds may seem, when confined in extent, as must be the garden even of a wealthy house-holder in the heart of a city, this intermixture of verdure, nevertheless, contributes greatly to the airiness and gay aspect of the town itself. And we are told that the very smallest habitations possess similar gardens, yet more in miniature, sometimes consisting of what may be called the mere corners cut off from the triangular back of the house, with the trees in flower-pots.*

But the most remarkable part of Japanese houses is the provision against fire. To each belongs a detached store-room, or warehouse, such as those which Siebold mistook at a distance for the mansions of nobility. In these, tradesmen keep their stock of goods, and private families their most valuable effects, as pictures, books, collections of rarities, &c. These store-rooms are built of the same materials as the houses; but the whole woodwork, doors and roof included, is covered with a coating of clay a foot thick; the apertures for windows are closed with copper shutters; and for further security, a large vessel of liquid mud is always at hand, with which to smear over every part of the building in case of danger; that is to say, in case one of the conflagrations for ever occurring amidst such combustible houses should break out in the neighborhood, or the wind drive the sparks and flames of a distant fire in a menacing direction. These fire-proof store-rooms answer their purpose so well, that president Doeff, in describing a conflagration, which spread so near to the bridge between Nagasaki and Dezima, that the governor allowed the scared inhabitants general egress by the water-gate, and which consumed eleven whole streets of Nagasaki, partially destroying others, explicitly states that not one of the store-rooms was injured. Neither did Dezima suffer; the flames having at length, been extinguished, before they crossed the bridge. But to return to the excursion of the Dutchmen.†

* [So far as our information extends, derived both from drawings as well as from natives, we are led to believe that the Japanese usually follow their own inclinations in building their houses, making them of such shapes and dimensions as will best suit the purposes for which they design them. In markets and public thoroughfares, where the space is valuable, the shops are built close to each other, without any gardens either in the rear or on the side. The blocks of buildings in towns are often constructed somewhat in the manner of a hollow square, the interior open space being occupied with trees, flowers, gardens, &c., belonging to some one or more of the houses in the block, and forming, not only a refreshing variety, but an inlet for the entrance of light and air into the back part of every dwelling. The part of the house opening into the central area is not always triangular, nor any other uniform shape.]

† [There are two kinds of these storehouses; the *kura*, or common storehouse, and the *dozoō* or *ana-gura*, an ancient kind of mattamore or souterain, that is at present, it would appear, disused. The *kura* vary in their size and uses; grain, money, books, clothes, &c., being usually stored in different buildings. The walls are much thicker than those of dwelling-houses; large joists form the framework, then bricks, stone, and lastly, a mixture of lime and clay, are used to fill in and complete the walls. The roof is tiled; and the interior divided into an upper and lower story by a floor. A bucket of liquid bean-curd, or of mud, is always kept just within the door to smear over the part most endangered by the fire. Although they do not often catch fire, the contents are sometimes destroyed, or very much injured, by the surrounding heat igniting the woodwork inside. The *kura* are not built as high as dwelling-houses, and the few apertures in their thick walls for windows or doors are not so large as to weaken them; consequently, earthquakes do much less injury to them than might other-

When the town is passed, the promenader comes upon exquisitely beautiful scenery, commanding, from innumerable different points, the most enchanting views over hill and dale, land and sea. Nay, so bewitching are the various prospects which successively greet the eye in the course of every ramble said to be, that the spectator, we are assured, entranced in their contemplation, entirely forgets every drawback upon their enjoyment. And this is an indulgence that the Japanese are the more prompt to grant their guests, because they themselves fully sympathize in its delights, being passionate lovers of beautiful country and fine prospects.

A striking and somewhat peculiar mark of this prevalent taste is, that the most lovely sites are invariably selected for the temples. Of these temples, there are sixty-one within a short distance from Nagasaki, built as plainly and as destitute of ornament as the houses; and like them, encircled by a verandah, and often having many smaller temples, like chapels, surrounding the principal edifice. The whole, or the large temple, is called by Siebold, a *yasiro;* the smaller chapel-temples, *miya*. Every *yasiro* stands upon a hill, commands a fine view, and is enclosed in a garden. These gardens are the habitual resort of parties of pleasure, whether Japanese or Dutch; and, for the further enjoyment of their picturesque attractions, to almost all temples are attached large rooms, unconnected, apparently, with the service of the divinity there worshiped. In these apartments, in places destitute of inns, travelers are accommodated, and the priests usually let them out as banqueting-rooms; nay, even as the theatre of such orgies as seem most desecrating to any edifice connected, however remotely, with purposes of religion.*

When a member of the factory indulges in excursion, the whole party collected by his official companions must be feasted at his expense at one of these temples. He himself, however, is not always required to do the honors of his banquet, which thus affords a short interval of comparative liberty. Whilst the police-officers are reveling with their friends on the good things the foreigner in their custody has provided for them, they are content to connive at his *naïbon* transgression of the rigid laws of seclusion and separation. Thus, at such an opportunity, and only such, can a member of the factory ramble about with a single

wise be expected. The treasure storehouses are made stronger, and guarded more carefully, than those containing grain or goods. We are told that one mode of safeguard among others is to build an external wall a little distance from the main one, or else to make the wall hollow, and fill the cavity with sand; the thief, when he has made a hole in the wall, finds it constantly obstructed by the falling sand.]

* [The word *miya* is applied to the chapels and temples of the *Sintoo* or *Shiyanin;* a *tera* is a Budhist temple. The premises of a *miya* are called *yasiro;* those of a *tera* are termed *tera-yasiki*. We think Siebold must have intended, by this term, the premises surrounding the temple, rather than the dwelling itself, from inquiries made of one who has often, he says, accompanied the liberated Dutchmen in their excursions. He states that the tea-houses, or *cha-ya*, often adjoin the *yasiro*, but are not within them. Our informants add, that except on festival days, the temples are not usually let out for feasting; travelers are, however, sometimes accommodated in them, and especially traveling priests. The priests of Sintoo are married, and do not live in their *miya*, nor do the Budhist priests always reside in their temples. From all that we can ascertain, we suspect that the instances of the temples of either sect being used as "theatres of desecrating orgies" are very rare, and form exceptions to the usual regulations.]

interpreter, enter the shops, and make purchases at his own pleasure. Upon other occasions, the resort of the Dutchman and his whole party is to a tea-house—a licensed place of entertainment for drinking and music. But these are not the only purposes of the tea-houses; and here it again becomes necessary to advert to a subject which it is revolting to every correct feeling, and almost a violation of self-respect, even to allude to; but some points of which are so extraordinary, so completely peculiar to the Japanese, that to pass them over in silence would be to omit one striking feature of this very singular nation.

The proprietors of these tea-houses are further licensed to purchase female infants of indigent parents for purposes of infamy. These girls act during their childhood as the servants of the full-grown inmates, but are, at the same time, educated with the utmost care; they are not only rendered skilful in every accomplishment that can enhance the effect of their personal charms, but their minds are sedulously cultivated, and enriched with all the stores of knowledge that can make their conversation attractive and agreeable. Thus, the whole body of these victims of the vices of others bear considerable resemblance to the few celebrated individuals amongst the courtesans of ancient Greece; and the resemblance holds good in another point, the consequence of the first. As we are told that Athenian husbands took their wives into the society of the notorious Aspasia, to share in the instruction they themselves derived from her; so in Japan do husbands invite their wives to join their party to the tea-houses, there to partake of the amusement afforded by the music, singing, and conversation of their accomplished, but unfortunate and dishonored, sisters.

But the most extraordinary part of the whole is, the position in the moral scale assigned to these degraded women by the Japanese, who are, in the general relations of life, to the full as tenacious of female purity as the nations by whom wives and daughters are kept under lock and key. Whilst their worthless purchasers, those shameless speculators in human depravity, the tea-house proprietors, are universally despised as the very scum of the earth, far more lenient is the appreciation of the purchased thralls, who may, indeed, be held guiltless of their own pollution, being destined to a temporary career of sin without their own concurrence: a temporay career only, however, inasmuch as these girls are purchased for a term of years, and may be considered rather as apprentices than slaves for life. When the period for which they are bound to their disgraceful trade expires, they may return to their families, and are received into society in any station of which they show themselves worthy. Many enter the order, as it may be called, of Mendicant Nuns; but numbers are said to find husbands, and to emulate all the good qualities of the most immaculate Japanese wives and mothers. But whatever be the new condition of these ex-courtesans, it is solely by their conduct in the character of their choice that they are thenceforward judged, without any reference to their past, compelled occupation. The number of tea-houses appears to be beyond all conception. The Dutch writers state that at Nagasaki, a town with a population of from sixty to seventy thousand souls, there are no less than 750; and that, upon the road to Yedo, the inns, almost invariably, either are houses of this description, or have such attached to them. It is from these houses that the Dutch factory procures its female servants or companions.

But to dismiss this painful topic, and return to the rambles of the Dutch. Their walk, and the amusements abovementioned, must terminate with the day,

and sunset find them again in Dezima; a necessity from which no indulgence seems ever to exempt them; and, indeed, it may be concluded, from the various statements respecting ingress, that the gates of the island are never, upon any occasion, opened during the hours of the night, *i. e.* between sunset and sunrise. An especial petition must be presented if a Dutchman wishes to visit a Japanese acquaintance, or is invited by any inhabitant of Nagasaki to partake of his hospitality, the ordinary permission to take a walk not sanctioning the foreigner's setting his foot in a private house. A similar form is necessary when the object is to witness any particular show or ceremony; and such petitions appear to be almost always granted, although upon one occasion a secret, or, according to the established Japanese practice, *naibon*, view is spoken of.

Of the public sights that diversify the few amusements of the factory, the various and numerous religious festivals seem to be the principal; and of these the festival of the god Suwa, the patron *kami*, or deity of Nagasaki, seems the most remarkable. This local festival, which is the more brilliant from chancing to coincide in point of time with one of the annual religious festivals common to the whole realm, is of some days' duration, and begins, as might be expected, by devotional rites in the temple dedicated to Suwa. This temple, which is decorated with flags for the occasion, every body visits in the dress of ceremony, prays, and makes the usual offering, greater or smaller, according to their means and rank, but always including a cup of *sake*. The public solemnity consists in placing the image of the god, together with the most precious ornaments of the temple—of which, costly arms form an important part—in a shrine, magnificently gilt and lackered; which is then borne by servants of the temple in procession through the town, attended by the chief priests in palanquins or on horseback, and by a body of horsemen, deputed by the governor to honor the ceremony. Shrine, image, and treasures, are finally deposited in a straw hut, erected for the occasion in a large square, or clear space in the city; and here they remain as a public exhibition, the hut being open in front, although partially encircled with screens: and with this concludes, it would seem, the religious part of the festival. Sports and scenic representations follow, the expense of which is defrayed in different years by the different streets and districts, or what we should call the wards, of the town. The rivalry of these different districts is most keen, with regard both to the costliness and splendor of the shows, and to the diligence and skill with which the children of the inhabitants, from seven to fourteen years of age, are trained to perform parts in the spectacle. Every district appears to send forth a train, or shall we say lay procession, of its own, to which every street contributes two or three juvenile, though practiced, performers; and the course and performances of these several trains are thus described by an eye-witness, Fischer:

"First goes a monstrous, shapeless bulk of linen, fastened to a hoop, from which it hangs down to the ground. Of the man who carries it upon a bamboo, nothing can be seen but his feet, and mighty is the load he bears; first, in the magnitude of the embroidered cloth itself, comprising not less than twelve ells; and further, in the ornaments that decorate the upper part of this grand pageant. For these ornaments, emblematic objects are selected, such as birds or beasts that are especially esteemed, some renowned man or celebrated woman, a forest covered with snow, the instruments of some trade, or something that alludes to the prosperity of the country, or even of the single street, on that recalls the fame or the

simplicity of the early Japanese. Next follow the musicians in great numbers, playing upon drums, cymbals, and flutes, strangely attired, headed by their *ottona*, the chief local municipal officer, and accompanied by a number of servants belonging to the street. Then appears a train of children, representing some expedition of one of their *mikado*, or demi-gods. This part of the show really merits admiration; clad and armed in the correct costume of the time, the leaders proceed in the utmost state, followed by the representatives of the whole court, male and female, displaying all the pomp and luxury of a Japanese court and surpassing every conceivable idea of dainty nicety. Each of the trains is attended by a number of small palanquins and servants, to take up any of the children who may be fatigued. After these comes a company of actors: in an instant, two or three benches of equal size are placed side by side; upon them, a few screens and decorations; and, to the sound of *samishen* (a sort of three stringed guitars), drums, and other musical instruments, the actors perform their play, which does not occupy more than a quarter of an hour, but is represented with great spirit and freedom, as well in language as in gesture and feeling. When this is over, a crowd of musicians, palanquins, servants and family connections of the children, follow, who close this train, and, moving forward, make way for the next.

"The first representation takes place before the already-mentioned straw hut, in honor of the god Suwa, and all round the square sit a crowd of spectators, amongst whom especial and separate scaffoldings are assigned to the members of government and the Hollanders, in order that they may assist at this festival. The representations take place at several appointed parts of the town; and the eleven or twelve trains always follow each other so regularly, that nothing like disorder occurs, notwithstanding the immense multitudes of people who attend this festival.

"When the first train presents itself, at seven o'clock in the morning, it is usually noon before the last performs (at the straw hut, apparently); and until a late hour in the evening, these same trains are met in different quarters of the town, so that it may be supposed that the strength and powers of the children are severely tried. The festival lasts many days, but the 9th and 11th of the month (*i. e.* the first and third of the festival) are the most solemn, putting a stop to all business. The poorest artisan then appears as a gentleman, clad in his dress of ceremony; and all the houses are adorned, internally with carpets and screens, externally with hangings and awnings, under which friends entertain each other, making merry all day long, with eating, drinking, and music. Every street has to contribute to this expensive festival once in about five or six years, and it is inconceivable how the great waste is supported, as only a few trifling articles are ever used a second time, whilst everything for dress and decorations is purchased new, and of the best materials. Thus was this religious solemnity, like every other in Japan, celebrated with universal demonstrations of joy, yet with such unanimity, mutual forbearance, delight, and order, that one may well agree with the Japanese as to the impossibility of honoring or serving the gods more agreeably; and I may add, that so many and such various peculiarities belong to this *matsuri* [or municipal] festival, as render a detailed and accurate description incompatible with the designed conciseness of this work."

This, if it be the principal religious festival at Nagasaki, is by no means the only one calculated to relieve the tedium of life at Dezima. There are many

others, and some whimsical in form and character; and of one of the exhibitions, it is hard to say whether it seems meant as a religious ceremony, or merely as an amusement. The former notion is, however, the most probable, from the circumstance of its being an annual festival, held throughout the empire, in the same style as it is witnessed by the Dutch at Nagasaki. President Meylan says:

"I know not whether it be to do the devil honor or to jeer at him, that the Japanese, in their eighth month, take pleasure in contemplating a grotesque dance, performed in the streets by persons attired as demons, and duly horned and vizarded. They have, besides, a drum hung about them, or are armed with a stick, with which, beating the drum, they make a prodigious noise, and mark the measure for their dance; but what most deserves mention is, that their dresses are of various colors,—to wit, black, white, red, and green. It is well known that white men represent the devil as black, while the negroes make theirs white; but red and green devils are, I believe, wholly and solely Japanese. I long sought their reasons for these colors, and at length obtained the following explanation. Amongst the unlucky theological disputes that disturb all lands, one arose in Japan concerning the color of the devil; one party affirming it to be black, a second white, a third red, and finally, a fourth declared that the fiendish hue was green. This difference of opinion seemed likely to produce a civil war, when the judicious idea was started of submitting the question to the spiritual emperor. The Son of Heaven, after a short deliberation, prevented the threatening evil, by declaring all parties to be in the right, and sanctioning the belief in devils indiscriminately black, white, red, and green. Since that time, the Japanese devils have adopted the four colors; and thus tinted, dance once a year up and down the streets, to the great delight of the curious spectators, who, whilst they look on, no longer dream of menacing disputes."

Of the other religious festivals, it may suffice to say that, besides others, in every month there are two, somewhat analagous to our Sunday; that the grandest annual festival is new-year's day, preceded by the imperative payment of every debt on new-year's eve; that the prettiest is one in which lighted lanterns are launched at night upon the bay, to ascertain, by their fate, the destiny of the souls of deceased relatives and friends; the queerest one, in which men, holding high official situations, and of advanced years, busy themselves in flying kites, the strings of which are covered with broken glass, and wherein great interest is attached to the cutting the string of a rival's kite; and the most absurd, one in which the foul fiend is simultaneously expelled from every house, by dint of pelting him with broiled peas, according to Meylan; with stones, according to Fischer.

It has been stated, that the Nagasaki shows can sometimes be seen only underhand by the strangers of the factory. Of the show which we are told was thus beheld, it is not easy to say whether it were civil or military. It was called a hunting procession of the governor's, but Fischer considers it rather as a sort of review; and if his excellency were indeed, only bent on the chace, his equipage might well be termed a hunting procession, or a state hunting, either of which versions the Dutch expression will bear. And either as a hunting party or a military evolution, it is so original as well in its composition as in the sort of mystery purposely attached to it, and in both so characteristic of Japan, as to be worth extracting, notwithstanding the inevitable dryness of a processional *programme*. He says:

"We were permitted privately to see the train pass through Nagasaki. Such expeditions take place from time to time at Yedo, and probably at other towns of the empire, as well as at Nagasaki. They are called state-huntings, but I have grounds for rather calling them military inspections, inasmuch as the whole train were in warlike equipment, and besides the weapons used in the chace, a number of men had heavy guns, likewise badges of distinction, as though they were taking the field. It was an awe-inspiring scene; every one sympathized therein even whilst satisfying his curiosity, but the majority gazed in silent respect, by which means the march proceeded with the utmost order. The streets and roads were neatly swept; scarcely any one was seen in the street, and every body lurked peeping behind the blinds, or the flags and hangings that decorated the houses. When the approach of the procession was announced, a general earnest charge was given to refrain from laughter, and from any demonstration that could create disturbance, or betray a want of respect. First, walked four men with brooms, such as always precede the retinue of a great lord, in order to admonish the people with cries of '*Staye! staye!*' which means, 'Sit, or bow you down.' Their brooms are to clear away loose stones, or anything else that might obstruct the march. The van was led by eight huntsmen, with matchlocks and lighted matches, all wearing flat lackered hats, a short upper garment of green calico, with a coat-of-arms on the breast, and a sash of brownish ribbon, wide trowsers, sandals bound to the feet, and a single short sword; a *gobanyosi*, being one of the governor's council or clerks, dressed like the preceding, only in silk, and having two swords. He is followed by three servants in succession, carrying, the first a pike, the second two chests of clothes, the third two baskets of rain-proof cloaks; three servants, each wearing two swords; five under police-officers, with two swords each; nine *ottona*, or municipal superintendents of districts, walking three and three, dressed in silk with flat lackered hats, and each two swords; eighteen of their attendants, in colored linen, with flat straw hats; seventy-two huntsmen, with matchlocks and lighted matches, in couples, not following each other closely, but at intervals of six feet; the bailiff of a neighboring village, towards which the march led, in the usual dress of ceremony; five servants; ten huntsmen, with matchlocks and lighted matches, in green linen upper dresses and brown lackered hats, leading four hounds by white cords; two directors of the imperial rice-granaries, in brown silk upper garments and black lackered hats, each wearing two swords; six servants of theirs, simply armed with swords; the commandant of the town-guard, magnificently attired, sitting on a horse, which two servants led by the bridle (the usual mode of riding in Japan); six huntsmen with metallic blunderbusses; the commandant's son; a man carrying a massive Japanese weapon of about 50 *lbs.* Dutch weight, which the commandant is wont to hurl with a steady hand. I have since had an opportunity of examining this weapon closely, and found this to be no fable; the officer in question attained his present rank in consequence of his extraordinary bodily strength. Then followed ten huntsmen, with blunderbusses of extraordinary size all nicely kept, and carried in stately guise, each by two men; fifteen men with common blunderbusses; twenty-four men with large blunderbusses, followed by twelve servants. A short interval divided these from a banner-bearer, preceding the burgomaster Takasima Sirobe sama, also commissioner of the imperial treasury, on horseback, in an upper robe of gold stuff, and a brown lackered hat, with golden arms, his horse led by two foot soldiers, and followed by ten servants; a man bearing a long pike, its steel

head encased in a beautifully lackered sheath; an embroidered flag; six huntsmen with blunderbusses; the burgomaster Yaksizi Kuizayemon sama, on horseback; two servants; the said burgomaster's son; four huntsmen with beautiful bows and arrows; six servants, armed only with swords; the son of burgomaster Seyemon sama; two huntsmen with bows and arrows; twenty-seven huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches; eight servants with swords; a *gobanyosi*, or privy counselor of the governor; four servants; a pike bearer; a servant with two lackered clothes-chests; a servant with two rain-cloak baskets; thirty huntsmen, all under police-officers, with matchlocks and lighted matches; six personal servants of the governor, each armed with two swords; a flag, embroidered with gold letters on a white ground; ten servants, each bearing a long pike, adorned with a lackered sheath and silk tassels; forty-eight officials and servants, dressed in silk or linen, each having two swords; eight servants with clothes-boxes; four ditto with ditto, of fine basket-work; two cases of armor, square cabinets, with magnificent covers, embroidered in gold, each case carried by two men; two magnificently lackered sword-cases, adorned in the like beautiful style, and each carried by one man; a *chabento*, or tea-equipage, consisting of two cases hanging on the opposite ends of a pole, the one containing fire and a kettle of hot water, the other the remaining requisites for drinking tea at any moment; two men carrying a lackered pail, water-scoop, and halter, all for the governor's horse; a saddle-horse with beautiful trappings, led by two foot soldiers; fourteen servants, each with two swords; eight servants with rain-cloak baskets; six servants, each with clothes-boxes; three servants, each with two swords; the *gokaro*, or governor's secretary, on horseback; four bearers, each with two clothes-chests; four ditto, with two rain-cloak baskets; six servants, each with two swords; four ditto, with long pikes; an ornament with feathers, like the governor's, but less costly (to be presently described); the burgomaster Fizamats Kifye sama, on horseback; two huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches; a pike-bearer; two rain-cloak basket-bearers; the governor's palanquin, carried by two men, six other bearers running on either side, all stout, bold men, dressed in blue linen, each a sword by his side, and a colored fan stuck in his girdle at his back; twenty-seven huntsmen with bows and arrows; a *gobanyosi*, or clerk of the governor; five servants, each with two swords; a pike-bearer; a clothes-chest bearer; a rain-cloak basket bearer; ten huntsmen, armed; three ditto, with blunderbusses; three ditto, with hunting horns; one ditto, with a great drum, beautifully lackered, gilt, and adorned with silk tassels; a civil officer with two swords; a *gobanyosi*, as before; five servants with swords; a pike bearer, a clothes-chest bearer, as before; two rain-cloak basket bearers; an ornament, or mark of distinction, shaped like a broom, with beautiful feathers, and a flag of white cloth, embroidered with gold cyphers, attached to it; two long pikes, with sheaths of embroidered red cloth, hung with silk tassels; a state bow, in a yellow silk case; two long pikes, magnificently adorned, like the preceding; a banner with gold letters on a red ground; a *gobanyosi*, or cabinet secretary to the governor. An interval of some paces, then the governor of Nagasaki, Mamya Chikuzen no cami sama, riding a splendidly caparisoned horse, with two foot soldiers on either side: he was magnificently dressed in a garment of gold and silver cloth, on his head a lackered helmet that glittered with silver edges, and a coat-of-arms in gold: he wore two swords, and his staff of office stuck in his girdle at his back: his deportment, like that of his whole retinue, was grave and haughty, and, above all, so profound a stillness

now prevailed, that one might rather have supposed ones-self in an uninhabited street, than in a place where so many thousands of spectators were congregated; the governor's banner, with gold letters embroidered on a blue ground; five pike-bearers; eleven servants, each wearing two swords; fourteen huntsmen with matchlocks and lighted matches; the treasurer, Takaki Sakyemon, on horseback, and expensively attired; two servants next the horse; the treasurer's son on horseback; twelve servants, each with two swords; a considerable train of servants, carrying clothes-chests and other necessaries, all in regular order. And this is the train of a governor of Nagasaki, who, although invested there with supreme authority, at Yedo, at the emperor's court, hardly enjoys the honor of carrying his majesty's slippers."

These various shows seem pretty nearly to exhaust all that can be said of the recreations permitted to the Dezima Dutch at Nagasaki, unless the earthquakes and volcanic eruptions, that occasionally vary the monotony of their existence, be reckoned as such.* The former, indeed, though general and frequent throughout the empire, and causing quite sufficient damage in both town and island—as, for instance, in the year 1825 when Dezima suffered materially—seldom appear to engage the thoughts of the Europeans, if they are not combined with volcanic eruptions. They afford, nevertheless, the grounds alleged for the restrictions imposed upon the architectural taste of the Japanese, with respect to both the height and solidity of their buildings. Volcanic eruptions—and the formation of the islands is generally volcanic; the number of volcanos, extinct or active, considerable—appear to be, in their estimation, more important. So recently as the year 1792, a new volcano manifested its formidable character in the island of Kiusiu. The first eruption, or rather series of eruptions and earthquakes, of this mountain, named the Unzen, spread terror and desolation around; and, according to the description given of its terrific display of volcanic nature, by Siebold, might well fill every bosom with dread.

"At five o'clock in the afternoon of the 18th of the first month, the summit of the Unzen suddenly sank, and smoke and vapor burst forth. On the 6th of the following month, an eruption occurred in the Biwa no Kubi mountain, situate on its eastern declivity, not far from the summit. On the 2d of the third month, a violent earthquake, felt all over Kiusiu, so shook Simabara, that no one could

* [We add here a few particulars concerning the Chinese factory at Nagasaki. The Chinese are allowed much more liberty than the Dutch, walking through the streets of the town at their own convenience, and as individuals carrying on a petty trade in some articles. They are under the control of four Chinese *capitans* or headmen, who also manage the trade of the junks as they arrive. The trade with the Chinese is, like that of the Dutch, an imperial perquisite. The usual number of Chinese residents is about one hundred, who all reside within the walls of their inclosure, which is commonly called *To jin yasiki*, or the premises of the Chinese. M. Titsingh has given a plan of the place copied from a Japanese drawing. It is divided by narrow streets into twelve blocks of buildings, and may contain in all 150 houses; about 75 of which are storehouses. The number of junks is about seven, which make two voyages annually, bringing medicines, broadcloths, and other woolen fabrics, and other articles, and carrying away biche-de-mer, copper, hackered-ware, &c. Interpreters, custom-house officers, door-keepers, &c., are similarly appointed by the governor to the Chinese factory, as they are to the Dutch, but much less oversight is exercised over the everyday movements of the former; we are told that Chinese beggars are met with in the streets of Nagasaki. The Chinese perform no journey to Yedo, nor is the time of the departure of their junks fixed by law.]

keep his feet. Terror and confusion reigned. Shock followed shock, and the volcano incessantly vomited stones, ashes, and lava, that desolated the country for miles around. At noon on the 1st of the fourth month, another earthquake occurred, followed by reiterated shocks more and more violent. Houses were overthrown, and enormous masses of rock, rolling down from the mountain, crushed whatever lay in their way. When all seemed quiet and the danger was believed to be over, sounds, like the roar of artillery, were heard in the air and underground, followed by a sudden eruption of the Miyoken yama, on the northern slope of the Unzen dake. A large part of this mountain was thrown up into the air, immense masses of rock fell into the sea, and boiling water, bursting through the crevices of the exploded mountain, poured down, overflowing the low shore. The meeting of the two waters produced a phenomenon that increased the general terror. The whirling eddies formed water-spouts, that annihilated all they passed over. The devastation wrought in the peninsula of Simabara, and the opposite coast of Figo, by these united earthquakes and eruptions of the Unzen dake, with its collateral craters, is said to be indescribable. In the town of Simabara, every building was thrown down except the castle, of which the cyclopean walls, formed of colossal blocks of stone, defied the general destruction. The coast of Figo was so altered by the ravages, as to be no longer recognizable. Fifty-three thousand human beings are said to have perished on this occasion."

This formidable mountain is apparently within two days' journey of Dezima and Nagasaki, though nothing is said of material ravages wrought there at the time in question; and it must be supposed to have remained since the year 1792 in a state of moderate action, if not of complete quiescence, or some of the Dutch residents would assuredly have spoken of the alarm excited by its terrors.*

Journey to Yedo.

To offer homage and presents, or tribute, annually to the *siogoun*, or military chief of the empire, at Yedo, his habitual residence and the actual seat of government, is, if not the highest duty of every prince, dignitary, and noble throughout the Japanese realm, certainly an act, the neglect of which would be deemed most unpardonable; and it was as a sort of dignitary—being the governor of his own countrymen resident in Japan—that this duty was imposed upon the head of the Dutch factory, when the charter, permitting them to establish a factory, was first granted. This charter, obtained from the successful usurper, Gongen sama, whilst they were settled at Firado, gave them as before intimated, great privileges, which they afterwards forfeited by their ignorance of Japanese laws and customs. Upon Gongen sama's death, they petitioned his son and successor for a confirma-

* [This volcano is situated in the peninsula of Simabara, in lat. 32° 40′ N., and long. 153° 18′ E., in an easterly direction from Nagasaki, just across a small bay, about twenty-five miles distance; Nagasaki is situated on the southern extremity of one peninsula, and Simabara forms another opposite to it. At present the volcano is quiescent, but the constant emission of smoke shows that its internal fires are rather slumbering than extinct. Hot springs gush out at its foot, and are used by the inhabitants for baths. The *Unzen dake* (雲前) is the name of one peak; the *Biwa no Kubi* or Guitar's Neck, is a mountain contiguous to the Unzen, consisting of three peaks of different elevations; and the *Miyoken yama*, or mountain of Miyoken (name of a deity) is a third summit. Since the great destruction of life by the eruption in 1792, the peninsula has again become peopled, and villages now cover the base of the mountains.]

tion of his father's grant. Such an application was unprecedented in Japan. It was not merely a violation of the respect due to the *siogoun*, but a positive insult, since asking him to confirm his father's act implied the apprehension that he might alter or rescind it: an offense against filial piety and reverence, such as no Japanese son conceives to be even possible. The Dutch were accordingly punished for their distrust. Their petition was not rejected, but the new charter granted them very greatly reduced their privileges.

For upwards of a century, the head of the Dutch factory repaired annually, with a large retinue of Dutch as well as of Japanese, to Yedo, and offered his tribute and his homage at the foot of the throne. But gradually the trade between Japan and Batavia fell off, and these annual journeys were felt burdensome; they were, consequently, rendered less frequent, and since the year 1792 have been limited to every fourth year. But the presents of the Dutch, being esteemed of more value than their homage, were not to be so easily dispensed with; and these are duly transmitted during the three intermediate years by means of the interpreters, at a much less expense. Since the restoration of Java to the Dutch upon the general peace, however, it appears that the trade of the factory has much revived; whereupon *opperhoofd* Blomhoff solicited permission to visit Yedo very alternate year; but his request was rejected by the *siogoun's* government.

The preparations for the Yedo journey are long and formal. When the regular time of departure draws near, the president *(opperhoofd)* makes a communication to the governor of Nagasaki, through the proper official channel, respectfully inquiring whether a visit from him will be acceptable at Yedo. The governor replies that the *opperhoofd's* homage will be accepted, and desires him to provide for the maintenance of order in the factory during his absence. The warehouse-master, as next in rank and authority to the *opperhoofd*, is always the person selected to supply the place of the absent head; and as deputy-manager of the factory, is always presented to the governor by the *opperhoofd* at his audience of leave, prior to his departure.

Originally, the head of the factory was attended to Yedo by twenty of his countrymen; a goodly train which, it is needless to say, can no longer be supplied by a factory reduced to its present scale. The numbers of the retinue have been gradually reduced, probably in proportion with the factory; and, since the journey has been rendered quadrennial instead of annual, the Dutch visitors have been limited to three, namely, the president, his secretary, and his physician.

The numbers of the Japanese who accompany the Dutch are not thus confined. At the head of the whole is a principal police-officer (a *gobanyosi*), with whom rests, in every respect, the whole conduct of the expedition. The purse, however, is not in his hands, but in those of the chief interpreter, who receives a sum of money sufficient to defray the whole expense of the expedition, which sum is, like other factory debts, deducted form the proceeds of the next sale, or rather from that of a lot of goods specifically appropriated to this object, but never producing what is sufficient to cover the expense; the remainder is supplied by the Japanese government—a circumstance that may explain the refusal to admit of more frequent visits to Yedo. Of persons of inferior rank, there are under police-officers, under interpreters, clerks, baggage-masters, superintendents of bearers, &c., in all, about thirty-five persons, all appointed by the governors. Then there are attendants to wait upon all these, Dutch and Japanese; to wit,

three cooks—two for the Dutch, one for the Japanese—two upper-and five under servants, besides thirty-two servants, of whom six are likewise for the Dutch. These last are usually called spies. In addition to these, and the native attendants allotted them, each of the three Dutchmen may, if he pleases, at his own private charge, take a Japanese physician, a private interpreter, and more servants. Accordingly, Dr. Siebold, when, in the year 1826, he accompanied *opperhoofd* colonel Van Sturler to Yedo, added to the train a young native physician, an artist, and six servants, to aid his naturalist researches. A Japanese pupil of the German doctor, not being permitted to attend his instructor in that character, followed him as servant to one of the interpreters. In fact, no restrictions appear to exist respecting the number of Japanese that may, upon this occasion, be engaged and supported by the foreign traders; but the name of every individual must be previously submitted to the governor of Nagasaki's approbation: one object of which arrangement may be, to insure there being a due proportion of spies amongst the servants.

Every sort of convenience and comfort required by the principal travelers during the journey they must take with them, such as linen, bedding, tables and chairs for the Europeans, table service, *batterie de cuisine*, &c., &c. They likewise take some provisions, as wine, cheese, butter, and the like, which, not being in use in Japan, are sent from Batavia to the factory; and also sweetmeats, cakes, and liqueurs, of which an immense stock appears requisite to entertain Japanese visitors. When to these indispensables are added the wardrobe of the whole company, the presents destined as well for the *siogoun* as for the several great men entitled to such a tribute of respect, and the goods carried for underhand trading; and when it is further understood that, the Japanese roads not always admitting of wheel-carriages, carts are not used for the conveyance of all this baggage, but everything is carried by men, or on pack-horses and oxen—some idea may be formed of the immense number of bearers, attendants upon beasts of burden, &c., &c., required for this journey. Part of the baggage is, indeed, sent by sea from Nagasaki to a port of the larger northern island, Nippon, in which are situated the residences of both the autocrat by right divine, the *mikado*, and his vicegerent, the *siogoun;* but when the Dutch deputation likewise lands on Nippon, this portion of the baggage joins the rest, and, upon the subsequent land journey to Yedo, the train often amounts to two hundred persons. Such a retinue sounds abundantly grand and cumbrous to English ears, and may induce the reader to think that the position and dignity of the factory president has been unduly depreciated. Far different is the effect of his traveling-array to Japanese eyes. The trains with which the princes of the empire visit Yedo amount in number to ten thousand men for those of the lowest rank, and twenty thousand for those of the highest; whence he will see that his retinue of two hundred persons does not very extravagantly exalt the mercantile foreigner.

The journey to Yedo is, nevertheless, the occasion upon which the European dignitary enjoys the most honorable distinctions ever conceded to him, and the least liberty—a privation which, in Japan, invariably accompanies honors—and all the writers who describe it concur in asserting that, upon the road, he is treated with the full complement of respect shown to princes. He travels in a *norimono;* but, to enable the English reader to estimate justly this honor, it must be explained that there are in Japan two kinds of palanquins, the one called a

norimono, for the higher, and the other a *kago*, for the lower, ranks; and that these again, especially the *norimono*, are subdivided, and allotted to different classes of dignities, according to the length and shape of the poles, the mode of carrying, the pace and number of the bearers, and the like: the whole being in themselves, in shape and form, something between a palanquin and a sedan-chair; less roomy and commodious than the former—inasmuch as they are too short to admit of the traveler's lying down—but far more so than the latter. The sides are lackered, the windows can be closed with blinds, and the top is in the shape of a house-roof, under the ridge of which the pole appears to be passed.* Now, the *opperhoofd* travels in a *norimono* of the kind confined to very high rank, beside which is borne the tea-equipage already described—an indulgence restricted nearly, if not wholly, to personages sufficiently exalted to be entitled to use a *norimono* of this description. He remains in his *norimono* where all others, princes and imperial governors excepted, are obliged to alight and walk. The *gobanyosi* every morning asks the *opperhoofd's* pleasure as to the halts for dining and sleeping; although these being fixed by invariable custom, the answer is immaterial, and Siebold says, that were any change desired, it must be arranged beforehand at Nagasaki. The three Dutch travelers are lodged in inns of the first class, frequented by princes, governors, and nobles, or, where there are none such at the halting-place, in temples; whilst the Japanese officials, even those most consequential, occupy second-rate inns, except at such large towns as Ohosaka and Miyako, where, probably, for the closer custody of the foreigners, the police-officers are quartered in the same inns with the Dutch. Everywhere the *opperhoofd* is received by his host in full-dress, with the national compliment of welcome; and finally, men, women, and children, upon the road, either perform a salutation closely resembling the Chinese *kotow* in his honor, or turn their back upon him—a somewhat singular Japanese demonstration of reverence, designed to intimate that the person so turning away is unworthy to look upon the person turned from. This last mark of reverence is described by the Swede Thunberg, who adds, that the highest possible expression of respect is first to make the *kotow*, and then to turn the back.

These are asserted to be the identical honors paid to princes; but lest too lofty a conception of the station of a Dutch factory president should be formed from this statement, it becomes necessary to explain, from Siebold, that these honors are paid him, not in that character, nor, as Fischer would fain persuade his readers and himself, as the representative of the Dutch nation, but simply as somebody, however lowly, about to be glorified by admission into the presence of the *siogoun*.

The journey is divided into three portions—to wit, the land-journey across the island of Kiusiu, which occupies about seven days; the sea-voyage, through a sort of archipelago of small islands to Nippon, occupying from four or seven to fourteen days, partly as the wind favors or opposes, partly as the travelers are disposed and suffered to loiter at their nightly island quarters; and the second land-journey, across Nippon to Yedo, occupying twenty-two or twenty-three days of actual traveling, besides those spent at Ohosaka and Miyako. The whole journey from Dezima to Yedo is usually performed in about seven weeks. The itinerary is very circumstantially given by every writer who has been of the party, but can only in a very few of the details be interesting to European readers. The form and ap-

* [Each of these different kinds of sedans have particular names; *norimono* or *kago* are general terms for them, which seem to be indiscriminately used in common parlance. The person carried sits on his feet, in Japanese style.]

pearance of the body of travelers is from its dissimilarity to anything European, one of these points, and is described by Fischer and Siebold, who respectively visited Yedo in 1822 and 1826.

The presents lead the way, duly escorted, and are followed by the baggage. Then, at a proper interval, comes the living procession. A baggage master and superintendent of bearers go first, and are followed by two inferior police-officers, or *banyosi*, in *norimono* of the lowest class (Doeff says in *cago*), but each attended by his servants, and two bearers of clothes-chests. And here it may be stated, to avoid prolixity and repetitions, that every *norimino* and *cago* is accompanied and attended by all the servants belonging to its occupant, and the number of bearers of clothes-chests and rain-cloak baskets appropriate to his rank; a clerk of the interpreters, the vice under-interpreter, and the under-interpreter, in their *cago*, properly attended; the Dutch physician, preceded by his medicine-chest, and borne in a *norimono* of somewhat superior character to those before-mentioned; the secretary in a similar *norimono;* a superintendent of *norimono;* two superintendents of bearers; the Dutch president, with eight bearers, who relieve each other, and whose dresses are adorned with the initials of the United Netherlands' (*i. e.* Dutch) East India Company, V. N. O. C. Servants, interpreters, police-officers, &c., follow.

At all the regular stages throughout Japan, there are, we are told, supplies of bearers to be hired by travelers after the manner of post-horses; but upon the Dutch journey to Yedo, these relays are not used. Bearers are engaged for certain fixed portions of the journey; *e.g.* one set carries the party and the luggage across the island of Kiusiu. They perform their day's-work, which is occasionally of not less than seventeen hours, without any appearance of over-fatigue, take a hot bath upon reaching the sleeping-station, and are ready by daybreak next morning to resume their burdens.

In the days of Kæmpfer, it seems that the governor of Nagasaki was in the habit of visiting or meeting the Dutch president at the moment of his departure, to wish him a prosperous journey. He now contents himself with sending him a message to that effect; but if numbers can compensate for dignity, the want of his personal presence can be but little felt, as every Japanese officially connected with the factory, or acquainted with any of the travelers, meets them at a temple just without Nagasaki, or accompanies them thither, there to drink a farewell cup of *sake* with them.

During the journey through Kiusiu, the whole party are entertained by the respective princes whose dominions they traverse. A detachment of the troops of each prince meets them on his frontiers, compliments the Dutch president in the prince's name, and escorts him across the principality. At Kokura, a seaport of Kiusiu, where they embark, they leave their own palanquins of all descriptions, to await their return. On the voyage, they land every night to sleep; and here again they are entertained at the cost of the serveral princes to whom the islands belong. The wind was unfavorable to Fischer's voyage, in consequence of which he was long detained amongst these small islands, and saw more than usual of the inhabitants, who endeavored to make the time of the Dutch travelers pass as agreeably as the orders of the *gobanyosi* would allow. Indeed, this officer himself, and the chief interpreter, appear to be generally disposed to indulge their charge as far as they can, and to do the honors of their country to them, by showing the lions, as it is familiarly called; and Siebold expresses his conviction, that the dis-

satisfaction and complaints of the Dutch originate, almost invariably in either their ignorance or their economy. As the sum of money received by the interpreter for the journey is calculated precisely to defray it as prescribed by custom, it is evident that any extra expenditure, incurred by a deviation from the road, or by a prolonged stay, where the party is not entertained by a prince, would fall upon himself, if not provided for by the Dutch. That he should voluntarily incur such expense, it would be absurd to expect; but the German physician is satisfied, by his own experience, that, if so provided for and mentioned in time, many indulgences of this kind might be enjoyed. Yedo must, however, be reached by a fixed time, the reason of which will be seen.

The roads are, generally speaking, good, and sufficiently wide for the passage even of such traveling retinues as have been described. It is the frequency of mountains to be crossed, over which the road is led up and down steps, that impedes the progress of wheel-carriages. The roads are commonly bordered by trees. They are constantly swept clean, as much by the diligence of the peasantry in collecting manure, as in honor of distinguished travelers; and the sides are thronged with manufacturers and sellers of straw shoes for horses and oxen [and sandals for travelers; the price of the former is about 12 copper cash each.] This is the only kind of shoe used for these animals, and its rapid consumption affords ample occupation to numbers.

It may be added, that road-books, containing every species of information important to travelers, down to a very minute and accurate table of rates, charges and prices, for bearers, at inns, ferries, &c., abound in Japan.

The sights exhibited to the European travelers on their way to Yedo are usually natural curiosities, hot and mineral springs, with their respective bathing establishments, temples, fine prospects, &c.; the last of which are very commodiously enjoyed, as wherever any point commands a prospect celebrated for its beauty, if there be no temple, a tea-house is almost certain to be found. Interesting and agreeable as all these objects may be to travelers in Japan, a very few of them will, probably, satisfy the European reader.

Nothing in the journey across Kiusiu appears to have impressed Siebold more than his visit to a Budhist temple of the *Ikko-shyu* sect, at Yagami, where the party dined the day they left Nagasaki. It presented a rare instance of a Budhist temple, that may be called exempt from idols, containing only a single image, designed to represent the One only God, Amida. The bonzes of this sect are the only Budhist priests allowed to marry and to eat meat. Siebold considers their faith to be pure deism.

A camphor-tree, mentioned by Kæmpfer, A. D. 1691, as already celebrated for its size, hollow from age, and supposed to measure six fathoms in circumference, though from its standing on a hill it was not then actually measured, was visited by Siebold in 1826. He found it still healthy, and rich in foliage, though 135 years older. He and his pupils measured it, and gives 16.884 metres (about fifty yards) as its circumference, adding, in confirmation of this enormous size, that fifteen men can stand in its inside.

At Tsuka-sake is a celebrated hot-spring, with a bathing establishment for invalids. Colonel Van Sturler and his party were permitted to bathe in the prince of Fizen's own bath, and were much struck by the superlative cleanliness of the whole; as an instance of which, the doctor states that the water although clear as crystal, was made to pass through hair sieves into the bath, to guard against the possible

introduction of an impurity. Whilst speaking of princely establishments, it may be added, that the same party passed a night in a country-palace of the prince of Chikuzen, where his highness' own apartment was assigned to the colonel. This apartment consisted only of an ante-room and a bedchamber, which last, like most others in Japan, became a sitting-room when the bedding was stowed away in a chest for the day—an operation of no great difficulty, said bedding consisting only of a thin matress for each person; except, indeed, a wooden pillow, or rather bolster, upon which a wadded pillow or cushion is laid, which bolster is fashioned into a tiny chest of drawers, the receptacle of small and highly valuable articles. The walls of the prince of Chikuzen's rooms are of cedar-wood, highly polished and colored; the division is made by screens, of gilt paper, in gilt and lackered frames, removable at pleasure. The apartment opens into a garden, containing, as usual, a small *miya*, or chapel. But the chief peculiarities of the apartment were, first, a cleanliness and neatness perfectly luxurious; and next, its great modesty and smallness, considered as destined for the occupation of a reigning prince; but principally, a large closet, much resembling a cage, formed out of a corner of the ante-room, in which the chamberlain in attendance is condemned habitually to pass his hours alone—there, unseen and unobtrusive, waiting and watching for his highness' commands.

But, perhaps, the most important object mentioned by any traveler in Kiusiu is the coal, of which Siebold speaks as in use. At Koyanosi, he saw a coal-fire, which must have been most acceptable, as the journey is always begun in February, when the country, he says, wore its winter garb; and he frequently mentions frost. He visited a coal-mine at Wakumoto, and though not allowed to descend the shaft more than half-way, or about sixty steps, he saw enough to satisfy him that the mine was well and judiciously worked. The upper strata which he saw were only a few inches thick, but he was told the lower beds were of many feet, and he says that the blocks of coal drawn up confirmed the statement. The coal, being bituminous in its nature, appears to be made into coke for use; and, perhaps, independent of this reason, it may thus be more agreeable to people whose more general fuel is charcoal.

The voyage from Kiusiu affords little worth dwelling upon; except, indeed, the measure which, in 1822, when contrary and tempestuous winds so unusually prolonged the passage, the Japanese sailors adopted, in order to obtain favorable weather. These and their result are too national to be omitted. The mariners flung overboard a small barrel of *sake*, and a certain number of copper coins, as a sacrifice to the god Kompira. The money of course sank, and thus it is to be hoped found its intended way to the deity it was destined to propitiate; but the barrel floated, and was picked up by some fishermen. Does the reader suspect the finders of drinking this favorite and readily-intoxicating liquor? He would do them great injustice. They well knew the meaning of the act, and honestly carried the offering to the proper temple.

Upon landing to begin their journey across Nippon, the travelers find palanquins and all other requisites, in lieu of those left at Kokura, and set forward. The first place of any note that they reach is Ohosaka, one of the five great imperial cities, and a chief emporium of internal trade. But although the travelers rest here a day or two, they are not allowed to see anything on their way to Yedo. The numerous visits they receive, especially from physicians and their patients are all paid underhand. Even the presents destined for the governor of Ohosaka cannot

now be offered, but are left in deposit in the town, to be given when the giver, having had his audience of the *siogoun*, shall be authorized to show his liberality. The only lawful use they can make of their sojourn is to order goods to be manufactured for them against their return.

A journey of a day and a half brings the party to Miyako, the nominal capital of the empire, as being the seat of the *dairi*, or court of the autocrat *mikado*. Here, likewise, they are allowed a brief rest, yet are more strictly immured than at Ohosaka, and more numerously visited, for the most part underhand, but openly by the secretaries of some official personages, with compliments of welcome. The presents provided for those grandees at Miyako who are entitled to them are left, as in the former case; a passport is obtained from the grand judge, who resides here as the *siogoun's* representative at the *mikado's* court, and the longest and most arduous portion of the journey begins.

Between Miyako and Yedo, the nobles of the country, with their troops of attendants, are frequently met; and after some days' traveling, occasionally a prince, with his host. The princes avoid passing though Miyako, where every member of the *dairi* is esteemed their superior. The Dutch caravan gives way only to princes; and it is somewhat remarkable that no mention is made of inconvenience of any kind from the collision of such large bodies of travelers, either on the road or at the inns: a consequence, it might be supposed, of much previous arrangement and great uniformity in all their proceedings, did not the casualties of a sea-voyage oppose this idea.

Half-way between the two capitals is a shallow lake, on the western shore of which stands the town of Araye, the station of the great Yedo guard. So important is this post esteemed, that the prince in whose dominions it lies, and whose troops furnish the guard, is almost invariably a member of the Council of State. No one may pass Araye towards Yedo without the grand judge's passport. No woman can pass without the most especial permission; and, therefore, besides the examination of their papers and baggage to guard against contraband goods, travelers are obliged to submit to a personal inquest, lest a woman should be smuggled past in male attire; a crime, the perpetration of which would infallibly cost the lives of the offending woman, her male companions, and the guards whose watchfulness had been thus deceived. Why such watchfulness is exercised upon persons going to Yedo, is, however, nowhere explained; the avowed object of the regulation being to prevent the escape of the wives of princes, governors, and other men high in office, whose families are detained at court as hostages for the fidelity of the husband and father.

When every form has been gone through, a vessel belonging to the prince, but bearing for this occasion the Dutch flag, carries the whole party across the lake. The next day they are ferried over the rapid river Tenriu, the sand of which is full of gold-dust, which, Fischer says, the Japanese do not understand the art of separating from the sand—a strange piece of ignorance in a nation whose skill in metallurgy is highly praised!

But a river which, without gold-dust, is much more renowned in Japan, is the Oye gawa, which they cross the following day. This river has too much of the torrent character to bear a bridge or a ferry-boat. It is accordingly passed by fording; an operation rendered dangerous, as well as difficult, by the unevenness of the bottom, which is thickly strewed with large blocks of stone. Upon the banks are stationed persons, whose business it is to conduct travelers across,

These people are responsible for the safety of man, beast, and baggage; and the number of guides to attend upon each, as well as their remuneration, is fixed by law, according to the depth of the water. The bed of the river is about a quarter of a mile broad, of which, when Fischer crossed, the stream occupied not more than fifty feet, whilst the water reached to a man's breast. It need scarcely be added that, after heavy rains, this river is often unfordable, and travelers are delayed very many days upon its banks. Our party experienced no such inconvenience, but from twelve to sixteen men were required for every *norimono*, and the pedestrians were carried over on the shoulders of the guides. The celebrity of the Oye gawa has been already noticed, and it will be enough to add that this river affords to Japanese painters their favourite landscapes; to their compatriot poets and aphoristic moralists, their favorite metaphors, similes, and illustrations.

In these respects, the river is emulated by the mountain Fusi, the next remarkable object. This mountain (the elevation of which has been estimated, but* without giving any authority for the measure from actual observation, at ten or twelve thousand feet,) is by far the loftiest in Japan, and always crowned with snow; on account of which, and of the high winds reported to prevail on its summit, a pilgrimage to its highest peak—the ascent to which, Thunberg says, occupies three days—is considered a meritorious act of devotion. This pilgrimage is particularly incumbent upon the *yamabosi*, who, although not prohibited marriage, may be regarded as a description of monks. They live a sort of hermit life, devoted to religious exercises and superstitious practices of different kinds. Their daughters are the mendicant nuns, of whom mention has been made.

To return to the mountain. Fusi was formerly an active, and peculiarly dreaded volcano; but so long a period—upwards of a century—has elapsed since its last eruption, that all apprehension of its terrors has subsided, and the rich and lovely adjacent region is enjoyed in security. The mountain itself is described as singularly beautiful, as well as bold in character, and commanding admiration from the first moment that it is fairly seen, at a distance of two days' journey. The road running along its foot affords, during a considerable time, a view of its sublime beauties; and at the village Motoichiba, whence it is seen to peculiar advantage, a peasant hospitably offers the traveler an entertainment, the principal dish of which is a preparation of *sake*, with snow from Fusi, bearing some resemblance to the ice-creams of Europe. The peasant's hospitality is rewarded by the present of a Japanese gold coin, called a *koban*, and worth £1. 6*s*. 6*d*.

Soon after leaving the vicinity of this, often-painted and often-sung, extinct volcano, the Dutch deputation begins the toilsome ascent of another mountain, or mountainous ridge, which must be crossed. It is called Fakone, and is said likewise to offer splendid views of mingled fertility and savage nature. At a spot offering the most admired of these, an establishment is prepared for the reception of traveling grandees, where tea, confectionary, and other dainties, are served up

* Parker's Journal of a Voyage to Japan. [The authority for the estimated height of Mt. Fusi was captain Ingersoll of the ship Morrison; it was but little more than the shrewd guess of an experienced navigator; according to the chart, the ship at the time was about forty miles distance from the mountain. By the same authority, it lies in lat. 34° 50′ N., and long. 139° 05′ E., in the southern part of the peninsular principality of Izu. Its common name is *Fuzi san* (富士山), and without dispute its appearance is, as a Japanese notice of it says, "not at all mean, but very magnificent."]

by beautiful damsels. Upon this mountain, another guard is stationed for the prevention of unlawful ingress and egress into and out of Yedo; and a curious anecdote is told by M. Titsingh in his Annals, of a trick put upon this guard at Fakone, and the combined artifice and violence by which the fearful consequences of that trick were obviated.

"An inhabitant of Yedo, named Fiyozayemon, a widower with two children, a girl and a boy, was called to a distance by business. He was poor; he knew not how to provide for his children during his absence, and resolved to take both with him. Accordingly, he dressed his daughter in boy's clothes, and thus passed the Fakone guard unsuspected. He was rejoicing in his success, when a man, who knew what children he had, joined him, congratulated him on his good luck, and asked for something to drink. The alarmed father offered a trifle; the man demanded a sum beyond his means; a quarrel ensued, and the angry informer ran back to the guard to make known the error that had been committed. The whole guard was thunderstruck. If the informer spoke truth, and the fact were detected, all their lives were forfeited; yet, to send a party to apprehend the offenders, and thus actually betray themselves, was now unavoidable. The commanding officer, however, saw his remedy. He delayed the detachment of reluctant pursuers sufficiently to allow a messenger with a little boy to outstrip them. The messenger found Fiyozayemon and his children refreshing themselves at an inn; he announced the discovery made, and the imminent danger; offered the boy as a temporary substitute for the disguised girl, and told the father that, when the falsehood of the charge should have been proved by both the children appearing to be boys, he might very fairly fly into such a rage as to kill his accuser. The kind offer was, of course, gratefully accepted. The willfully dilatory guard arrived, surrounded the house, seized upon Fiyozayemon and the children, and gladly pronounced that both the latter were boys. The informer, who well knew Fiyozayemon's family, declared that some imposition had been practiced, which the accused indignantly resenting, he drew his sword and struck off the informer's head. The delighted guard exclaimed that such a liar had only met his deserts, and returned to their post; while the father, receiving back his daughter instead of the substituted boy, went his way rejoicing."

On the forty-eighth day from leaving Dezima, the deputation, of which Overmeer Fischer, when secretary of the factory, made one, arrived at Kawasaky, within a short distance of Yedo.

"We more and more plainly perceived," he says, "that we were advancing into the neighborhood of a large town: bustle of all sorts, numerous retinues, the size of the houses of entertainment, even some little diversity in dress and manners, distinctly proclaimed it; and, in the evening, we were surprised by the appearance of Sazyuro, the interpreter, then resident at Yedo, who came with one of his friends to bid us welcome. The landlord of Nagasakkia, as the abiding place of the Hollanders at Yedo is called, likewise visited us here, to pay his compliments. By daybreak of the 27th, all was commotion and hurry, every one busy alike. Attired in our best clothes, we quitted Kawasaky at nine o'clock in the morning, crossed the Rokfugo gawa, and at half-past eleven entered Sinagawa, the western suburb of Yedo, amidst a frightful concourse of people. Here we were necessarily detained for some time, in order to await a number of visits from friends and acquaintances, who came to welcome the chief police-officer and the interpreter, as well as ourselves. At about two o'clock, we again set forward, and

passed the palace of the prince of Satsuma, who, in the year 1818, had visited the *opperhaofd* in person. Our train was preceded and accompanied by soldiers belonging to the town, chiefly for the purpose of preserving order. The streets were so thronged with men, that we could scarcely see anything of the houses; and although our escort very palpably repelled the people, that did not prevent our bearers from being inconveniently crowded. We passed along wide streets, on both sides paved with stone, and, as in other towns, formed by regularly built houses. We saw here very large edifices and shops, the latter protected by awnings. In front of these shops, and of every place where goods were on sale, stood a number of lads, who recommend the goods, emulously clamoring, in order to draw the attention of passers-by. Here, as in England, much is thought of signs and inscriptions over shops, and although there are here no carriages to increase the noise and tumult, I can compare the hurly-burly of Yedo to nothing but that of London.

"Long ere we entered Sinagawa, we were already moving amidst the thronging of an unnumbered multitude, and along wide streets, all of which may be reckoned as part of the town; and, from the suburb to our residence, we were full two hours on our way, proceeding at a steady pace, rather faster than usual. Nagasakkia lies close to the imperial palace, which is situated in the centre of the town, and estimated to occupy an extent of ground measuring half a mile in diameter, from which calculation we must reckon the diameter of the town at five or six hours' moderate walking."

ART. V. *Biographical notice of Tae Tsoo or Hungwoo, emperor of China, and founder of the Ming dynasty; born* A. D. 1327, *died* A. D. 1398. Translated from the French of Rémusat.

SOME embarrassment has been caused in our histories of China by the different names which custom assigns to the same emperor, and a sort of confusion introduced into the writings of European authors by their neglecting to give, on this subject, the necessary explanations. Three emperors, in particular, have obtained considerable celebrity among the western nations under names by which they were never known in China. These are Tae Tsoo, founder of the Ming dynasty, called by Europeans Hungwoo, Shingtsoo, better known as Kanghe, and Kaoutsung or Keënlung,—these last the two greatest emperors of the Tartar dynasty at present occupying the throne. It is well known, that every Chinese, to whatever rank in society he may belong, receives at different times of his life, and even after his death, various names which can by no means be made

use of indifferently, but are employed according to circumstances to designate the same individual. The same rule applies to the emperors as to their subjects, with this difference, that where the emperor is concerned the custom which prescribes the use of one name rather than another is more strictly obeyed, and the infraction of it leads to more serious consequences.

The name borne in its private condition, by a family afterwards raised to the throne, remains common to all the members of this family, but is soon neglected and lost sight of, particularly as regards the emperors themselves. It as usually replaced by some pompous and metaphorical denomination, such as *Heä*, Splendor; *Ming*, Light; *Tsing*, Purity; or by a name derived from a place, as Han, Tang, Sung, which seems to belong to the empire itself, as long as the same family occupies the throne, and cannot be applied to any monarch in particular, as it is common to all the race. The *joo ming*, *milk name*, or *little name*, as it is called, which is given to children at their birth, can only be used by parents or persons privileged to take so great a liberty; it would be, even with regard to private individuals, an intolerable familiarity to address them by their *milk names*, and a positive crime where the emperor was concerned. To avoid the severe punishmant to which a writer would expose himself by introducing the familiar name of his sovereign, the orthography is altered, some form of apology is annexed, and, with these precautions, the name in its new form may be embodied in history.

An emperor receives, during his life, no denomination but such as serves to designate his supreme power; the sovereign, the monarch, the master, the court, or the steps of the throne which answer to his majesty; the ten thousand years, which expresses the wish that such may be the duration of his reign, &c. He himself assigns to the years of this reign one or more names, indicating the use that he desires to make of his power, or the spirit which directs his government, such as Profound Peace, Celestial Protection, the Light of Reason, &c. These names are often in Europe mistaken for those of the sovereigns themselves, from the circumstance of their being employed to date all public acts and events. The emperor of China may be said, during his life, to have no name peculiar to himself. After his death, one is assigned to him by which he is known in history, and this may include in its signification either praise or blame, eulogy or censure. These posthumous names are of most frequent occurrence in the chronicles; for instance, Woo te, the warlike prince; Wän te, the learned; Kaou te, the sublime; Fe te, the

deposed sovereign, &c. Others again bear some relation to the dynasty, and recall the part which the deceased emperor took in its elevation to imperial rank. Tae Tsoo, or Great Ancestor, is a name common to the founders of dynasties; Tae Tsung, or Great and Honorable Prince belongs to the sovereigns who have consolidated their power. Ching Tsoo, She Tsoo, She Tsung are the immediate successors of these first. These cannot be called individual names, for every dynasty has its Tae Tsoo, She Tsung, Woo te. This inconvenience, the Chinese remedy by prefixing the name of the dynasty; as Sung Tae Tsung, "the Great and Honorable prince of the Sung dynasty," was a sovereign who reigned at the end of the tenth century; Ming Tae Tsoo, the founder of the dynasty of Ming, is the monarch of whose life we are about to give a brief account.

We may now understand the almost inevitable inaccuracies of our historical dictionaries in their mention of the emperors of China. If these are spoken of by their familiar names, it is contrary to all the rules of Chinese propriety; if their posthumous names are given to them it is a real anachronism; and if they are called by the names of their reigns, an error which the Chinese never commit, a new race of princes are, as it were, created, whose names are not to be found in Chinese annals; such as Hungwoo, the "Warlike Fortune;" Kanghe, the "Profound Peace;" Keënlung, the "Protection of Heaven." However, as such blunders are only distressing to persons who understand Chinese, the number of these is not sufficiently great to make us reject, for their sakes, names and expressions which have become naturalized among us. We think the explanation given above will obviate the objections to such a course, and it will be necessary to bear it in mind in reading the lives of the three most illustrious princes who have filled the throne of China, during the last and present dynasties.

Hungwoo is the name which Europeans are in the habit of giving to the founder of the twenty-first dynasty, because it is the one which was applied to the years of his reign. As an obscure individual he was called Choo Yuenchang. The name under which he has been honored in the hall of his ancestors and celebrated in history is that of Tae Tsoo, Illustrious Grandfather, or great forefather, because he was the first of his family raised to the imperial throne. He was born in the year 1327, at Szechow, a small town of the province of Keängnan, in the department of Fungyang. His father was a poor laborer, and as Choo Yuenchang his second son, appeared from his infancy to be a child of feeble constitution, he determined to con-

secrate him to the worship of a Budhist divinity. The young man who was one day to be at the head of a mighty empire, was thus educated in a temple and when seventeen years old, embraced a religious profession, or in the language of the Catholic missionaries, became a bonze. This happened in the fifteenth year of the reign of Chechíng the last emperor of the Mongols, to whose throne the young bonze eventually succeeded.

History is often unjust to unfortunate princes, and the last of the Tartar emperors has been greatly decried for the consequences of an enterprise, that threw the empire into confusion, but which, had it succeeded, would have been rewarded by the praise of contemporaries and the admiration of posterity. The object proposed was the formation of a new channel for the *Hwang ho* or Yellow river; the outbreak of whose waters is often attended by disastrous consequences, making the provinces through which they flow pay dear for the advantages they afford to commerce and agriculture. The enormous expenses, and the overwhelming burdens upon the people, exacted by this great undertaking, produced universal discontent, and after a time a general insurrection. The power of the Mongols was not sufficient to repress the rebellions which broke forth in every part of the empire. One of the principal leaders of the mutineers was Ko Tsewhing; his progress was the most rapid, and the seat of his insurrection the province of Keängnan.

In the midst of these tumults, the young Choo Yuenchang, becoming disgusted with monastic life, enrolled himself as a soldier in the ranks of the rebel chief, who occupied his native province of Keängnan. He became distinguished for his military talent, obtained a small command, and soon acquired such influence over his subordinates as enabled him to declare himself independent of his first employers. But with all his ambition he was not unmindful of the gratitude he owed to Ko Tsewhing, whom he would not abandon until he had rendered him some distinguished service. He aided him in making himself master of one of the most important cities in this part of the country, and feeling that he had thus discharged his obligations to his old commander, he took possession for himself of Hoyang, a city upon the Yangtsze keäng a little distance from Nanking. He afterwards seized upon Taeping, and finally on the capital of the province itself, then called Kinling, or the Golden Hill.

Instead of imitating the example of the rebel chiefs in general, and fatiguing his followers by injudicious and fruitless expeditions, he established in his new capital a sort of government, modeled upon a

plan considered by the learned men of the country as a masterwork in politics, and containing the essence of all wise administration. Having thus procured the support of this numerous and powerful class, the men of letters, he gave himself little concern about his rivals, and one of the most formidable of them, Chin Yewleäng, having ventured to insult him in the heart of his little kingdom, was not only discomfited and repulsed, but Choo Yuenchang becoming the assailant in his turn, increased his own power at the expense of his enemy, and added to his conquests a considerable part of Keängse, and more than half of Hookwang.

The commanders of the insurgent forces were no longer simple partisan officers, who contested the possession of a few unimportant cantons, but skillful and experienced generals, whose success or defeat compromised entire provinces of the empire. The army of Choo Yuenchang consisted of more than two hundred thousand men.

It would be long and wearisome to follow in detail the fortunes of the different officers who attached themselves to Choo Yuenchang, or to enumerate the towns they conquered, either from the other rebels, or from the Mongols themselves. But it is interesting to see this military leader, whose success we forgive because he merited his good fortune, entering as a conqueror his native town of Szechow. His first object was to do homage to his ancestors, for according to Chinese ideas, his elevation was entirely due to their virtues. He prostrated himself repeatedly, striking the earth with his forehead before their '*house of sepulchre*,' and then having seated himself near, he said to his generals, "In my early youth, being the son of a poor laborer, I was ambitious of no higher fortune than that of my father. When I became a soldier, my first wish was the fulfillment of my duties. Could I then foresee that I might one day restore peace to the empire? After more than ten years of absence, and having achieved a certain degree of glory, I return to my country, to the tombs of my ancestors, and find them as I left them. When I first entered the army, a simple soldier in the ranks, I saw the bravest and most distinguished of our officers permitting their soldiers to plunder and insult the people, carry off their wives and children, and despoil them of all they possessed. Indignant at these acts of violence, and full of grief for the sufferings of the unfortunate victims, I dared to raise my voice against such enormities, and to reproach those by whom they were authorized, but finding these men deaf to my remonstrances, I determined to separate myself from their companionship. I assembled officers of my own around me; I recommended

to them never to permit their troops to be guilty of similar disorders, but in all things to spare the people and thus convince them that we had taken up arms for their relief, and to insure them the blessings of a permanent peace. Heaven has no doubt approved of my conduct, since from the low degree in which I was born I have been raised to the honor of becoming your commander."

A conqueror, professing such opinions and inspiring others with the same, could hardly fail to prevail in the end over competitors whose conduct was generally of a very different sort. He strove to destroy his rivals, one after the other, and they by their bad government, hastened their own fall and his triumph. For some time his officers had been pressing him to declare himself emperor; but dreading the reproach attached to the name of rebel, and wishing in some degree to spare the Mongols, desiring also to prepare the minds of the people for his final elevation, he began by assuming the title of prince of Woo. In this he followed the example of others who had aspired to supreme authority, and renewed the recollection of one of the ancient principalities, which under the third dynasty, constituted the feudal system of the empire. He afterwards successively took possession, in person or through his generals, of the provinces of Kwangtung, Kwangse, and Shantung.

This last province was, as it were, the bulwark of the province of Cheïhle, where the Tartars held their court. The prince of Woo traversed it rapidly and presented himself before Tung chow which he carried by storm. The Mongol emperor, seeing that there was no longer any hope of retrieving his affairs, and unwilling to stand a siege in Peking, escaped into Tartary. The conqueror made his entry into the capital, and at length received there the title of emperor. He gave to his dynasty the name of Ming, which signifies both literally and metaphorically Light, and to the years of his reign that of Hungwoo, which may be translated *fortunate war*, or rather *great fortune by war*. Following the example of other writers, we shall now call Choo Yuenchang by the name of Hungwoo, having already explained the inaccuracy of such a denomination as applied to the prince himself rather than to the years of his reign.

The submission of the capital and of the principal provinces seemed only to increase the activity of the new sovereign in his efforts to complete the conquest of the empire. All his generals were sent forth at once to reduce what remained of the party of the Mongols, or bring to submission the rebel captains the former rivals of Hungwoo. The emperor himself meanwhile remained tranquil but not unem-

ployed in Peking, and labored to consolidate by wise institutions the power which so far was supported by the success of his arms. An enemy to luxury, as are almost all those who rise by their own merit, and desire to show themselves superior to fortune, he began by reforming the foolish expenses which had rendered the Tartar court odious to the people. He threw down the towers and sumptuous palaces erected by the Mongols at Peking, and replaced by ornaments of copper the figures of gold and silver which had adorned the furniture of the palaces and the imperial cars; and when one of the great men of the court remonstrated with him on these changes, and argued the necessity of preserving the superfluities which gave éclat to his dignity, Hungwoo replied, 'The glory of a sovereign does not consist in the costly and sumptuous trappings of rank, but in being master of a people whom he renders happy. I have the whole empire for my domain; shall I be less wealthy for wanting these useless ornaments? And if I set an example of luxury, how can I condemn it in my subjects?'

Hungwoo had too much real greatness of soul to forget the obscure rank from which he had sprung, and so far from being ashamed of his origin he seemed rather to take pride in it. All the discourses addressed to his courtiers, the instructions to his people, the exhortations to his armies, seemed to have the same object, that of elevating their minds by the example of his elevation, and pointing out to them the height to which he had been raised by the modest and simple virtues of his ancestors, and by his own care in availing himself of the benevolent intentions of heaven towards mankind. His desire of peace did not prevent him from undertaking such wars as he thought necessary for the permanent tranquillity of the empire. His generals, having defeated or dispersed all that remained of the Mongol armies within the Great Wall, passed the limits of the empire in several directions, and pursued into Tartary the princes of the fugitive dynasty whose return over the frontiers might have endangered the peace of China. Tibet, Leaoutung, and even several divisions of the Mongol nation, submitted in their turn to the arms of Hungwoo, and the Tartar prince who still called himself emperor, was compelled to retire to Karakorum, to the very country which his ancestors had left when they overran Asia. But in this retreat the Tartars continued to make themselves troublesome to the Chinese, sometimes falling unexpectedly upon the frontiers of the empire, and then again harassing such of their own nation as had recognized the sovereignty of the Ming dynasty, and who served as a bulwark against foreign incur-

sions. Hungwoo did not live to see the end of these wars, which continued to give him fears for the stability of his dynasty, and it was not until the time of his second successor, Yunglŏ, that the Chinese at length retaliated upon the Mongols, penetrated into Tartary, and reduced it to the state of a province.

But Hungwoo had the glory of delivering his country from a yoke imposed by strangers and borne a hundred years, of reüniting to its domain immense territories subjugated by the Mongols, of restoring peace and order to a vast empire distracted by war and revolt, and of carrying the fear and glory of the Chinese name to the most distant lands, 'from whence,' says a Chinese historian, 'numbers of strangers came to pay him tribute, admire his government, and participate in its benefits.' That is to say, that under the reign of Hungwoo, foreigners were allowed access to the interior of the empire, and that the love of commerce attracted to China merchants from all parts of Asia. As to submission and tribute from countries situated beyond Tibet, in India, Persia, and Tartary, we must consider this boast as one of those exaggerations to which the Chinese are much given when the object is to exalt the glory, and augment the splendor of the reigns of their own sovereigns.

Hungwoo had named as his heir one of his sons who promised to make a worthy successor to his father, but this young prince dying in year 1392, the emperor chose in his place a grandson, the eldest son of him who had been so prematurely cut off. He was not long in regretting this new disposition of the succession, which deprived of empire the prince of Yan, another of his sons, an able and enterprizing man whose conduct after his father's death justified the fears to which his character had given rise. At the beginning of the year 1398, in the thirty-first of his reign, the emperor was attacked by the disease of which he died, being then seventy-one years old. He left the reputation of having been one of the greatest sovereigns who ever reigned in China. He had qualities of the highest order, and no essential defects. Persuaded that the people are always governed by their personal interests, he took the greatest care that his subjects should never want the necessaries of life; and this watchfulness on his part, the effect at once of discernment and benevolence, secured to him the affections of his own people and the regard of strangers. His clemency was equal to his courage. Maetelepala, the grandson of the last Mongol emperor, having fallen into his hands, the great men of the court, apprehending that this prince might cause trouble in the empire, advised that he should be sacrificed in the ancestral

hall of the imperial family. They justified this act of barbarous policy by the example of one of the greatest of the emperors, Tae Tsung, the founder of the Tang dynasty. 'I know,' replied Hungwoo, 'that this emperor caused Wang Shechung to be put to death in the hall of his ancestors. I doubt very much whether he would have done this had the person in question been a member of the family of Suy, his predecessors on the throne. Let the wealth brought from Tartary be put into the public treasury to defray the expenses of the state. With regard to prince Maetelepala, his ancestors have been masters of the empire nearly a hundred years; mine were their subjects; and even were it customary to put to death the members of a family expelled from the throne, it is a severity to which I could never yield my consent.' He ordered that the captive prince should assume the Chinese dress, declared him a prince of the third rank, gave him a palace for the residence of himself and the princesses his wives, and assigned him a retinue and an income suitable to his station. A short time after he sent him to Tartary to his father, commanding the persons appointed to escort him to take the greatest care that no accident should befall one who was the direct heir of the Mongol dynasty. Future events made it plainly appear that in adopting this course, Hungwoo combined the principles of humanity with those of sound policy.

Cotemporary with Timúr, Hungwoo attained by very different means an equal degree of power and celebrity. The ambition of the first caused ruin and misery to the parts of Asia visited by his ravages. The exploits of the other contributed to the happiness of man, and saved his own country from the horrors of anarchy and civil war. It was said that Tamerlane was a faithful subject of the Ming emperor, one of the first to acknowledge his authority, and to send him with the tribute which betokened submission, the best written letter ever received from a foreign country. It is known, however, that Hungwoo was aware of the preparations making against him by this pretended vassal; for a decree is found in the collection of imperial ordinances, commanding that troops should be assembled, camps constructed, and towns fortified on the route from Persia to China. Had not the expedition of Timúr been arrested by his death, the result would have shown whether the deliverer of China was to be deserted in the end by the good fortune which had so long accompanied him; or whether on the other hand, the conqueror of Bajazet, arriving at the farther extremity of Asia with his wearied troops, and having for auxiliaries the Mongols already conquered and dispersed, would have

found himself equal to a contest with a nation, animated by the enthusiasm of recent delivery, and led on by a commander whose success had been entirely due to his own talents and courage.

In some points Hungwoo may be compared to Genghis khan whose posterity he dethroned. It seemed as little probable that Genghis, the heir of an unknown principality in Tartary and commanding a small body of horsemen, should conquer Asia, as that Hungwoo the son of a laborer of Szechow should reconquer it from his descendents. Both had great obstacles to overcome, and rose from low estate to the possession of vast power. These oriental conquerors are not compared with Cæsar and Alexander because they are commonly considered as barbarians contending with and overcoming other barbarians; but it should be remembered that all things are relative, and that in such cases the means are proportioned to the ends. Besides it is proved from modern, if not from ancient history, that the nations, calling themselves enlightened, bend to the yoke more readily than those stigmatized as barbarous. If Genghis found the ignorance and uncivilized condition of his nation an obstacle to his schemes of dominion, Hungwoo had probably still greater difficulties to overcome in the superior refinement of his countrymen; it was an easier task for the one to rally the Tartar hordes round his standard, than for the other to subdue and conciliate the proud spirits of the learned and enlightened men of China. For the accomplishment of such different purposes very different talents were required. But if the career of Genghis was apparently more brilliant, Hungwoo better merited the name of great man. The warlike phrenzy of one laid waste one half the world, and cost the lives of millions. The wars which the other found himself compelled to maintain, delivered a great empire from foreign dominion, reëstablised order within its limits, restored the authority of the laws, and conferred the blessings of peace and abundance.

We have under the name of Hungwoo, a collection of laws and instructions of which the first emperor of the Mantchous caused a translation to be made,—it is a noble monument of wisdom and elevated sentiment. Father de Mailla has made much use of it in compiling the early history of the Ming dynasty. (See Hist. Gén. de la Chine, tome X.)

ART. VI. *Notices of China, No. II. Face of the country, its populousness, and climate; agriculture; food of the people.* By S. R.

THE territory of China is very uneven. The southern provinces, from Yunnan to Chĕkeäng, abound in mountains, some of which are arid. Keängse, Hoonan, Hoopĭh, and also, as I have been told, Keängnan, Honan, Shense, and Cheĭhle, are vast plains. The two provinces of Hoonan and Hoopĭh, comprising that which formed the ancient Hookwang, have been inundated for three successive years; and since that, these two beautiful provinces have not been so rich. When I passed through them (in November, 1833), we made from three to four days' journey of the route through a country covered with water, where we only saw a few trees of long standing, but no houses, except here and there in places a little elevated.

The province of Honan has also met with some disasters, as many as eleven towns having been swallowed up by earthquakes. [?] Hankew, the ancient capital of Hookwang, which includes within its precincts two towns of the first order, and is more extensive than Peking, has been under water a whole month. The other provinces are more or less mountainous. Those in the middle of the empire, as we go from Szechuen, are fertile and populous, and the towns very near to each other. In the single province of Szechuen, they number one hundred and eight towns of the third order, nineteen of the second, and twelve of the first. Within the space of one of the third order there are as many as forty market-places. I have passed through some which included forty-eight. There are few provinces which do not include twelve towns of the first order and others in proportion. The soil must be very fertile to sustain so many people, and supply these populous cities. Those only are called towns, which are surrounded by walls, the rest though they may be more populous than those of the first order, are only denominated market-places.

The climate of China is as varied as its surface. At Canton, it does not [often] freeze, though the cold is very piercing. At about the 30th and 31st degrees of latitude, snow falls in winter, but does not continue to lie upon the plains. Some winters, as that of 1833, are very sharp there. In Shense, and in all the north of China, they are so severe, that the Yellow river is covered with ice, upon which pass carts, beasts of burden, and porters with their loads. The cold

that we experience in this country is much more penetrating than that of Europe. I am not able to ascribe it any other cause, than to the quantity of nitre with which the earth is charged. In summer, when the heat is greatest, and causes the vapors to ascend, all the pillars and walls of the houses are observed to be moistened, and the next morning they are covered with a white coating, in appearance like lime, but which is nothing but nitre. Sudden changes of temperature in the air are frequent. In summer the heat is very great and the atmosphere very humid.*

The Chinese have pushed agriculture to the highest point of perfection, with very imperfect instruments of husbandry. No European laborer could use their plough. It is without colter or wheel, and is merely a share-point, set in a very rude piece of bent wood. I believe it to be as ancient as their empire, yet it answers for them.

They leave not the smallest spot [of productive land] untilled. The very sides of the roads are cultivated.† They also notice the variations of the atmosphere; and recover a piece of very cold land by the use of bone ashes. In a word, they neglect no means of manuring the soil. One may see the Chinese habited in fine dresses of silk, with a basket in hand [and a muck-rake], following the buffaloes and hogs to collect whatever may be available for this purpose. So great pains is taken in the cultivation of the land, that sometimes a hill is entirely covered with rice-fields, one above another in the manner of terraces. Even the summit is often a rice-field. Should there be no river in the neighborhood, reservoirs are dug against a time of drought. If it is necessary to convey the water up from a brook, a chain-pump is employed for that purpose, fitted upon two cylinders. These machines are of great utility in mountainous districts, while on the lowlands there are canals which serve to irrigate the soil. The Chinese have few buffaloes or cattle of any kind, besides those which are indispensable for agriculture. Having well nigh a horror for milk, they raise no other cows, but fatten large numbers of fowls.

The food of more than half of the people is rice. They also cultivate maize, millet, wheat, and barley, but make very bad bread. Maize is eaten of a pulpy consistence in small cakes. Their most common meats are pork, beef, and the flesh of the horse and mule,

* May not this fact in some measure, at least, account for the chilling effect mentioned above, and ascribed to the presence of nitre in the soil? *Tr.*

† Our author must mean by this, nothing more than that the fields border on the roads, which are usually mere foot-paths, and often, particularly in lowlands, separate contiguous fields, being used instead of hedges. *Tr.*

and they are particularly fond of poultry.* Many [very poor people] also eat dogs and cats, though more rarely the latter. Their vegetables are beans, peas, sweet potatoes, carrots, radishes, melons, cabbages, lettuce, spinage, celery, and other garden vegetables not indigenous to Europe. Their meats, as well as their vegetables, are nearly all cooked in water, so that one must have a sharp appetite in order to eat them.

The ordinary drink is tea, since they are not able to drink water without exposing themselves to sickness.† In place of wine, they use spirituous liquors which are obtained from the grains enumerated above. The best of these spirits is that made of a kind of millet called *kaou leäng*, whose stalk resembles that of maize. We find nevertheless some vines, of which the grapes are eaten, but they know not how to make wine. Their fruits are nearly the same as those of France, but neither so savory nor so various.

The sugar-cane and all kinds of oranges are cultivated, at least as far north as the 30th degree of latitude. The southern provinces produce the famous lyche (leche), the lungyen or dragon's eye, the hwangpe, the banana, and pine apple. Among the other productions, we notice the cotton which is found upon a plant that is self-sown every year, especially in the middle provinces, and a sort of hemp‡ different from that of Europe, which is repeatedly cut, and always sprouts again, until it is entirely uprooted. Of this plant, very beautiful and cool fabrics are made.

The Chinese also cultivate the European hemp, of which they make very coarse cloth. I doubt whether they have any knowledge of flax. They raise the silkworm in great abundance, and in the south gather two crops of silk as of rice. Medicinal plants are very numerous. In fine, the country yields mines of gold, silver, copper, and iron, and in all the provinces there are beds of fossil coal.

* Their most delicate dishes are shark's fins, and birdsnest-soup, procurable only by the most opulent inhabitants.

† Or more probably, there is such a fear prevalent among the people. It has come under our own observation. *Tr.*

‡ Doubtless the Sida of which grass-cloth is made. *Tr.*

Art. VII. *Description of the temple of Matsoo po, at Ama kŏ in Macao.* Prepared for the Repository by a Correspondent.

One of the most remarkable objects in the vicinity of Macao is the temple of the goddess Matsoo po, in the village of Ama kŏ, near the Bar fort, facing the Inner Harbor. It would be difficult to find another spot, where rocks had been grouped in more grotesque forms, or where art had displayed more taste in the masterly touches with which she has embellished the picture. The site is the steep side of a hill, to whose ascent you are invited by winding paths and easy flights of steps; relieved at short intervals by miniature temples, altars, and inscriptions; and shaded by the foliage of large and luxuriant fig-trees. Through the medium of a tremulous atmosphere on a summer's day, there is scarcely another place which presents so many attractions, promising such a cool reception, and so cold an entertainment.

Our northern friends may smile at this commendation, or even be alarmed at the change of temperament which it indicates; but if they will visit us in these sunny regions, we assure them that none of their *warmth of feeling* will evaporate; although we are not so sure that their predilections for this warmth may not. Be this as it may, they will join us in admiring this spot, and only regret, that amid scenes where the Creator has left so many impressions of himself—images of wood and stone, in resemblance no more exalted than their human authors, in reality their slaves, should be made to rob him of his glory, and blot his very being from the minds of his creatures.

It is exceedingly difficult to get at the reasons of the Chinese for selecting such sites. Their *fung shwuy*, or geomantic science is arrayed in, if not a mere array of, such mystic terms, that in attempting to extract an intelligible meaning from them, you are reminded of the vain efforts to decipher the prophecies of the Sybil, after the wind had displaced the leaves on which they were inscribed. A literary native of no mean parts, after mystifying learnedly to the increased confusion of his auditor, adopted another mode of explanation, which was far more satisfactory. He quoted the proverb, 神與人同 *shin yu jin tung*, 'the gods and men are alike;' which while it discloses their mournful ignorance furnishes a far more easy solution to this and many other difficulties than the abstract terms usually employed. I say *abstract;* for such they certainly appear

at least in one sense, and that is that all sense is abstracted from them. The dispositions and tastes of the gods corresponding with those of men, at once supplies the reason for the fine romantic situations of many of their sacred buildings, and for many of their offerings and subsequent feasts, in which it has been conjectured that if any reference was had to the gods at all, it was because all good things after being graciously accepted were complacently referred back to those who presented them. The following sketch is from the 'pencil' of the native referred to above.

"The temple at Ama kŏ is an ancient structure. In the reign of Wanleih, of the Ming dynasty (about A D. 1573), there was a ship, from Tseuenchow foo in the province of Fuhkeën, in which the goddess Matsoo po was worshiped. Meeting with misfortunes, she was rendered unmanageable and driven about in this state, by the resistless winds and waves. All on board perished, with the exception of one sailor who was a devotee of the goddess, and who, embracing her sacred image, with the determination to cling to it, was rewarded by her powerful protection, and preserved from perishing. Afterwards when the tempest subsided, he landed safely at Macao, whither the ship was driven. Taking the image to the hill at Ama kŏ, he placed it at the base of a large rock—the best situation he could find—the only temple his means could procure.

"About fifty years after this period, in the reign of Teënke, there was a famous astronomer, who from some correspondence (unknown to common mortals) between the gems of heaven and the jewels of earth, had discovered that there was a pond in the province of Canton containing many costly and brilliant pearls, upon which he addressed the emperor, respectfully advising him to send and get them. His imperial majesty, availing himself of the important information, dispatched a confidential servant in search of this wonderful pond. On arriving at Macao, and passing the night at the village of Ama kŏ, the goddess appeared to the imperial messenger in a dream, and informed him, that the place he sought for, was at Hŏpoo in Keaou chow or the district of Keaou. He went to the place and procured several thousands of the finest pearls. Glowing with gratitude for the secret intimations he had received, he built a temple at Ama kŏ, and dedicated it to his informant. This temple stood until the 8th year of the present monarch (12 years ago), when it was found that the temporary repairs were not sufficient to supply the wastes of time. The ruined condition of the building aroused the zeal of the Fuhkeën and Taychew merchants, who subscribed more than 10,000

taels of silver to erect something more honorable to their favorite goddess. This was the origin of the present assemblage of buildings. The upper temple they dedicated to Kwanyin, the Goddess of Mercy; the middle one they designated the temple of Universal Benevolence, and the lower one they called after the name of the village in which it stands. At the side of the latter they erected buildings, designed both for a temple and monastic apartments, and in both of these they placed images of Matsoo po. In the last-mentioned residence several priests dwell, who pay the usual morning and evening adoration to the goddess, keep the temple clean, and assist the worshipers to present their offerings and prayers.

"The hill of Ama kŏ is beautified with many venerable and shady fig-trees, the path is circuitous and ornamental, and the water prospect in front is extensive and varied. Those who visit the temple always extol the beauties of the place, and in later times, some of them inspired by the muses have written verses, which have been engraven on the rocks."

It is difficult to ascertain the exact reference in the large characters 太乙 *tae yuĕ*, which grace one of the highest rocks, and have been thought by some to bear a resemblance to the inscription on the altar at Athens, which furnished the apostle Paul with a text or motto for his masterly address to the Areopagites. They are given in the dictionaries as the name of a hill—a star—the genii called by the Chinese 仙 *seën*. My learned oracle thinks they have no reference to any god, known or unknown. It is most probable that they have some connection with astrological superstitions.

"Art. VIII. *Edict admonishing the inhabitants of Canton of the near approach of the period for putting in force the new law against the smokers of opium.*

The Chinese are not in earnest in the wish to prohibit opium. (Lord Palmerston.)

Lin, a director of the Board of war, member of the Censorate, governor of Kwangtung and Kwangse, &c.; and E, member of the Board of War, of the Censorate, &c.:

Whereas, after the term allowed for smokers of opium to reform

shall have expired, they who transgress must die, we once more therefore, and in the most urgent manner, make known our clear commands, that human life may be spared, and those awakened who are still in the deceptive road. According to the new law, ordained and widely promulgated last year by imperial authority, the criminal smokers of opium were allowed a year and a half, wherein if they fail to reform, whether officers, soldiers, or people, one and all are to be strangled. In the province of Canton, the term was extended from the promulgation of the law, July 6th, 1839, to December 19th, 1840. One year and two months have already elapsed; to complete the period, there only remains about one hundred days. Death will then stand before your eyes!

We, the governor and lieutenant-governor, have repeatedly warned you most urgently, until our tongues are dry and our lips worn out, anxious only that our people, aware of the penalties of the law, may put away their sins, escape death, and live. Certainly you have human hearts; and it behooves you thoroughly to repent and reform. At this late day, those who have torn themselves from the direful charm are not few; nor indeed is the number small of those who still vainly procrastinate and delay—imagining that, if only for a little time they can remain secure, erelong the measures for searching and seizing will be relaxed! Are they then fully aware, that this mortal punishment proceeds from imperial decrees? That, after the lapse of the probationary period, offenders will be prosecuted with constantly increasing severity? And that, this poisonous habit of smoking, unless it be cut off, will never cease? Let them know, therefore, that very recently the following imperial commands have been received:

"In all the provinces diffierent degrees of severity have been exercised in searching for and in seizing the smokers of opium. Soon now the allotted period will expire. It may be that then, some of our high officers, filled with shame, will be unwilling to act; or prefects and magistrates, shrinking from their duty, will not dare to act; or, it may be, that, because the said capital offenders are many, the local officers, moved with pity, will not consent to do their duty. If at the present time they only contrive to practice concealment, the more evils that come forth after the appointed limit, then the more thoroughly and intensely odious will be their conduct. Our high officers, in the receipt of rich and large favors, and endowed with celestial kindness, are in duty bound sternly to command their subalterns to search and seize in the most faithful manner. If after the

instructions and admonitions now given, there be more trifling, procrastination, and inactivity; or if, on partial examination being made, affairs are neglected or concealed; this will be because our high officers have entirely destroyed their celestial kindness. And then it will be impossible for us to excuse them. Such are the commands. Let them be respected."

With reverence we reflect on the imperial will. How profound! How severe! Mark, if such be his majesty's reluctance to excuse his high officers, how then can they dare to excuse their subalterns? And of the civil and military officers, who will dare lightly to excuse the people? If any among you imagine that in some secluded apartments, it will there be impossible to search and find you out, and that there without fear you may smoke any opium you possess; are you fully aware how long and clear-sighted are the spies of the magistracy? Who of them will not like to receive rewards? Not only will your own servants expose your conduct, but your relatives and neighbors will join issue against you.

Wherever you may conceal your opium, or go to purchase the drug, there there will be persons secretly to find it out and report you to the magistracy, and receive the rewards. Once caught and brought to trial, your life will be at an end. Inquire of the many who are now confined in the prisons, whether they did not at first suppose they could deceive those about them? And thus they excused and comforted themselves. Only a little time before they were discovered and seized, these very persons supposed it was impossible they should be discovered, impossible they should be seized. When confined in prison, there their life is in suspense—half dead, half alive: and there the drug, which they could not renounce, is renounced; there their fathers and mothers cannot see them, nor their wives and children dwell with them—their bodies and their shadows condole with each other. What wretchedness is this!

Moreover, while the period is not yet closed, you are living victims; when it shall have expired, then you will be dead victims. You, who may escape the net till that time, in the twinkling of an eye will become headless men. Although we should desire to spare your lives, it will be impossible. While you yourselves care not in any way for your own lives, how can the magistracy protect and preserve them? When the laws show an offense to be worthy of death, what alternative does there then remain? Oh, alas! Who is there that does not wish to live? Why then drown yourselves in opium? Not to arouse when death approaches—ah, what folly can be greater than this!

Besides once more sternly instructing all the civil and military officers, to exert all their strength to search out and to seize the guilty; while the probationary time continues, we also as it is our duty, pointedly and earnestly address to you these our admonitory commands. And we do hereby announce them to the military and to the people of all classes, for their full information. This moment,—when the limited period has almost but not quite expired,—is the line of demarkation between life and death. Each step is becoming increasingly rapid, and each day more dangerons. Now if you do not reform, when will you do it?

You who are fathers, elder brothers, and friends,—whose rightful office it is to restrain, advise, and warn—can you endure to see them die and not save them? You ought to exert your utmost strength to tear them away, and guard them from the habit, to raise them from death, and to restore them to life. Wherever there is a public hall, there (among yourselves) make examination. Wherever there is an ancestral temple, there proclaim the prohibitions and the warnings. It matters not whether the habit is old or recent, the distress in reforming will scarcely exceed a single month. There are none who cannot break it off; and once broken off, your spirits will revive and increase, and your body will become healthy and vigorous. The threatened punishment avoided, your years may be prolonged to a good old age. Why then fear to adopt this course?

Only let our people with united hearts truly consent to put aside this habit and entirely cease to smoke, and of the opium brought hither by those wicked, disorderly, and crafty foreigners, not a particle can be sold. And how then can our country's property be purloined, or the lives of our people be injured? It may indeed be said, that as long as there remains one man who continues to smoke, so long the evils of this traffic will not cease. For all these reasons it is, that the celestial dynasty has established this law, by which the smoking of opium is made a capital crime.

Having now on this occasion set forth our warnings and admonitions, we, the governor and lieutenant-governor, shall have no more occasion to repeat to you our words. We can only maintain the law, carrying it into effect, and consigning to death those who are worthy thereof. You, who shall have incurred its heavy penalties, and on being apprehended shall for the first time be brought to a consciousness of your former misdeeds, cannot then seek to be regarded as good and honest people, or expect to be so fortunate as to become eventually good spirits. On the one hand you will be the

shame of your ancestors, and on the other the disgrace of your posterity. Although our hearts deeply pity you, yet in the execution of the law we cannot spare you. And while we thus admonish you with the utmost solicitude, we cannot forbear to mingle our tears with our words. But if after all, you will not turn from the delusive road, your certain death will be unworthy of commiseration. Be on your guard then, and tremble with fear. A special edict. (Sep. 27th.)

ART. IX. *Provincial reports and imperial edicts relative to the occupation of Chusan by the English forces, and to the appointment of a commissioner to negotiate with the British authorities at Canton.*

THE following official papers will show, better than any account of our own, what feelings have been excited, and what conduct has been induced, on the part of the Chinese, by the appearance of a strong foreign force upon their coasts. The papers, although brief and imperfect, are unquestionably authentic. Nos. 4 and 5 are copied from the Canton Register. The progress and operations of the expedition will be noticed in the journal of occurrences, to which the reader is referred.

No. 1.

"Woo, the lieutenant-governor, and Chŭh, the commander of Chĕkeäng, jointly report the loss of the city of Tinghae. The foreign ships having hastily approached the important entrance to Chinhae, we immediately planned with our might to resist and repel them, while we dispatch this express reverently to report—looking up, and intreating the sacred glance upon it. I, the lieut.-governor, as soon as the English wrote to the commandant of Tinghae in a strain of seditious violence, considered the water-approaches (to the place), and planning what should be done respecting them, have, on this the 8th of July, sent this report by express. At the same time, I hastily set out and traveling night and day reached Chinhae at 6 o'clock in the evening of the 9th, where I had an interview with the general Chŭh, and was astounded to learn that on the 5th of the month, Chang Cheaoufă the commandant of Tinghae, had an engagement with the rebellious English, in which their guns wounded a very large number of our officers and soldiers, and sunk the vessels. On the 6th of July the city of Tinghae was attacked and taken by the said English, and Yaou Kwaetseäng the acting magistrate, and Yu Fuh the secretary, not surrendering were kill-

ed. But the commandant Chang Chaoufă, and the lieut. Tseën Pinghwan were wounded, and the acting lieut. Lo Keënkung, and the lieut. Wang Wănneën, and the acting ensign Kung Petaou, all returned to Chinhae. Also the sub-magistrate of Chinkeăgaou, Choo Kweifuh, having previously received orders from the magistrate, had returned to his post soliciting aid. The rest of the civil and military officers are not to be found. I, the lieut.-governor, receiving this intelligence could not prevent my hair from bristling with anger. I also ascertained that Tinghae was distant only about 30 miles, and that without shifting a sail, they could proceed to the mouth of Chinhae, and straight pass into the interior; all the important passes are so situated as to have Tinghae for their outside guard, and the opposite hills of Cheaoupo, and Kinke to shut in the mouth of the entrance. At first commander Chŭh distributed his soldiers of the five cantonments, above 800, and commanded Hoo Tihyaou an acting subordinate officer of Chinhae cantonment, and Chow Szeching the commander of the troops at the left cantonment, to return to Chinhae, and dispatched 900 soldiers to remain at the passes of the capital of the district, and on the line of the coasts to guard these places. I the lieut.-governor also commanded my soldiers, 400 in number, to hasten to Chinhae to wait for orders; I also commanded Tăng Tingtsae the prefect of Ningpo to prepare vessels, and sink them at the entrance of the river; also to employ wooden piles (driven in the water) well secured with chains, and above them on the shore to build a wooden stockade to protect the place, and obstruct the way of the foreign ships that they may not be able to enter. Whilst thus planning and preparing, unexpectedly, on the 13th day, about 4 A. M. according to an announcement, many foreign ships had been distinctly seen outside at Leihshan, passing to and fro, not more than three or four miles distant from Chinhae. We have at present taken up our residence at the entrance of the river, to give orders and urge the soldiers most strenuously to provide against casualties. We have also heard that five rebellious English ships have arrived, which added to the others make in all 31 ships, having guns on both sides and fore and aft; the largest have three decks, the next size two, and the smallest one. Included are two vessels having wheels at their sides, which revolving propel them like the wind, passing to and fro with great rapidity, and acting as leaders. They have about 5000 or 6000 soldiers. If we fight with them, it is necessary that we should have a corresponding number, then we can engage them. I the commander sometime ago summoned 3500 soldiers from Hoochow, only 300 of whom arrived. These with all the soldiers that I the lieut.-governor command, which will arrive in a few days, (all the soldiers together at Chinhae being only 2000 and some odd,) are so disproportioned to the number of foreign soldiers, that at present it is better to reserve our force, and not hazard an engagement. First, we ought to devise some plan to wear out their soldiers, that they may be slow in advancing and retreating, and when our forces are collected in great numbers we can again act together to resist and attack them, that at an appointed time we may

at once seize them all. We must enjoin upon those who inhabit the coasts, at every landing place, to devise means to obstruct their landing. At Wăn-chow, and Hwang-gan, there is no need of many soldiers. The force at Chinhae being very small, it is our duty to request the imperial will, commanding Tăng the governor of Fuhkeën and Chĕkeăng provinces to select the great military officers to take command of the ships-of-war, and hastily dispatch them to Chĕkeăng. It matters not where the foreign vessels are, we may then, by uniting this force with that of Chĕkeăng, unitedly attack them.

"We also request the imperial will commanding Elepoo the governor of Leăng Keăng (Keăngse, Keăngsoo and Ganhwuy provinces) to order the naval force stationed at the boundary of Chĕkeăng to be on the guard, to prevent the foreign ships from passing northward, and send assistance to the Chĕkeăng navy. Besides sending this to the provincial city of Chĕkeăng, and to every civil and military officer at the several stations that they maintain the strictest guard, and also to the governors and lieut.-governors of every province, that they likewise order those under them to keep up a defensive guard, we also carefully dispatch our united report by post, and bowing intreat the emperor to bestow thereon his sacred glance and intruct us. A careful report."

No. 2.

A Memorial respecting the loss of Tinghae in Chĕkeăng. The imperial rescript has been received. "The remissness of the naval and military forces of Chĕkeăng can be known without inquiry. When the mean and contemptible [foreign fellows] dared to conduct in this outrageous and seditious manner, the high civil and military officers were immediately filled with trepidation, and lost all self-command. All they are ever good for is to know how to nourish their honorable selves and live at ease. The imperial will is to be still further communicated. Respect this."

On the same day, July 18th, an imperial decree was received through the Inner Council: to wit. "Woo reports that several English vessels have sailed to Tinghae in Chĕkeăng, where the men landed, and excited disturbances, of which he has given the particulars. Formerly, in order to prohibit [the importation of] opium, the trade of the said foreigners at Canton was wholly cut off. The imperial will had been already sent down, commanding the governors and lieutenant-governors vigilantly to guard and defend all the passes by sea; how has it followed then, that there has not been the least care exercised? Our officers are all no better than wooden statues, to allow them to land and excite sedition. Let Woourhkinggih and Chŭh Tingpeaou, for their former acts, be both delivered over to the proper Tribunal for examination, and punishment. Respect this."

On the same day, a dispatch traveling 400 *le* daily, was also received from the Board of War, communicated by the General Council to Woo the lieut.-governor of Chĕkeăng, dated July 20th, containing the imperial commands, (as follows):

"When, on account of the investigations into the opium traffic, the English lost all hopes of profit by trade, we were early apprehensive lest they would stealthily enter the ports and raise disturbances, and therefore gave repeated instructions to all the governors, lieut.-governors, and commanders to keep a close and vigilant guard upon all the ports and entrances, and not permit the said foreigners to sail into them. Now it appears, from the report of Woo, that the English sent a letter to the commandant of Tinghae, which exhibited their ungovernable obstinacy; and it is moreover known that they have already landed and surrounded the city for the purpose of attacking it. Having looked over this report, we cannot restrain our deep indignation. This abhorred set of fellows have no other design in this than to attempt their petty schemes, oppose our prohibitions, pervert our commands, and as of old seek to take advantage of the sedition they excite to prosecute their contraband trade: such employment as this is all they are capable of doing. If the beforementioned officers had been on the watch and guarded the posts, and the naval and land forces had been strictly disciplined, how could the landing of more than 3000 or 4000 men have happened? Thus in a sudden emergency like this, the high civil and military officers are straightway filled with terror, and lose all their self-possession. The lax condition of the troops and officers of Chĕkeäng can be known without inquiry. The imperial will is sent down, to take Woo and Chüh and deliver them over to the proper tribunal for examination and punishment.

"The city of Tinghae, being in the outer waters, and surrounded by them, is in a critical situation; the said lieutenant-governor must increase the forces, dispose the vessels of war, and hasten to its rescue. Should the foreign vessels sail westward, they will doubtless furtively wait to attack important places, such as Ningpo and others, hoping to dispossess them and establish themselves. Let the troops and officers be instructed to proceed to every station to maintain a strict guard, and not permit the foreign vagabonds to enter stealthily. The imperial command is sent down by express, ordering Yu Pooyun, to take troops and hasten thence, to attack and drive them out. The time of his arrival is estimated, and let the said lieutenant-governor and his colleagues also with the whole strength of their minds deliberate upon a course of action, which may in some degree atone for their former delinquencies; but if they are again remiss, their guilt will be greatly increased. Let these commands be dispatched by express. Respect this."

No. 3.

On the 4th of October, was received (at the office of the hoppo in Canton?) from the governor, a communication as follows: On the 1st of October (6th day of the 9th month), I received a dispatch from the General Council, in these words. On the 17th September (22d day of the 8th month), the following imperial edict was received:

"Whereas, the English at the harbor of Teëntsin did first present a communication most manifestly civil and respectful, earnestly requesting an extension of favor, it seemed right to command Keshen pointedly and earnestly

to instruct and order, that they should not be allowed to create confusion and disorder, but only permitted to proceed to Canton to seek entrance; so that if indeed they should exhibit sincerity, the said minister and his colleagues would certainly memorialize in their behalf, begging for favor.

"Now, according to Keshen's memorial, the said foreigners have listened to and received his instructions and orders, and have already got under weigh and returned southward, having by memorial declared, 'that, along the whole coast, they will make no disturbance, provided they be not first fired on; but that, if they are attacked, it will be hard to stay the hand from retaliation; also that of the soldiers in Tinghae one half shall early be withdrawn, &c.' These said foreigners have heretofore been so disorderly and troublesome, albeit in some way excited thereto, that they justly merit detestation, and ought to be sorely punished and exterminated. Now it appears that the port of Tseuenchow foo in Fuhkeën, Chapo in Chĕkeäng, and Paoushan and Tsungming in Keängsoo, have each, earlier or later, with their rumbling thunders, beat the foreign ships, greatly dampening their ardor. And as these said foreigners have consented to come forward and beg for favor, it is not meet to inquire strictly into the past.

"To-day our will has been sent down appointing Keshen high commissioner, forthwith to proceed posthaste to Canton, in order to examine and arrange the business; and on his arrival there, he will be able to arrange it safely. But, apprehensive lest the governors and lieut.-governors along the coast may not be aware of the present state of affairs, this dispatch is therefore hastened 500 *le* per day to inform Elepoo, Sung Keyuen, Yukeen, Shaou Keäming, Tŏ Hwănpo, Tăng Tingching, Lin Tsihseu, and their colleagues, that they all yield obedience hereto; severally maintain the most important passes, faithfully and truly keeping up a defensive guard. Should any of the said foreigners pass along or anchor upon the high seas, it is not necessary to open a cannonade, but it is of great moment to keep a guard and defense, and not be first to make an attack; where it is requisite, there arrange in stern and close array [our troops]; also it is especially needful that there be no remissness or relaxing.

"A copy of Keshen's communication to the English, and their reply thereto given on the same day, are copied and sent herewith for Elepoo's inspection, to be forwarded by express. Let this be duly understood. Respect this."

No. 4.

On the 2d day of the 9th month (27th September), the (following) imperial commands were received:

"*Lin Tsihseu!* You received my imperial orders to go to Canton to examine into and manage the affairs relating to opium; from the *exterior* to cut off all trade in opium, and to terminate its many evils and disgraces; as to the *interior*, your orders were to seize perverse natives, and thus cut off all supplies to foreigners (probably the English are more particularly pointed at); why have you delayed so long in the matters connected with these small,

petty, contemptible criminals, who are still ungratefully disobedient and unsubmissive?

"You have not only proved yourself unable to cut off their trade, but you have also proved yourself unable to seize perverse natives! You have but dissembled with empty words, and in deep disguises in your report (to the emperor); and so far from having been of any help in the affair, you have caused the waves of confusion to arise, and a thousand interminable disorders are sprouting; in fact, you have been as if your arms were tied, without knowing what to do: it appears then you are no better than a wooden image: when I think to myself on all these things, I am filled at once with anger and melancholy; we shall see in what instances you can answer to me.

"I order that your official seals be immediately taken from you, and that you hasten with the speed of flames to Peking, that I may examine you in my presence; delay you not. I order the lieut.-governor E, to take charge of the government of the two provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangse.—Respect this."

No. 5.

On the 3d of the 9th month (28th Sept.), the imperial edict was received.

"Formerly, because opium flowed like poison into China, Lin was specially appointed to hasten to the port of Canton, and to consult with Tăng, to examine into and manage the affair: the (or my) original desire was to purify the Inner Land from its defilements, and to cut off the springs (whence opium flows): and that the affair should be managed according to the circumstances of place and time; but ever since the beginning of the management until now, perverse natives have been offending against the laws *inside*, ye (Lin and Tăng) have been unable to clear the land of them; while *outside*, the sources from whence it (opium) flows in abundance are still not cut off! And—an affair of extreme importance—this year the English barbarian ships arrived, and have been cruizing off the coasts of the provinces of Fuhkeën, Chĕkeäng, Keängsoo, Shantung, Chihle and Shingking (or Leaoutung in Tartary), occasioning a multiplicity of affairs and defensive preparations, injurious to the revenue and toilsome to the army: all this proceeds from Lin and Tăng's management, and the unskillful manner in which they have pursued their measures. Let Lin and Tăng each be delivered over to the [Criminal] Board to be punished with increased severity.

"Lin when he arrives in Peking, is to wait for the deliberation of the Board. I direct Keshĕn to be the acting governor of the two Kwang provinces; and until his arrival, I order E, for the time being, to take charge of the government. This time the English barbarians have, at many places, presented petitionary cards (i. e. open papers), containing explanatory and defensive statements against injury and bending oppression; I, the emperor, clearly understand all the circumstances; and, decidedly, it was not they (the English) who began the movement.

"The said governors were especially appointed to meet and consult; and to control the conduct of the higher officers; but after all they have not been

of any real help in the matter; on the contrary, they have at length produced an affair impeding [the prosperity of] the country, and vitiating the people; nothing can exceed this (in enormity); on this account they are to be subjected to increased punishment; moreover, it is not on account of the said barbarians complaining petitions that they are hurried to severe punishment. Respect this."

ART. X. *War with China; order in council; speeches of leading members in parliament; contents of the Blue Book.*

BEFORE noticing the debate in parliament, and the papers which are collected in the Blue Book—so well known as to have been sought for by commissioner Lin—we pause to call attention briefly to a single particular of H. B. M.'s order in council. Reason, humanity, and the law of nations—not to mention a higher code—all require, 'that different states do to each other as much good in peace, and as little harm in war, as possible, without causing injury to themselves.' That this good rule has not been strictly observed in the present struggle, may in part be attributable to a defect in the order in council. The 'late injurious proceedings of certain officers of the emperor of China,' ought, we think, to have been particularized in the said order; and, before the commencement of hostilities, H. B. M.'s complaints and demands ought to have been presented to his majesty Taoukwang. Suppose (for the sake of illustration), that the duke of Wellington's tenants, on a remote border of his estate, are in friendly intercourse with those of lord Palmerston, and that, for some real or imaginary injury received, the former maltreat the others, despoil them of their valuable merchandise, and then expel them from their master's domains. Exasperated at this rude treatment, the viscount issues an order for indemnity, and straightway sends to another part of the duke's estate an armed deputation, which there attacks the people, and killing some and wounding others, finally takes possession of their farm-house—his lordship meanwhile having omitted in his order to particularize the offensive acts, and having failed also to present his complaints directly and as soon as possible to his noble friend the duke, asking him for indemnity. In such a case, would their compeers approve the conduct of his lordship? Doubtless more consideration ought to be given to the duke, than there has been to the Chinese. Still, in their treatment of each other, nations are as

much bound by the obligations of humanity and justice as are individuals. What would be wrong in the one, would be equally so in the other. With both, on sound policy and Christian principles, retaliation would be incompatible. The taking of vengeance is not man's prerogative. Simple reparation for the past, with ample securities for the future, is the utmost that justice could demand.

Assuredly it is well that a strong expedition has been sent hither by the queen. It is only, or chiefly, to be regretted that her complaints and demands were not clearly set forth in the order, and with all convenient dispatch and becoming dignity carried directly to the dragon-throne. The meeting with the admiral off Chuenpe was only to seek relief from a cruel edict, by which was caused the sinking of his junks. In like manner, the more recent visit to 'the waters of the Nine Islands,' and the action there upon the Barrier, were merely to check a hostile ingress of armed men. But for the visit to Tinghae, we are as yet unable to discover any necessity. The line of policy which has been observed with regard to that place, and some others that have been attacked, we suppose has been pursued in obedience to instructions from the home government. Doubtless we are not in a position to see all the circumstances of the case; and it may be presumption and premature in us to express any opinion thereon; but we are constrained to think, and are free to confess, that the line of policy has been unwise, especially with regard to Chusan. By it, we do not perceive that advantage has been caused to any one, while the injury in the destruction of life and property has been very great. The good rule—to do the least possible harm—has not been maintained. But to determine who are mainly responsible for these losses, it is not in our province or power.

In reverting again to the parliamentary debates, our remarks shall be very brief. It was sadly unfortunate that, on a great national question of foreign policy, deeply involving both the interests and the honor of the country, three successive days should have been spent in a mere trial of the strength of political parties. So far as the 'China question' was concerned, ministers and members of parliament generally were possibly equally conscious of having neglected their duty; and it was doubtless mainly for this reason that there was so much shifting and shuffling, so much evasion and recrimination, and so little of the greatness of true British eloquence exhibited on that occasion.

Sir James Graham, the mover of the debate, was wrong in saying that the provincial governors of Canton have 'sanctioned the trade in

opium;' he was wrong too, we presume, in saying that the prohibitory law was passed, in the Chinese cabinet, by a majority of only one. Though we have seen most, if not all, of the Gazettes for several years, yet we have never before seen or heard that any member of the emperor's cabinet was ever in favor of legalizing the introduction of opium.

Mr. Macauley was quite safe in declaring that his government had not tried to stop the trade in opium—their conduct for years proclaimed the contrary, and showed how deeply interested they have been in its continuance;—but the reason he assigned for their not opposing it is too far fetched, though it be true, as he affirms—that, 'they [himself and others] expected it would be legalized by the Chinese government.' The opposition of this government to the opium trade has been long, steady, and strong—the prohibitions have been as clear and as explicit, and the measures to carry them into effect as constant and as vigorous, as the combined wisdom and power of the emperor and his ministers could make them, during a period of forty years. The only act, on the part of the imperial government, so far as we are aware of its proceedings, that could give any ground for Mr. Macauley's opinion, was, its temporarily entertaining the proposition of Heu Naetse: and just about as much reason was afforded by that act, as there would be to us for expecting the speedy surrender of the salt monopoly in India, if Mr. Macauley (while his government was steadily and carefully fostering that prolific source of Indian revenue) should propose the abrogation of that monopoly in a private memorial to the throne, and her majesty should entertain the subject so far as to condescend to send the memorial to the governor-general for his views thereon. This fact becoming known, counter memorials and remonstrances were poured in thick upon the emperor; and his majesty, in order to obtain the sense of the whole government, by special edict commanded 'the governors and lieut.-governors of every province to consult together, and then to wait upon him with the result of their deliberations, in so many duly prepared memorials.' And what was the result? Why, 'in the multitude of these memorials there may be some small difference of opinions, yet they are all alike in the main—this one only adds a clause still more severe to that one;' and he in his turn proposes a still heavier punishment than his neighbor—*among them all there are no advocates for lenient measures.*' No, no, Mr. Macauley, there was not found, even one in all the length and breadth of this wide empire, an advocate 'for lenient measures'—either with regard to the use of the drug, or the

traffic in it. For both, the penalty was to be—after due warning and admonition—*death.* We do not stop here to discuss the policy of these severe measures; grant that it was, that it is, unwise; still it has been remarkably uniform and vigorous. And we can account for this steady policy only by supposing that the injuries, caused by the smoking of opium among the Chinese, are far greater, more numerous and more palpable, than we have been wont to believe them. Recent observations and some very strong cases of the indomitable effects of the drug, corroborate this supposition. We remember very well how much doubt and surprise were expressed when the first copy of Heu Naetse's memorial reached Canton — surprise that such opinions should emanate from Peking, and doubt whether the document was indeed authentic. This was in 1836; previous to which date, and subsequently to it, nothing has appeared, that we are aware of, in any way or degree indicative of a disposition to legalize the traffic; and we leave it for Mr. Macauley to give the reasons which led him and his colleagues to expect it would soon cease to be contraband.

That sir George Staunton should support his government in the present struggle, was to us no matter of surprise, though we do not agree with him in thinking the present war a just and fitting one. On the contrary, we contend that no hostile act, except blockade, ought to have been allowed here, until remonstrance had been fairly tried. Who shall answer for the losses of life and property sustained by the people of Tinghae? And after the taking of that city, who can wonder at the capture of the Kite, and the murder of captain Noble? Was the first act 'just and fitting,' and the latter not equally so? Or was the second 'murderous and savage,' and the other not equally so? The strongest argument, advanced by sir George for war against China, is the preservation of 'political ascendency' in India. Must then the 'mild and peaceful' Chinese be exposed to the 'splendid shot' of artillery, the 'magnificent display' of shells, and all the other refined sports of modern warfare, in order to maintain political ascendency on another part of the continent?

Dr. Lushington maintained, that, whereas sundry Chinese officers had connived at the trade, it was therefore highly proper that foreigners should be protected in the traffic at the provincial city,—because had they ceased to carry on the trade here, and submitted to leave Canton, "the only result would have been that they would have diffused the drug over other parts of the coast." Admirable logic!

With right good sense and great fairness, sir John Hobhouse acknowledged the debate to be 'a mere party matter;' and then in

'pounds of sycee,' brought back to Calcutta for opium sold in China; he disclosed the real and true cause why his government has been so tardy in its movements to support the legitimate trade, and to place it on a safe and honorable footing. Equal fairness and good sense were exhibited by the duke of Wellington; though neither he nor any other one of the speakers showed himself master of his subject. But time would fail us to point out all the errors we have observed in reading their speeches.

The "correspondence relating to China, presented to both Houses of parliament, by command of her majesty," forming the Blue Book, consists of a long list of papers, in Nos. extending from 1 to 159, dating in time from January 25th, 1834, to September 23d, 1839, filling 458 large folio pages, all relating to Chinese affairs. Copious as this official correspondence is, it has entirely failed to enlighten and to satisfy the British public; and probably it does not contain but a part of the documents sent from China to the Foreign Office. In fact, from a note to No. 37 (page 86), it appears—what before we had suspected—that the originals of Mr. Gutzlaff's essays on the Statistics of China, called *China Opened*, were deposited in the archives of her majesty's foreign office. The papers sent thither and contained in the Blue Book are principally from lord Napier, Mr. Davis, sir G. B. Robinson, and captain Elliot; those from thence, are from viscount Palmerston, excepting only a single memorandum and one short letter from the duke of Wellington; and they all refer to H. B. M.'s commission, which was formed on the dissolution of the E. I. Company's factory in China. A few of these papers have already appeared in our pages; and other we shall notice from time to time as we have opportunity.

Art. XI. *Journal of Occurrences: British blockading squadrons; proceedings at Teëntsin and Chusan; armistice; negotiations; governors Keshen, Lin and Tăng; the hoppo; literary examination; winter caps; prisoners; Nipăl; map of Eastern Asia; the Siamese; Borneo; French consul.*

Lists of British forces in China were given in our number for August; since then they have been increased, by the arrival, from the west coast of South America, of H. B. M. ships the *Calliope*, 28,

captain Herbert, and the *Samarang*, 28, captain James Scott; and of the 37th regiment from India.

1. Our information respecting the movements of these forces has been kindly given us chiefly by eye-witnesses, and will afford our readers a tolerably accurate account of the general movements, down to the 20th of this month. The arrangements for blockade, after the occupation of Chusan, were mainly as here given.

Off the mouth of the Pei ho.

H. M. S. WELLESLEY, 74, captain Thomas Maitland.
H. M. S. BLONDE, 42, captain F. Bourcheir.
H. M. S. VOLAGE, 28, captain George Elliot, jr.
H. M. S. PYLADES, 18, Commander Anson.
H. M. S. MODESTE, 18, Commander Eyres.
H. C. steamer MADAGASCAR, lieut. Dicey commanding.
The transports ERNAAD, and DAVID MALCOLM.

Off the Yangtsze keäng.

H. M. S. CONWAY, 28, captain Drinkwater Bethune.
H. M. Brig ALGERINE, 10, lt. Mason commanding.
YOUNG HEBE, a schooner.
The KITE transport, commissioned under a surveying lieutenant.

Off Ningpo.

H. M. S. ALLIGATOR, 28, commander Kuper, acting captain.
H. M. S. CRUIZER, 18, commander Gifford.

Off the river Min and Amoy.

H. M. S. BLENHEIM, 74, captain sir Humphrey Sen Fleming Senhouse.
The BRAEMAR, transport, commanded by a lt., with other vessels.

At Chusan.

H. M. S. MELVILLE, 74; RATTLESNAKE, troop ship; MARION, transport, having commodore sir J. J. Gordon Bremer's broad pennant on board; a steamer, and a number of transports.

Off the Choo keäng, the port of Canton.

H. M. S. DRUID, 44, captain H. Smith.
H. M. S. LARNE, 20, captain J. P. Blake.
H. M. S. HYACINTH, 20, captain W. Warren.
H. M. S. COLUMBINE, 18, captain J. T. Clarke.
H. C. steamer ENTERPRISE, captain West.

2. The plenipotentiaries, having been 25 days at Chusan and in its vicinity, left that group about the end of July, and proceeded northward—with the fleet named above. Passing the promontory of Shantung on the 5th Aug., the Wellesley anchored on the 9th off the mouth of the river *Pei* 白河, in lat. 38° 55′ 30″ N., long. 118° E., with six fathoms at low tides.

On the 10th, the steamer Madagascar, with captain Elliot on board, proceeded towards the shore; and the next day, the 11th, she anchored within the mouth of the river. The Chinese had been watching her movements; and Keshen the governor of the province, the third member of the emperor's cabinet, a Mantchou, had come down to Takoo, and there awaited her arrival, in order early to receive any dispatches of which she might chance to be the bearer.

The steamer, drawing 11ft. 9 inches, found 12ft. water on the Bar at spring tides. At low water, there were only from 3 to 4 feet. A great number of junks were daily passing in and out at the mouth of the river, the largest of which were obliged to wait for the spring tides, and some of them had to discharge a part of their cargo, before they could go over the Bar. In clear weather, the forts and a pagoda, near the river's mouth, were visible from the anchorage of the fleet, distant 12 or 14 miles, due east.

On the 13th, an officer was dispatched by Keshen, to the squadron, with orders to supply the ships with provisions; and cattle, sheep, &c., were brought off plentifully. Pay for the same was offered, but refused in the first instance; subsequently, however, it was agreed that pay should be received which was done accordingly.

On the 15th, the needful arrangements having been made, the governor sent his trusty aid-de-camp, *showpei Pih*, alias captain White, to go on board the Wellesley, there to receive, from the plenipotentiaries, lord Palmerston's communication, the same document apparently, or rather the original of that which had twice before been presented and refused, first at Amoy, and again off Ningpo.

The next day, August 16th, the letter of H. B. M.'s principal foreign secretary was duly delivered into the hands of the aforesaid showpei Pih, a right trusty servant of H. I. M.'s most faithful minister Keshen, by whom it was to be laid before the emperor.

The same day, the 16th—ten days having at Keshen's urgent request been allowed for an answer,—the squadron started for the coast of Mantchouria, intending to make the island of Changhing (長興島 Changhing taou) near the main-land, on the east side of the gulf of Leaoutung, with a view to obtain there additional supplies of water and cattle. (In the second volume of the Repository, page 24, this place, or a part of it, is called Tungtsze kow, and is put down in latitude 39° 28′ north, and longitude 121° 7′ east.) The Blonde, Modeste, and Ernaad, succeeded in reaching it, and in obtaining supplies, though not without some difficulty. A few specimens of natural history were brought away from there, and among them some small pieces of coal, said to have been obtained from a place near the town of Fuhchow, opposite the island on the main-land. Some native boats were seen loaded with coal.

The Wellesley, a gale coming on, was driven southward to Toke, 砣磯, one of the 'Meaou taou,'—that group of islands which forms the door of the gulf of Leaoutung. Toke is one of the largest islands of the group; and from it, cattle and other stock were obtained, the people being compelled to sell them.

The Volage failed to reach either the Meaou taou or Chanhing; but on returning, found the Pylades in communication with the shore, on the west side of the gulf, at Keën ho, 滅河, (having arrived there with the David Malcolm and steamer Madagascar,) under the *Sha-luy teën*, 沙壘田, Sand-hill fields—not thunder-and-light-

ning sands, as they have often and erroneously been called. Here also, at Keën ho, cattle and sheep were obtained. These vessels having been joined by the Wellesley, they all together regained their former anchorage, off the mouth of the Pei ho, on the 27th.

On the 28th, no reply having been received from Keshen, a strong boat-force, in hostile array, carrying a menacing letter for the cabinet minister, was proceeding towards the shore, when, lo, it was ascertained that the reply had been sent off on the 24th and 25th, but no foreigner was found at the anchorage to receive it!

On the 30th, a conference was held on shore between H. B. M.'s plenipotentiary, capt. Elliot, and H. I. M.'s cabinet minister, Keshen. Near the mouth of the Pei ho, on the southern side of the channel, a plat of ground in the form of a parallelogram was marked off by a light fence of cloth, stretched on poles and cords, like a Tartar encampment. In this were two large tents, one for the plenipotentiary and suit, and the other for the cabinet minister, with several smaller ones for their attendants and servants. The conference was held in Keshen's tent, where captain Elliot was attended by Mr. Morrison and another young gentleman both as interpreters: the cabinet minister also had but one or two confidential attendants present on the occasion. All Chinese assumption of superiority was laid aside, and the utmost degree of urbanity exhibited—this however was done apparently without manifesting any readiness to meet the demands of her majesty's government, or even to give definite answers thereto. Thus, this and the next day both passed, without any satisfactory results. At length, reference to Peking was again desired by Keshen, which was granted, and six days, dating from the 3d of September, were allowed for a reply.

On the 4th, a party went northward in the steamer, and approached the coast at the point where the Great Wall terminates, in latitude 40° 04′ N., longitude 120° 02′ E. Judging from a sketch, which was taken of it by one of the party, the wall, after descending from the highlands, which are remarkably precipitous and very rugged in their aspect, stretches northward two or three miles across a narrow plain to a ledge of rocks, with which it seems to unite, and there loses itself in the waters of the gulf of Leaoutung.

What answer was returned on the 9th, or whether indeed any came or not, we are unable to state. Among the Chinese, a rumor has obtained that twenty-six propositions were brought forward by the plenipotentiary, of which ten were at once set aside, the others were to be considered. No confidence can be placed in this rumor; nor, so far as we know, are any parties (except those immediately concerned) at all aware what may be the contents of lord Palmerston's letter, or the nature of the answer to it, if indeed it has been answered.

On the 15th—and, we are told, contrary to the wishes of the Chinese—the squadron took its departure; and after spending a few more days north of the promontory, late in September arrived again at Chusan.

3. *Tinghae*, having in due form been declared to be the right and lawful possession of queen Victoria, the following appointment of governor was made. The notice we quote from the Singapore Free Press, 17th September.

NOTICE.

"The chief city of Chusan having fallen to H. M.'s arms, I have deemed it necessary, during H. M.'s pleasure, to empower brigadier Burrell, in command of the troops of the eastern expedition, to provide for the civil, fiscal, and judicial administration of the government of the island, and any other towns or districts which may be hereafter reduced; and I have therefore to direct and require that the authority aforesaid may be duly respected.

(Signed) "GEORGE ELLIOT, rear-admiral and commissioner in chief."

So contradictory are the reports respecting the state of affairs at Tinghae, that for the present we shall restrict our remarks to a few particulars; and first, regarding the island itself; a correspondent there thus writes:

"The Chusan islands seem to be an extremity of the chain of mountains, supposed to branch off from the Himálayas, which runs through Yunnan and Kwangse, on the north of Kwangtung, and so into Fuhkeën, ending in Formosa, and into Chěkeäng ending here. The principal Chusan island is in itself a miniature system; from the central heights, little streamlets flow between hills for some distances, till the hills, separating wide apart, leave a plain open to the sea. Of such vallies, ending in level flats on the coast, and embraced on three sides by heights, there are perhaps a dozen or more. The plain of Chusan is the largest, and several little vallies lead from the hills into it. (No, there is one on the northeast, I am disposed to think, somewhat larger, but its port is too shallow for any but very small boats.) In each of these plains are some villages, and pretty little hamlets in the lovely vallies, by which from the centre they are approached. Here, after a little time, one will be able to live in perfect security. * * * The people are very talkative, thievish, troublesome, but tame—wanting little to hold them in subjection,—and inquisitive."

Great as the mortality has been among the troops—and by latest accounts more than 300 had died, and more than 1500 were in the hospitals—nothing that we know of the islands, as regards their situation, climate, &c., lead us to suppose they are unhealthy. A sketch which we have seen, of the harbor of Tinghae, of the landing place, the hills beyond, (on one of which stands the josshouse where troops are quartered,) and of the highlands which rise in the distance, indicates a rich and beautiful country. Surveys of the island and of the waters around it, some of which have been already made, will afford erelong better means of judging accurately of the capabilities and advantages of Chusan. On a chart, kindly handed us a few hours by M. M. Clarke, esq. one of the party who visited the Great Wall, we observe that a great many corrections have already been made by the officers of the blockading squadrons. A deep and safe channel has been found for large ships into the Yangtsze keäng. These surveys will ultimately prove of great advantage.

Captain *Anstruther* of the artillery was seized by the Chinese near the city of Tinghae, on the evening of the 16th of September; and though a thousand bayonets went speedily in pursuit of him, his rescue was not effected.

The capture of the *Kite* and her crew, with the murder of captain Noble, are equally untoward events, of which, at present, we are un-

able to lay before our readers any satisfactory accounts. They and captain Anstruther, with one or two others, were, according to latest reports, all detained at Ningpo, as prisoners of war, the demands for them by capt. Elliot having been refused.

The *Indian Oak*, which had been dispatched to Singapore, was wrecked on one of the Lewchew islands; her crew were all saved, and returned to Chusan by the natives in a junk built for that purpose.

4. An *armistice* appears to have been agreed on between the plenipotentiaries, admiral and captain Elliot, and the cabinet minister Keshen. See the imperial edict, page 412.

4. *Negotiations*, which were commenced at the mouth of the Pei ho, are to be renewed in this neighborhood: the exact time, place, &c., at which the high contracting parties are to meet have not yet transpired. By many of the Chinese in Canton it is confidently affirmed that these negotiations will lead to a speedy and satisfactory issue, and commerce will again be resumed. Many foreigners entertain a different opinion. Is the emperor prepared to grant all that the British government have asked and will insist on? Partial concessions will be made, and these for a time may satisfy the demands. As yet we see no sufficient reasons to warrant any strong expectations of a speedy and permanent settlement of the existing difficulties.

6. *Keshen*, who has been appointed high commissioner, to settle all differences internal and external at Canton, is expected to arrive in the provincial city at or before the middle of November.

7. *Lin T'sihseu*, late imperial commissioner and governor of these two provinces, it is now confidently affirmed, will await Keshen's arrival, and not, as the edicts on a preceding page declare, proceed immediately to Peking. Tăng Tingching, Han Shaouhing, and some others, late of this government, are likewise at Canton to meet Keshen, by whom an examination of their conduct is to be made. Lin, though now menaced by his august master, still stands high in the estimation of those over whom he was lately governor; and even his bitterest enemies confess that his hands are pure from bribes. Just before he resigned his seals to the lieut.-governor, he paid a visit to the shipping at Whampoa, having had occasion to go to that neighborhood to witness the destruction of opium.

8. The *hoppo*, Wăn, having been summoned to Peking, has also delivered over the seals of his office to the lt.-governor. We have not heard who is to be his successor.

9. The *gracious examination* has gone off with the usual éclat; the degree of *sewtsae*, alias A. M., was in regular order conferred on 74 young literati, and on 14 *fuhpang*, or secondaries. Among the successful candidates were two, the sons of hong merchants. This degree is the first direct step in the high road to civil and state honors.

10. The *winter caps*, or bonnets, were on the 25th, by special edict, ordered to be put on in exchange for those worn in summer. Admonitions to guard against fires are also published by the local magistrates. These are mere matters of form.

11. The *prisons* in Nanhae have recently excited the attention of

the provincial government—an attempt to release some of the prisoners having been discovered. The leader and some of the accomplices have been executed.

12. *War in Nipál* seems to be more and more certain, and the state of affairs in China will most likely be regarded as additional reason for prosecuting it vigorously.

13. A new *map of Eastern Asia* is announced by Mr. Tassin of Calcutta: it embraces Bengal, the Indo-Chinese states, China, Corea, and Japan, with the whole of the Eastern Archipelago, 'delineated with the utmost accuracy, and according to the most recent authorities.' Some of these maps we hope will be sent on to China.

14. The *Siamese*, by recent accounts from Bangkok, were endeavoring to augment their war-establishment—designed, it was supposed by some, either to resist any hostile visit from the English (who were expected to fail in China), or, as it was believed by others, to renew hostilities on Cochinchina. The king and his ministerss were continuing their measures both against the traffic in opium and the use of the drug.

15. From *Borneo* we have lying before us, by the kindness of a friend, two letters, one dated Sambas Aug. 1st, and the other Pontiana August 10th, 1840, both brought by Chinese junks. It is generally known that there are many Chinese settlements in Borneo, and that intercourse is kept up between some of these and their friends in the celestial empire. For the benefit of the Chinese and other inhabitants of Sambas and Pontiana, the Dutch government is giving its sanction to the establishment there of Christian missions. These, by means of schools, the promulgation of divine truth, and the diffusion of a knowledge of useful arts and sciences, will, if prudently conducted, erelong make the great wilderness which Borneo now is, become physically and morally a well-cultivated field, and in its villas and hamlets, its towns and its cities, its private and public institutions, comparable with the fairest portions of Christendom. The furtherance of objects so noble, the Netherlands' government may justly view with mingled feelings of approbation and satisfaction; but the labor of carrying them on will be long and arduous, requirting energies and virtues of the highest order. One of the letters before us mentions a very pressing invitation from the *kungse*, or chief, of the Chinese at Pamangket, for Mr. Doty, the writer of one of the letters, to come and settle in his village. Two tours had recently been made from Pontiana—on one of these, the travelers ascended Sangaur,—the largest branch of the Pontiana river,— about 200 miles, visiting the principal settlements, and gathering information concerning the Dayaks; the other tour was up a northern branch of the same river, a distance of about 70 miles to Kumandor, a place visited by Messrs. Doty and Pohlman in 1838.

16. Monsieur *Charles Alexandre Challaye*, attaché au consulat général de Manila gérant de consulat de France en Chine, arrived in China on the 20th ult., per the La Rose, captain Costey. A French commissioner, it is said, is on his way to China.

THE

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ART. I. *Confessions of an English opium-eater. Fourth edition. London: printed for John Taylor, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall.* 1826. *pp.* 206. From a Correspondent.

THE following remarkable confessions of an English opium eater are carefully condensed and arranged into a continuous narrative from the book bearing this title. The work, from its peculiar style and extraordinary contents, has been regarded by some persons, as fictitious and incredible. But to any one who has studied it, and has any knowledge of the properties of opium, it presents the strongest evidences of its authenticity. The book is its own witness; for who could have written such an one, but an opium eater? No criticism will be offered upon the volume as a whole, the historical detail of the early history of the writer, &c., being quite distinct from the confessions. These are highly valuable, inasmuch as they come from one, who had experienced himself, the effects of opium on the largest scale; and also from his education, very competent to describe what he knew and felt. To those interested in the inquiry, it will prove useful to have such a standard of comparison.

When he first commenced taking opium and the cause of it. He first took opium in the autumn of 1804, to relieve excruciating rheumatic pains of the head and face, from which he had hardly any respite for about twenty days; and which arose, from imprudently plunging his head into a basin of cold water, and with hair thus wetted going to sleep.

The effect of the first dose. Having arrived at his lodgings after the purchase of the drug, it may be supposed he says, 'that I lost

not a moment in taking the quantity prescribed. I was necessarily ignorant of the whole art and mystery of opium taking; and what I took, I took under every disadvantage. But I took it; and in an hour, oh! what a revulsion! what an upheaving from its lowest depths of the inner spirit! what an apocalypse of the world within me! That my pains had vanished was now a trifle in my eyes; this negative effect was swallowed up in the immensity of those positive effects, which had opened before me, in the abyss of exquisite enjoyment thus suddenly revealed.

The operation and effects of opium. 'Upon all that has been hitherto written on the subject of opium, whether by travelers in Turkey, or by professors of medicine, I have but one emphatic criticism to pronounce. Lies! lies! lies! First, then, it is not so much affirmed as taken for granted by all who ever mention opium, formally or incidentally, that it does, or can produce intoxication. Laudanum might certainly intoxicate if a man could bear to take enough of it because it contains so much proof spirit. But crude opium, I affirm peremptorily, is incapable of producing any state of body at all resembling that which is produced by alcohol: and not in degree only but even in kind. The pleasure given by wine is always mounting and tending to a crisis after which it declines; that from opium when once generated is stationary for eight or ten hours; wine disorders the mental faculties; opium on the contrary (if taken in a proper manner) introduces amongst them the most exquisite order, legislation and harmony. Wine robs a man of his self possession, opium greatly invigorates it. Wine unsettles and clouds the judgment; opium communicates serenity and equipoise to all the faculties. The expansion to the benigner feelings is from both, but in those incident to opium, there is no febrile excess or maudlin character, as after wine, but a healthy restoration to that state which the mind would naturally recover upon the removal of any deep seated irritation or pain. In short to sum up all in one word, a man who is inebriated or tending to inebriation, is, and feels that he is, in a condition which calls up into supremacy the merely human, too often the brutal part of his nature: but the opium eater (not suffering from any disease or other remote effects of opium,) feels that the diviner part of his nature is paramount; that is, the moral affections are in a state of cloudless serenity; and over all is the great light of the majestic intellect. A second error is that the elevation of spirits produced by opium is necessarily followed by a proportionate depression, and that the natural and even immediate consequences of opium is torpor and stagna-

tion animal and mental. This error I shall content myself with simply denying, assuring my reader that for ten years during which I took opium at intervals, the day succeeding to that on which I allowed myself this luxury was always a day of unusually good spirits. With respect to the torpor supposed to follow I deny that also. Certainly opium is classed under the head of narcotics, and some such effect it may produce in the end: but the primary effects of opium are always and in the highest degree to excite and stimulate the system. This first stage of its action always lasted with me during my noviciate for upwards of eight hours; so that it must be the fault of the opium eater himself, if he does not so time his exhibition of the dose, as that the whole weight of its narcotic influence may descend upon his sleep."

By way of treating the question illustratively rather than argumentatively, he describes the manner in which he often passed an opium evening in London, either in the busy markets or crowded opera, during the period between 1804 and 1812; yet in candor (he says), "I will admit that markets and theatres are not the appropriate haunts of the opium eater when in the divinest state incident to his enjoyment. In that state, crowds become an oppression to him; music even, too sensual and gross. He naturally seeks solitude and silence as indispensable conditions of those traces or profoundest reveries, which are the crown and consummation of what opium can do for human nature."

From 1804 to 1812, a period of eight years, he took opium at intervals. "To this moderate and temperate use of the article (he does not mention the extent of the dose), I may ascribe it I suppose that as yet, at least (i. e. 1812), I am ignorant and unsuspicious of the avenging terrors which opium has in store for those who abuse its lenity. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that hitherto I have been only a dilletante eater of opium: eight years' practice even, with the single precaution of allowing sufficient intervals between every indulgence, has not been sufficient to make opium necessary to me as an article of diet."

When he first became a regular opium eater, and the cause of it. "I have often been asked how I first came to be a regular opium eater; and have suffered very unjustly in the opinion of my acquaintance, from being reputed to have brought upon myself all the sufferings which I shall have to record, by a long indulgence in this practice purely for the sake of creating an artificial state of pleasurable excitement. This however is a misrepresentation of my case.

True it is that for nearly ten years I did occasionally take opium, for the sake of the exquisite pleasure it gave me; but so long as I took it with this view, I was effectually protected from all material bad consequences, by the necessity of interposing long intervals between the several acts of indulgence in order to renew the pleasurable sensations. It was not for the purpose of creating pleasure, but of mitigating pain in the severest degree, that I first began to use opium as an article of diet." In 1813, he was seized with an appalling irritation of the stomach, from which he states he suffered so much in his boyish days, and which originated from long and repeated abstinence from food. It had revived at intervals; and now under unfavorable circumstances from depression of spirits, it attacked him with a violence that yielded to no remedies but opium. This was the cause of his taking opium daily, and (he says), I could not have done otherwise. From this date, he writes, the reader is to consider me a regular and confirmed opium eater, of which to ask whether on any particular day, he had, or had not taken opium, would be to ask whether his lungs had performed respiration, or the heart fulfilled its functions.

Up to 1816–17, he judged himself to have been a happy man. "But now farewell, a long farewell to happiness, winter and summer! Farewell to smiles and laughter, farewell to peace of mind, to hope and to tranquil dreams, and to the blessed consolations of sleep." For I have now to record—

The pains of opium. "My studies have now been long interrupted. Mathematics and intellectual philosophy for instance have become insupportable to me. I shrunk from them with a sense of powerless and infantile feebleness, that gave me an anguish the greater from remembering the time when I grappled with them to my own hourly delight. In this state of imbecility, I for amusement turned my attention to political economy, for great as was the prostration of my powers at this time, I could not forget my knowledge. This exertion, however, was but a temporary flash. I have thus described and illustrated my intellectual torpor in terms that apply more or less to every part of the four years during which I was under the Circean spells of opium. But for misery and suffering I might indeed, be said to have existed in a dormant state. The opium eater loses none of his moral sensibilities or aspirations: he wishes and longs as earnestly as ever, to realize what he believes possible, and feels to be exacted by duty; but his intellectual apprehension of what is possible infinitely outruns his power to attempt it. He lies under the

weight of incubus and nightmare: he lies in sight of all that he would fain to perform just as a man forcibly confined to his bed by the mortal langor of a relaxing disease, who is compelled to witness injury or outrage offered to some object of his affection: he curses the spells which chain him down from motion: he would lay down his life if he might but get up and walk, but he is powerless as an infant and cannot even attempt to rise."

It was about this time, viz. the middle of 1817, that the faculty of dreaming became very distressing to him, and eventually the immediate and proximate cause of his acutest suffering. He notices the four following facts, preliminary to describing the peculiar character of his dreams.

"1. That as the creative state of the eye increased, a sympathy seemed to arise between the waking and the dreaming states of the brain in one point, that whatsoever I happened to call up and to trace by a voluntary act upon the darkness was very apt to transfer itself to my dreams; so that I feared to exercise this faculty, for whatsoever things capable of being visually represented, I did but think of in the darkness, immediately shaped themselves into phantoms of the eye; and by a process apparently no less inevitable when thus once traced in faint and visionary colors they were drawn out into insufferable splendor that fretted my heart.

"2. For this and all other changes in my dreams, were accompanied by deep seated anxiety and gloomy melancholy, such as are wholly incommunicable by words. I seemed every night to descend not metaphorically but literally to descend, into chasms and sunless abysses, depths below depths, from which it seemed hopeless that I could ever reascend.

"3. The sense of shape, and in the end the sense of time were both powerfully affected. Buildings, landscapes, &c., were exhibited in proportions so vast as the bodily eye is not fitted to receive. Space swelled and was amplified to an extent of unutterable infinity. This however did not disturb me so much as the vast expansion of time. I sometimes seemed to have lived for 70 or 100 years in one night; nay, sometimes had feelings representative of a millenium passed in that time or however, of a duration far beyond the limits of my human experience.

"4. The minutest incidents of childhood, or forgotten scenes of later years were often revived."

"In the early stage of my malady, the splendor of my dreams were chiefly architectural: and I beheld such pomp of cities and palaces

as were never yet beheld by the waking eye unless in the clouds." "To my architecture succeeded dreams of lakes, and silvery expanses of water, and these became seas and oceans; next followed the tyranny of the human face which never left me until the winding up of my case. The sea appeared paved with innumerable faces upturned to the heavens, imploring, wrathful, despairing, &c."

"Dreams of oriental imagery and mythological tortures were impressed upon me with unimaginable horror. Under the connecting feeling of tropical heat, and vertical sun lights, I brought together all creatures, birds, beasts, reptiles, all trees and plants, usages and appearances that are found in all tropical regions, and assembled them together in China or Hindostan. From kindred feelings I soon brought Egypt, and all her gods under the same law. I was stared at, hooted at, grinned at, chattered at, by monkeys, by paroquets, by crockatoos. I ran into pagodas, and was fixed, for centuries, at the summit, or in secret rooms; I was the idol; I was the priest; I was worshiped; I was sacrificed. I fled from the wrath of Brahma through all the forests of Asia; Vishnu hated me; Siva laid wait for me. I came suddenly upon Isis and Osiris; I had done a deed which the ibis and the crocodile trembled at. I was buried for a thousand years, in stone coffins, with mummies and sphinxes, in narrow chambers at the heart of eternal pyramids. I was kissed with cancerous kisses by crocodiles; and laid, confounded with all unutterable slimy things, amongst reeds and Nilotic mud, &c." "Over every form, and threat, and punishment and dim sightless incarceration, brooded a sense of eternity and infinity that drove me into an oppression as of madness."

How this conflict of horrors was finally brought to its crisis. "The reader is aware that opium had long ceased to found its empire on spells of pleasure; it was solely by the tortures connected with the attempt to abjure it, that it kept its hold. However, a crisis arrived, I saw that I must die if I continued the opium; I determined, therefore, if that should be required, to die in throwing it off. I triumphed; but think not, reader, that therefore my sufferings were ended, nor think of me as one sitting in a dejected state."

The extent to which he took opium. From 1804 to 1813, the luxury was used at intervals; the amount of dose is not mentioned. From 1813 to 1820, or thereabouts, he took it continuously every day in an increasing ratio. His highest dose was 8000 drops or about nine ounces of laudanum; the usual medicinal dose of which is from 15 to 25 drops, and not five and twenty ounces as has been seen recommended in a pirated edition of Buchan's Domestic Medicine.

The mode, and the effects, of relinquishing the habit. His first task was to reduce it at once to one eighth part; that is to 1000 drops, or about 40 grains of solid opium, and then to thirty, and as fast as he could to twelve grains, and from that to a quantity ranging between 300 and 160 drops, which was comparatively so insignificant a dose that he regarded the victory as having been achieved, and its use renounced. The effects which followed the first descent was instantaneous; he states "the cloud of profoundest melancholy which rested upon my brain like some black vapors upon the summits of the mountains, drew off in one day; again I was happy; my brain performed its functions as healthily as before, and my feelings of pleasure expanded themselves to all around me." In no long time, after suffering my readers to think of me as a reformed opium eater, I became sensible that the effort which remained, (viz. to entirely relinquish the small quantity named above,) would cost me far more energy than I had anticipated; but the necessity for making it was more apparent every month. In particular, I became aware of an increasing callousness or defect of sensibility of the stomach, which I imagined might imply a schirrous state of that organ either formed or forming. Opium therefore I resolved wholly to abjure, as soon as I should find myself at liberty to bend my undivided attention and energy to this purpose. On the 24th of June (the year not mentioned), I began my experiment; I must premise that about 170 or 180 drops had been my ordinary allowance for many months; occasionally I had run up as high as 500, and once nearly to 700; in repeated preludes to my final experiment, I had also gone as low as 100 drops, but had found it impossible to stand it beyond the fourth day; 130 drops a day for three days; the fourth I plunged at once to eighty. The misery which I now suffered took the conceit out of me at once; for about a month I continued off and on about this mark; then I sunk to 60, and the next day to none at all. This was the first day, for nearly ten years, that I had existed without opium. I persevered in my abstinence for 90 hours; upwards of half a week. Then I took, ask me not how much; say ye severest what would ye have done? Then I abstained again; then took about 25 drops; then abstained and so on.

"Meantime the symptoms which attended my case for the first six weeks of the experiment were these: enormous irritability and excitement of the whole system: the stomach in particular restored to a full feeling of vitality and sensibility; but often in great pain; unceasing restlessness night and day. Sleep I scarcely knew what it

was, three hours out of the twenty-four was the utmost I had, and that so agitated and shallow that I heard every sound that was near me; lower jaw constantly swelling; mouth ulcerated, violent sternutation, sometimes lasting for two hours at a time, and recurring twice or three times a day, violent catarrh, great impatience, irritability, and restlessness, &c. By the advice of a surgeon I tried bitters; for a short time these greatly mitigated my sufferings, and about the forty-second day of the experiment, the symptoms already noticed began to retire, and new ones to arise of a different, and far more tormenting class." What these were he felt an antipathy to mention. 1st, because the mind revolts from retracing circumstantially any sufferings from which it is removed by too short or by no interval; and 2d, the doubts whether this latter state be any way referable to opium.

Why he did not release himself from the horrors of opium by leaving it off, or diminishing it, earlier? To this he briefly answers: it might be supposed that I yielded to the fascinations of opium too easily. It cannot be supposed that any man can be charmed by its terrors. The reader may be sure, therefore, that I made attempts innumerable to reduce the quantity. I add, that those who witnessed the agonies of those attempts, and not myself, were the first to beg me to desist. But could not I have reduced it a drop a day, or by adding water have bisected or trisected a drop? A thousand drops bisected would thus have taken nearly six years to reduce; and that way would certainly not have answered. To a certain point it can be reduced with ease and even pleasure, but after that point further reduction causes intense suffering.

Remarks upon the preceding confessions. 1. The cause of his taking opium in the first instance was distinctly to relieve suffering. Excruciating pains of the nerves supplying the face and head produced intense bodily anguish, and the whole system sympathized in the morbid excitement. These the opium completely removed, followed by a delightful composure, an undisturbed serenity, an exquisite enjoyment, unknown before, but now revealed, and not forgotten. For the pleasurable excitement was again sought, at intervals, for a period of eight years or more. He acknowledges that it was solely for the gratification of his senses that he now took this fascinating drug; and truly does he observe that he was ignorant and unsuspicious, of the avenging terrors that were in store for him. The *future* was forgotten in the transient enjoyment of the present. The time came when opium must be used daily as a regular article of diet.

The reason, whether ostensible or real, was for the purpose of mitigating appalling irritation and pain of the stomach. Be it so; it yielded to opium; and the habit of eating it daily was thoroughly confirmed. The cause of the gastric irritation at this time is doubtful, it might have been from the drug, or the result of previous disease, or from both.

The cause which operated so strongly upon 'the opium eater,' the writer believes has a common influence upon most other persons addicted to the practice. In China, there is no doubt very many commence smoking opium, simply because it is fashionable, and they are persuaded to do it by friends; and finding it excite pleasurable sensations continue it at intervals till the habit, growing upon them, becomes necessarily established. But the writer is assured that numbers commence smoking opium, from the idea of its being beneficial to them as a medicine. Their physicians very usually prescribe it in coughs, difficulty of breathing, fever, and many other ailments and local pains. The consequence is, the individual unsuspectingly and insidiously forms a habit which, he finds afterwards to his dismay, he is unable to renounce. The writer has had cases of such under treatment. How many too in England become addicted to this dangerous practice, from first using it as a medicine to alleviate pain, and then either from the desire of self-gratification, or in part from necessity, continue regularly increasing the dose. The late Rev. R. Hall certainly may be adduced as an instance of the latter class. In painful chronic diseases nothing is more common than when patients have once knowingly tasted of the sedative effects of opium, to earnestly petition for more opium, more opium! In such cases, the greatest caution is found necessary in so administering this dose, or other remedies of a like nature, as to produce its beneficial effects without the necessity of habitually using it.

So fascinating is opium, whether smoked or eaten at the onset, and for some time if taken at intervals, that it is not surprising that it should be so extensively employed as a luxury. And a more seductive one cannot exist. Step by step imperceptibly, and little by little, it insinuates itself into the economy, and agreeably exciting the brain and nervous system, its influence is cherished until it undermines the whole fabric. It is said that if those who take opium would be satisfied with a moderate allowance no harm would follow. This is indeed begging the question. For, what is moderation to one man is excess to another, and vice versâ; moreover the peculiarity of this habit is, that it is not, or cannot be, satisfied with small quantities, or

a fixed ratio; but requires for its gratification, accumulative doses. The history of all opium smokers or eaters, will, it is believed, confirm the truth of this statement. The period, when taken at intervals, may vary very much, but the time comes sooner or later, that this proves to be an introduction to its regular use. The Chinese call this the time of play, which with them very commonly lasts two or three years, then follows the game in good earnest. Mr. De Quinsy, after three years' daily use and about eight at intervals, still regarded himself as a happy man. But now alas! his happiness forsook him—"a long farewell." He found now to his sorrow, that opium had *pains* as well as pleasures. His mental powers were prostrated almost to imbecility, torpor had succeeded to excitement, and a brilliant imagination had become the fruitful source of his acutest suffering. He is harassed by day, and haunted at night. Oriental imagery, the most beautiful under the sun, was impressed upon his mind with unimaginable horror! The woes of opium are at last brought to a crisis. "He saw that he must die if he continued the opium. He therefore determined if that should be required, to die in throwing it off. Wise resolution! but difficult, *most* difficult to perform. *He* triumphed, but not without nearly wresting soul and body asunder. Of all spells this is the most tormenting. Whether the Chinese are more fickle in purpose, or more weak in resolution than 'the opium eater,' I cannot say, only it is very evident that without the aid of medicine they cannot, or at least do not, throw off the accursed habit. They are bound down as with iron fetters, for the resolution and the will are often wanting, although the judgment requires no convincing—so resistless is the tyranny of opium. To the writer, (even after what has been said above) it is still a marvelous thing that there should be such infatuation in the Chinese to commence, and continue the use of a luxury which they must know if indulged in will ruin their present prospects and happiness, and destroy the power of making provision for the future. But is it cause for wonder, when we see our own countrymen so insatiable after alcohol?

The symptoms which 'the opium eater' experienced both before and after he relinquished the drug, are very similar to those experienced by this people. They have that mental torpor, that inaptitude for all exertion, those excited dreams, that irritability of the stomach and alimentary canal, impairment of the digestive powers, with other symptoms peculiar to that state, which De Quinsy felt. Of course there is a difference, but still a striking similarity between them. On examining the reasons why he did not abandon the habit earlier, it

is very clear that he wanted the motive, a powerful impulse. The strongest was finally presented to him and it proved sufficient. Probably very much of his anguish would have been prevented, had his course of descent been less rapid, and more equally graduated, with other medicines combined with the bitters. The cure effected upon any of the Chinese by their own physicians is chiefly so by opium pills, which is the smokable extract dried and rolled, which they take in a descending series.

I apprehend there are not many persons in China (but this is entire supposition) who are in the habit of taking so much opium as De Quinsy; his highest dose was 8000 drops, which is equal to about 320 grains of solid opium, or 9 ounces of laudanum. An individual must smoke eight mace to take what is equal to 300 grains, not calculating the difference in point of purity and strength,—the smokable extract being superior to any other. The remark which is made, that "to a certain point the dose can be reduced with ease and pleasure, but after that point further reduction causes intense suffering," is abundantly proved in the experience of all who eat or smoke opium. In the account before us, it was found comparatively easy to reduce the amount one eighth, and from that to a quantity averaging from 300 to 160 drops a day. But to diminish it farther was a matter of great difficulty and pain. It is the same with the Chinese. From smoking, from one to two or more mace, they can reduce it at once to a few candareens; but if they attempt to continue the reduction, and finally leave off the opium altogether, they are seized with symptoms so peculiarly distressing, (as have been already mentioned in a previous number of the Repository,) that to alleviate them they have recourse again to their foe, the opium; which is certainly more seductive and more difficult to renounce than its rival, alcohol.

Before concluding, it is proper that reference should be made, to the criticism upon travelers in Turkey, and medical professors, also to his observations that the effects of opium differ both in degree and *kind* from those of alcohol, and are not followed by depression and torpor, as represented by some. No wonder that he thus speaks of the account of travelers in Turkey, for they are directly opposed one to another, both not being strictly correct. Professors of medicine also somewhat differ in their opinion when writing upon the effects of continued and accumulative doses of opium. But why? Because it is a subject in which they themselves have had little or no experience, with at least few exceptions, and those chiefly toxicologists. Its operation as a medicine, and its operation when used as a luxury,

are very different; and the facts relating to the latter, can only be acquired by observation upon those addicted to the practice. Nevertheless, while there is not *considerable* accurate information to be obtained from medical writings on this topic, there is amply sufficient to contradict the assertion of the author. And it is also to be recollected that when the 'confessions' first made their appearance, much less was known and said respectiug opium as a luxury, than now. When he states that opium does not intoxicate (according to the proper signification of that word), he speaks the truth; the Malays and the Turks are no exception to this rule, for the opposite is to be attributed to other apparent causes. But when he peremptorily affirms, that crude opium is incapable of producing any state of body *at all* resembling that which is produced by alcohol, he asserts probably more than he is warranted to do; for as they are both diffusible stimulants, acting powerfully on the brain and nervous system, their operation cannot be so entirely dissimilar as is here represented. The depression and torpor which succeeds, he denies on false premises. For it is a law of our nature, that undue excitement of either our mental or physical powers, or both, is followed by a corresponding depression and relaxation. It is so with opium; when used in small quantities, or at intervals, the collapse of the system may be unnoticed, and soon recovered from, but it eventually becomes most conspicuous and distressing, as it did in "the opium eater" when he habitually used the drug; in fact it is to obviate this, that the stimulus is regularly supplied. Now such artificial excitement, whether from alcoholic drinks or opium, is unnatural and pernicious.

An individual in the enjoyment of good health requires no such stimuli for the maintenance of it, for they are not only incapable of imparting real strength, but actually lessen it by exhausting the natural powers; 1st, indirectly by diminishing, and in some cases entirely preventing the necessary supply of nourishment by the irritation and derangement they produce on the digestive apparatus; and 2dly, directly, by the over excitement which they diffuse generally throughout the system, and which is strikingly shown to be incompatible with the natural energies of the body, and an occasion of considerable expenditure of vital power, by the depression, weakness, and functional disturbance that succeed. This is an infringement upon the laws of our organization, which cannot be long sustained with impunity.

ART. II. *Embassies between the court of Ava and Peking: translated from Burmese Chronicles, by lieut.-colonel H. Burney, late resident in Ava.*

OUR number for August contains a narrative of a four years' war between Burmah and China, translated from Burmese chronicles by lieutenant-colonel Burney, and published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. From the 66th and 67th Nos. of that Journal, we will now proceed to select the principal and most interesting details of three successive embassies. According to colonel Burney, the Chinese never surrendered the chiefs of Theinní, Bamoo and Mó-gaung, agreeable to the terms of the treaty concluded at Bamoo, on the 13th of December, 1769; nor did he find mention made of any correspondence between the sovereigns of the two countries, until shortly after Men-dará-gyíh (Syme's Minderagee) put the monarch his nephew to death, and seized on the throne in the year 1781; at which time he appears to have deputed a small party for the purpose of opening a communication with China; but the envoys were seized by the Chinese and carried into Tartary. However, in 1787 an embassy came to Ava from the celestial court. As the ceremony of the public audience, given to these embassadors, corresponded in many points with that observed at the audience given to the British resident, on his first arrival at Ava in 1830, colonel Burney gives us the following description of it, extracted from the 33d volume of the chronicles,—after which he proceeds with the narrative.

"On Tuesday, the 3d of April, 1787, the king of Ava (Men:dara:gyíh) received a report from the tsô:buáh and officers of Theinní, that a Chinese embassy, consisting of upwards of 300 men with E tshô-yé as the chief envoy, had arrived at Theinní, with a letter on gold and costly presents from the emperor of China, for the purpose of establishing peace and friendship between the two great countries. His majesty ordered the Chinese embassy to be conveyed to the capital (at that time Amarapúra), by the road leading from Theinní through Thíbô, Maing-toŭn, Maing-kaing, Yauk-zauk, Pwê-lbá, and Yuá-ngăn, down by the Nat-theit pass and the road along the southern paddy lands (Taung-bhetlay).—The Chinese mission accordingly left Theinní on Sunday, the 6th of May, 1787, and on reaching Nyaung-ní-beng (red pepul tree), embarked in boats (on the Myít-ngay), and came to Yan-aung ghát at Amarapúra, where they landed

and took possession of the buildings constructed for their accommodation. The emperor of China's letter was duly translated on Tuesday, the 29th May; and on Sunday, the 3d of June, the embassy was received by the king in the following manner:—

"The streets and lanes of Amarapúra having been ornamented, the officers of the Lhuot-tô and Yoŭn-do,* dressed in their uniforms with ear-rings, having taken their proper places within those buildings, the white elephant, and Shue-wen, the elephant rode by the king, and other elephants with all their trappings, on being drawn out, and the body guard and other troops formed in front of the Lhuot-tô and hall of audience, and within the court-yard of the palace, the Chinese embassadors were brought from their house at Yan-aung ghât in the following order:—First, two officers with long rods; then musketeers to the right and left; then, seated upon an elephant, the king's writer, Yanda-meit-gyô-den, dressed in full uniform, bearing an octagon betel cup containing the emperor of China's letter; next a sedan chair with the box containing the images of Byamhá; then a sedan chair with a box of royal presents; then another sedan chair with another box of presents; then ten horses intended as presents; and then followed the principal Chinese embassador, E tshô-yé, mounted on an elephant with housings of scarlet broadcloth edged with silk. After him came four of the junior envoys on horseback; and after them, the officer appointed to escort the mission.

"The procession entered the Tset-shyen gateway on the western face of the city, and stopped on reaching the Yoŭn-dô. The box bearing the royal letter was deposited on a fine white mat with an ornamental border spread in the verandah of the building, where the embassadors also were placed, the royal presents being arranged on each side. The princes of the blood and the other great officers of state then passed into the palace in state, surrounded by their respective suites, and with all their insignia of rank. Last of all passed the heir-apparent, the glorious Ain-ye-meng. When all was quiet, the embassadors, preceded by the royal letter and presents, were taken in, the embassadors being made to stop and bow their heads repeatedly along the whole road in the usual way.† The king's writer bearing the box containing the royal letter, stopped not far from the eastern steps of the hall of audience, when a thăn-dô-zen (register of royal orders) went down and took the letter up, and placed it on a white mat that was spread for the purpose. The embassadors as-

* The house in which the ministers of state assembled and the court of justice.

† The British resident refused to make these obeisances.

ceeded by the northern steps, and took their seats at the appointed place; whilst all the presents were put down on the ground in front of the hall of audience. The whole being assembled, the lord of many white elephants, the lord of life, and great king of righteousness, wearing the Mahá-muni crown of inestimable value, and the principal queen, dressed in the Gana-matta-pa-kua jewel, surrounded by all the other queens and concubines, came forth, and on the U-gen folding doors being opened by the princesses, his majesty the king and the principal queen took their seats on the Thíháthana yázá throne. The state drum, beat when his majesty comes out, was then struck three times forcibly and three times gently, and the whole band played. When the music ceased, the eight consecrating Bráhmans performed the customary ceremony of consecration, and the flowers and water presented by the Bráhmans, were received by Baung-dô-pyen and Nanda-then khaya in a gold cup ornamented with the nine precious stones.

"The ná:khăn-dô, (royal reporter) Zeya Nôrat,ha, then brought to the king's notice seven images of Budha which his majesty was to give in charity. His majesty observed, 'let the royal gift be suitably escorted and delivered;' which order was repeated by the ná:khăn to the shue-tait-wún, who after ordering the royal drum to be beaten, conveyed the images out of the hall of audience.

"The thăn-dô-găn, (receiver of royal mandates) Meng-ngay-thiri, then came up the steps used by the king, and kneeling at the usual place, read out a list of the royal presents. The ná:khăn-dô, Kyô-zuánô-rat,há, next proceeded right in front of his majesty, and kneeling, read out from an ornamented book the following translation, which had been made of the emperor of China's letter.

'The elder brother, Udí Bua', (emperor of China,) who rules over the great kingdoms to the eastward, and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs, addresses affectionately his younger brother, the lord of the white, red and mottled elephants, who rules over the great kingdoms to the westward, and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs, lord of the amber mines, and sun-descended king and master of the golden palace. The ancestors of the two brothers have inherited and ruled in succession in this *Zabúdipá* island, lying to the southward of *Myen:mô* mount, from the first creation of the world; and the two brothers are enjoying in the eastern and western great kingdoms, prosperity equal to that of the Thagyá Nat,* with very great glory, power, and authority. From the time even of our ancestors there has been

* This is the Chinese *Teën*, or *Shang Teën*, lord of heaven, and the same as the Hindu god *Indra*, one of whose names, *Sugra*, although written in Burmese *Thugrá*, is pronounced *Thagyá*.

no enmity. The younger brother, the sun-descended king, is an independent sovereign, receiving the homage of great kingdoms, and of an hundred umbrella-wearing chiefs. The elder brother also is an independent sovereign, receiving the homage of great kingdoms, and of an hundred umbrella-wearing chiefs. If the two brothers enter into a permanent agreement and friendship, conformably to the union which has subsisted between them uninterruptedly in former states of existence, it will be like a nail driven in (as firm) to their posterity. The elder brother, who possesses the great kingdoms, and the golden umbrella and palace to the eastward, as well as his queen, sons, daughters, nobles, officers, and the inhabitants of his country, are in the enjoyment of health, peace, and happiness; and he desires to learn, that his younger brother, who possesses the great kingdoms and the golden umbrella and palace to the westward, the master of the golden palace, as well as his queen, eldest son, the heir-apparent, his other sons and daughters, nobles, officers, and all the inhabitants of his country, are also in the enjoyment of health, peace, and happiness.

'For one reason, because friendship has existed from former states of being; and for another, because the elder loves the younger brother; he sends, with a royal letter on gold, a piece of gold, and desires that two pieces of gold may become like this one piece. It is now seventeen years since the gold and silver road, and gold and silver bridge, have not been opened or traversed between the elder brother and younger brother, pursuant to the arrangement made in 1769, that ambassadors of rank should pass between the two great countries, in order that a sincere friendship and esteem might arise. When friendship has been established between the two great countries, each must receive favors from the other.' The elder brother has in front of his palace and worships eight images of Byamhá,* which it has been the custom to worship from the creation of the world; but loving the younger brother, and desiring that he should worship in the same manner, the elder brother presents these images to the younger. If the younger brother worships them, his glory and power will be as resplendent as the rising sun. The son of the lord of *Kaing:mah*, who wears a red umbrella, and is always near the person of the elder brother, is sent to the younger brother, with a royal letter on gold, and with the following presents:—Eight images of Byamyá, cast in gold; eight carpets; ten pieces of gold cloth; ten horses.

'Let the younger brother master of the golden palace, delay not, after the arrival of this ambassador in his presence, to appoint ambassadors on his part, and send them with a royal letter on gold. When the son of the lord of *Kaing:mah* returns to the elder brother, it will be the same as if the royal countenance of the younger brother, the master of the golden palace, has been seen.'

"After the nā:khán-dô, Kyó-zuánô-rat,há had read out the above royal letter, his majesty said, 'E tshô-yé, how many days were you

* Byamhá, written Bramhá, is a being of the superior celestial regions of the Budhists.

coming from the capital of China to Amarapúra?' The nă-khăn, Pyô-gyíh-mhú, repeated the question to the Chinese interpreter, who translated it to the embassador. The embassador replied: 'your majesty's slaves, owing to your majesty's excellent virtues, were one hundred and sixty-four days coming from the capital of China to your majesty's feet.' This answer was translated by the Chinese interpreter to the nă:khăn-dô, who submitted it to his majesty. The king then said: 'E tshô:ye, when you quitted the capital of China, were my royal kinsman, the emperor of China, and his queen and children, and relatives, all in good health?' The question was communicated to the embassador as before, and the embassador replied: 'when your majesty's slaves quitted the capital of China for your majesty's feet, your majesty's royal kinsman, the emperor of China, and his queen, and children, and relatives were all in good health;' which answer was submitted to the king in the same manner as before. The king then said: 'E tshô:yé, go back quickly; the emperor of China will desire to receive intelligence of everything in this country.' This order was communicated as before to the embassadors, who bowed down their heads. The king then presented the principal embassador, E tshô:yé, with five hundred ticals, a silver cup weighing eleven ticals, a ruby ring weighing one tical, and of the value of one hundred and fifty ticals, a horse with saddle and bridle complete, ten cubits of scarlet broadcloth, five pieces of cottoñ cloth, five pieces of handkerchief, one piece of chintz, two large lacquered-ware boxes, and one small one. To each of the four junior embassadors, his majesty presented at the same time three hundred ticals, one silver cup weighing eleven ticals, one ruby ring weighing half a tical, and of the value of one hundred ticals, five cubits of scarlet cloth, two pieces of chintz, a horse with saddle and bridle complete, a carpet, one large lacquered-ware box, and two small ones.

"The silver gong was then struck five times, and the drum, which is used when his majesty enters the palace, was beaten, and his majesty retired. The embassadors were first conveyed from the hall of audience to the eastern Youm, where they were made to stand until the princes and all the nobles and officers passed to their respective houses; after which they were taken to the house allotted for them, by the same route as that by which they had been before brought.

"On Sunday, the 10th of June, 1787, his majesty addressed the following letter and presents to the emperor of China, and appointed Let-yue:gyíh-mhú:, Ne-myó:Shue-daung, Thíhagyô-gaung and Welu-

tháyá, embassadors on his part, to proceed to China in company with the Chinese embassadors.

"The protector of religion, the sun-descended king of righteousness, bearing the name and title of *Thiri pawara wizayá nanta yatha tiri bawaná ditiyá dipadi pandita mahá dhamma rájá-dirája*,* owner of the white, red, and mottled elephants, and proprietor of mines of gold, silver, rubies, and amber, who rules over the great kingdoms and all the umbrella-wearing chiefs of the westward, affectionately addresses the royal friend, the lord of the golden palace, who rules over the great kingdoms and all the umbrella-wearing chiefs to the eastward. No enmity having existed between the two great eastern and wetsern kingdoms from the first creation of the world, and both being independent sovereigns who have possessed a golden umbrella and palace from generation to generation, and the homage of a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs, the royal friend deputed the son of the lord of *Kaing:-mah*, who arrived at the great and golden city of *Amarapúra* on the 26th May, 1787. The royal letter and the presents consisting of eight images of the *A'batthara*† *Byamhá*, ten carpets, ten pieces of gold cloth and ten horses, having been arranged in front of the throne and hall of audience, his majesty, attended by the heir-apparent, his royal brothers and sons, and all his officers, came forth and sat on the throne, and caused the royal letter to be read out. His majesty was exceedingly pleased to hear, that if a friendship like the union which has always existed in former states of existence between the kings of the two countries, and an agreement as fixed and permanent as a nail driven in, be entered into, it would be to posterity from generation to generation like two pieces of gold converted into one (as inseparable); and also, that the royal friend the lord of the golden palace himself and his queen, royal children, and relatives, and all his officers, are in the enjoyment of health. The royal friend, lord of the golden palace, who rules over a hundred umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward, is also in the enjoyment of health, as well as his queen, heir-apparent, royal children, and relatives, and all his officers are in the enjoyment of health. The royal friend, lord of the golden palace, who rules over a hundred umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward, is also in the enjoyment of health as well as his queen, heir-apparent, royal children, and relatives, and all his officers. Friendship which had always existed in former states of existence, is now become a royal friendship. When the two great countries have established friendship, each must receive favors from the other. The eight images of *A'batthara Byamhá* which were sent with a desire that they might be worshiped by the royal friend, have been placed in a proper suitable manner in front of the palace, under pyramidal buildings covered with gold and silver. Desire is also

* The meaning of the Pálí words of this long title is thus rendered by the Burmese:—"the illustrious, excellent and greatest conqueror, whose glory is boundless and substantial, who will rule over the three orders of beings with surpassing power, the wise and great king of righteousness, the king of kings.

† A'batthara is the sixth of the 20 stages or stories of the superior celestial regions.

felt that approbation be given to the merit of constantly upholding and protecting the religion of the deity (Gaudama), who is full of glory and power, who can give relief to the kings of men, Nats, and Byamhás, who has no equal in the three worlds, and who has been worshiped from generation to generation by the sun-descended independent kings that have ruled over the great kingdoms to the westward. Ne-myó-Shuedaung, a nobleman who is in the immediate service of the royal friend, and Thíha gyô-gaung and Weluthăya, have been appointed embassadors to accompany the son of the lord of Kaíng:mah, and are deputed with a royal letter on gold and with royal presents, consisting of four elephants, one hundred viss weight of elephant's teeth, an ivory helmet surmounted by a ruby, and another encircled with rubies and surmounted by a sapphire, two ruby rings, one sapphire ring, one viss weight of Mobye stone, one piece of yellow broadcloth, one piece of green broadcloth, ten pieces of chintz, ten pieces of handkerchief, ten carpets, one hundred books of gold leaf, one hundred books of silver leaf, ten viss weight of white perfume, four large lacquered-ware boxes, and fifty small lacquered-ware boxes. Let the embassadors return quickly and without delay, and when they return, it will be as if the royal friend had been met, and conversed with.'"

On the return of these Burmese embassadors from Peking in the beginning of the year 1789, they submitted a report of their proceedings, of which report the following is a free translation:—

"We left Amarapúra the 24th of June, 1787, and in twelve days' journey, on 6th July, arrived at the city of Theinní, where we stopped nine days for the purpose of recruiting the elephants intended as presents for the emperor of China. On the 16th July, we left Theinní, and in fifteen days' journey reached Kaíng:mah, where we stopped more than five months, and transmitted to the golden feet a report of certain discussions, which took place between us and some Chinese officers there. On receiving his majesty's orders that we should proceed, we left Kaíng:mah on the 12th January, 1788, amounting altogether to one hundred and twenty-five men; and on the 23d arrived at the city of Shuen-lí, which the Shans call Maingtsăn. Here we met two officers, Tsoŭn-shue and Ti tāyĭn, whom the tsungtŭh or governor-general of Yunnan had deputed to meet us; and a report of our discussions with whom we forwarded to the golden feet. We had to wait again for more than five months, whilst the tsungtŭh sent a report of our arrival to Peking. On the 25th June, 1788, the governor of Maing:tsăn received a letter from the tsungtŭh ordering him to let the Burmese embassadors advance; and on the following day, attended by the governor Khuá tálôyé and interpreter Wún tsoún-yé with one hundred men, we left Maing:tsăn, and on the 1st July reached the city of Tāthí (Tali?), where the governor

came from Maing:tshí (Yunnan), on the 12th July, to meet the royal letter and presents. On the 21st July, orders from the emperor of China reached the governor, who informed us, that he had received the imperial orders to allow the embassadors to proceed, and that the emperor had also ordered, that the envoys who had come from the great western country, from the royal friend and lord of the golden palace, should be conveyed to Peking in fifty-one days; and that the governors, tetŭh and other officers, along the whole route, should treat the embassadors with every respect, and at the regular stages supply them with provisions, and entertain them with music, plays, &c. The governor further said, that similar orders had been sent to all the other officers along the route, and that he would prepare some presents for his majesty the king of Ava, which he desired we should forward by some proper persons with a report of our proceedings. We accordingly sent Danutazaung:yé and Tset-yan-nhaing to Amarapúra with the tsungtŭh's presents, and left Tāthī on the 23d July with thirty-seven men, attended by Tauktaït Hô tálôyé, Khuá talôyé, and the interpreter Wun tsoún-yé. In seven days' journey we reached the city of Maing-tshí (Yunnan), where we stopped one day, and then continuing our route, reached the city of Kūetsō (Kuechow) in nine days' journey, on the 8th August, 1788. On the 12th we came to the city of Chinyuen foo dependent on Kewichow, where, on the following day, we embarked in a boats and dropped down the stream until the 20th, when we disembarked at the landing place at Rīyen or Yī-yen, and continued our route by land. On the 22d August, we came to the city of Chángshá foo in the district of Hūnăn, and in eight days' journey more to the city of Wū-tsheng-fū in the district of Húpê. On the 12th September, in thirteen days' journey, we came to the city of Tshī-chow, beyond the district Hônăn and in that of Tsītlī (Petcheli). In seven more days, on the 19th September, we reached Pauk-tīn-fū, the principal city of Tsītlī, and on the 23d reached the city of Lukō Khyauk-ken, six miles distant from the capital, Peking. The emperor not being there but at Yê-hô in Tartary, seven days' journey to the northeast of Peking, we left the city of Luko Khyauk-ken on the 14th, and in three days came to the boundary of Tartary to the Hū-pă-khê fort line of wall. In two days more we came to the city of Lănphyīn heën, where the chief of the chokey met us, and taking a list of the presents, proceeded to make his report to the emperor of China. The treasurer having come with the emperor's orders for us to advance, we entered Zhe-hol on the 29th September, 1787, and were lodged on a high plain to the westward of the city.

"On the 30th September we proceeded by invitation to meet the wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng,* who wears two peacock's tail feathers with red on the top of his head-dress, (red button on his cap,) and Koún-yé-thú and Thí táyin who wear two peacock's feathers with a ruby on the top of their head-dress. The wún-gyíh told us;—'our master, the emperor, is much pleased at the arrival of the embassadors, and will receive the royal letter and presents so soon as to-morrow, when the embassadors also will see him and be interrógated by himself. You must be in waiting at 6 o'clock to-morrow morning when the emperor comes out, and you must bring the band of music, which he has heard you have with you.' On the following morning we were in attendance in front of the palace before the emperor appeared. He came out about 7 o'clock, when the royal letter and presents were delivered by us, and the wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng and Koún-yé-thú and Thí táyín in the midst of all the officers of the court. The emperor spoke as follows in the Tartar language to the wún-gyíh, who repeated it in the Chinese language to the interpreter, and he communicated it to us:—'the two great countries were always friends in former times, and owing to a little difference which happened once, no letters or presents have passed. But now, a mutual intercourse and good understanding prevails, and friendship has been reëstablished. I am exceeding glad to hear that my royal friend, the lord of the golden palace, fulfills his religious duties and cherishes all the inhabitants of the country as if they were the children of his own bosom. Let the embassadors submit all they have to say.'—We replied, 'your majesty's slaves will submit to our royal master all your majesty's orders; and communicate to wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng, and to Koun-yé-thŭ all we have to represent.'

"The emperor then said, 'let them convey to my royal friend, in order that he may worship as I do, this Shikyá Muní image, the representative of the deity, which has always been worshiped in our palace,—this figure of the deity, embroidered in silk, and this Yu-e jewel (sceptre?) which I always carry in my hand.' The wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng and Koún-yé-thú brought and delivered the same to us. We then made our band of music play before the emperor, who approved of it and said it was very pleasant. After his majesty had conferred presents on different great and subordinate officers, we were placed in the same line with the 48 princes of Tartary, and allowed to see an entertainment, or Chinese play.

"* This is evidently the same person, who was the first minister of the empire during lord Macartney's embassy, and who is styled by sir G. Staunton, "Hoo-choong-taung Colao."

"On the 3d October we went again, and were placed in the same line as before, and shown a complete entertainment. The emperor of China seated us at a table, at which we ate and drank in company with the 48 princes of Tartary. We conversed with the wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng and Koún-yé-thú and Thí táyín, and observed:—'friendship has now been established between our two royal masters. The great officers on each side, bearing in mind the favors they have received from, and the duty they owe to, their respective masters, have only to submit what they may be satisfied will conduce to the permanent advantage of their royal masters and their posterity. We, who have been deputed, will return as quickly as possible, and in conformity with the qualifications required from embassadors, will submit to our royal master every circumstance relating to the emperor of China. There are certain Shan tsô-buahs and their followers, subjects of our master, and some men who were formerly deputed, still remaining in this country. And the road on the frontier of the two countries is much molested by bad men and criminals;—if means are adopted on both sides for putting an end to this evil, the two countries will become like one, and the gold and silver road will be opened.' The Chinese officers replied:—'the observations of the embassadors are very correct. Our master, the emperor, is much pleased at having reëstablished friendship with the lord of the golden palace, who rules over the western country. His majesty has given to the king of Ava an image of him, who is without an equal, and is superior to the three races of beings, (men, Nats, and Byamhás,) and who has been worshiped uninterruptedly by all the emperor's ancestors; and he has permitted the embassadors to communicate, without reserve, all they may have to say. He has seated the embassadors also on the same line with his own relations, the 48 princes of Tartary, and repeatedly questioned, and spoken to them. All the points you have represented will be properly settled. When we go back from Zhehol (to Peking), we will exert ourselves to have the whole settled, and will submit that you may be speedily allowed to return.'

"On the following day we were invited to attend the emperor, who was going to visit a monastery. We went early, and were desired by the wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng to wait on the road, and when we saw the emperor coming out on horseback, to remark what a strong hale man his majesty must be, to be able to ride at 80 years of age without being fatigued. We waited on the road accordingly, and on seeing the emperor, spoke as we had been instructed. Hô-tsoún-teng

asked what the embassadors had said, and when the interpreter translated our remarks into Chinese, the wún-gyíh repeated it to the emperor.

"The emperor, on going to the monastery, entered by the southern arched gateway, and came out by the western, and returned to the city by its southern gateway. Lu táyín was appointed to attend us and show us all the different images and temples. But all the different figures shown to us were representations only of our deity, and observing that those varying in form were copied from various forms which Gaudama had assumed when in this world, we bowed down and worshiped them. There were seven monasteries. In that first shown to us, there were 200 priests dressed in yellow, and in another to the westward about 500.

"On the 6th Oct. we were invited to an entertainment given in some temporary building in a garden. We went before 6 o'clock, and the emperor came about half past seven in an open sedan chair. He was dressed as follows: on the top of his head-dress there was a pearl; on the four sides of his silk dress there was the figure of a dragon, and round his neck hung a string of pearls. He took his seat on a royal chair of the form of a dragon, and about a cubit high, and the officers of his court presented to him cups of spirits and cups of milk. The wún-gyíh Hô-tsoún-teng and Koún-yé-thú and Thí táyín stood on the right and left of the emperor with swords in their hands. To the right and left were placed tables with all kinds of cakes, and we sat down on the right hand with the wún-gyíh Hô-tsoú-teng, behind the chiefs of the 48 Tartar countries, and ate and drank. After the soft music and dancing, which were according to the Chinese, Tartar, and Kulá fashions, the emperor returned home. The silks and golden cloths, which had been arranged on the left hand, were distributed in presents to the princes of Tartary, and those on the right hand were distributed by the wún-gyíh Koún-yé-thú * to us according to our respective ranks, and to the officers appointed to take care of us. All kinds of curious cloths, &c., intended for presents to the king of Ava, were also shown and delivered to us.

"A little after 3 o'clock, on the afternoon of the same day, the emperor of China again came out, and we saw an exhibition of tumblers on poles, and fireworks, and then returned home.

"The emperor having directed us on this last day to go to Peking,

* This officer was not a wún-gyíh or first minister of state, as will be seen in the list of wún-gyíh hereafter given, but the Burmese embassadors repeatedly given him this title

we left Zhehol on the 7th of October, and arrived at Peking on the 12th October, taking up our residence in some temporary buildings erected on a plain within the southern gateway of the city, where we were attended and supplied with provisions by the same men as before.

"On the 13th, the emperor having directed that the embassadors should be lodged near him, and that their provisions should be supplied from within the palace, we moved, on the following day, and took up our residence on a royal plain,* near the road leading to the southward from the western gateway of the wall surrounding the palace. On the 15th the emperor came to Peking, and we accompanied the Chinese officer to a temporary building in the lake, where there is a palace, in order to receive his majesty. On the morning of the 20th we attended the emperor, by invitation, to the garden situated within the same lake, and his majesty ordered the wún-gyíh Koún-yé-thú to take us round and show us all the monasteries, temples and gardens. We embarked in a boat with that officers and rowed about the lake, and saw the different monasteries, &c. In two monasteries situated on the top of a hill on the western side of the lake, there were several images of the unequaled and most excellent deity, surrounded by images of inspired disciples. We saw more than fifty priests here also dressed in yellow cloth. There were ten more monasteries on the top and sides of a hill running from the westward of the hill before mentioned to the north. They contained, besides many images of the deity, a figure of the Mán-Nat † with one thousand arms, and figures of hermits and priests in stone, and various paintings. A small hill and the garden where a monastery is situated are joined by an arched brick bridge of fifty tá ‡ or 350 cubits. At the end of the lake, nearest the city, there is an octagonal pyramidal building, with three roofs covered with green tiles. On the western sides, on the slope of a hill, there are two Budhist temples and a monastery with three roofs; on the southeast, a large building with four roofs dedicated to a Nat; and on the northeast, on a level ground, stands the pyramidal building at which the emperor stops. The lake is upwards of 400 tā from north to south, and upwards of 300 tā from east to west, and in it there are five large vessels with several boats. The emperor ordered that we should also be taken

* Apparently a plain on which princes encamp or live when they visit Peking.

† The Hindu god of love and desire, Káma, one of whose name, Mára, is written by the Burmese Már, and pronounced Mán.

‡ A tá is a measure of 7 cubits, and a royal cubit is equal to 19,1 English inches.

round and shown all the monasteries within and without the city, and be allowed to compare the books and writings, and see if they were similar to ours.

"On examining the different monasteries, we saw some with images of the deity (Gaudama), and priests dressed in yellow in attendance; some with people dressed in dark colored caps and trowsers, when the Chinese call hoshang; and some with the ship country Kulás in attendance on the image of Devadát, which they worship. The books, writings and language spoken in these monasteries were not like ours, and those who accompanied us took notes of all we said, and submitted the same to the emperor.

"On the 23d October, when the emperor returned from the palace lake to the city, we received him in company with the Chinese officers outside of the western gateway of the palace inclosure. Every day after the emperor returned to the city, some of the palace officers wearing red on the top of their head-dress and a peacock's feather, brought to us from his majesty's table different kinds of meat and sweetmeats. On the 28th, we joined the Chinese officers in attendance on the emperor, and saw him offer his devotions at a monastery within the palace inclosure. On the 29th, we attended the emperor, when he came out from the western gateway of the palace inclosure, and proceeded to the garden in the lake, and on his return, he stopped his sedan chair as he was coming out of the temporary building erected for his accommodation on the royal plain, and giving us presents, said: 'let the embassador return on the 1st of November, in order that my royal friend may learn everything.' On the same day the Chinese officers of rank summoned us to a spot on the royal plain to the eastward of the palace inclosure, and gave us an entertainment, and delivered to us the emperor of China's letter. On the 31st, the wún-gyih Hô-tsoún-teng and Koún-yé-thí, Thí táyín, and Lu táyín, gave us different presents; and on the same day we went into the palace where the wún-gyih Hó-tsoún-teng was, and said to him, 'we were ordered to return on the 1st of November, and to-morrow we are to set out; but we desire to receive an answer to the representations which we made at Zhehol.' He replied, 'I have submitted to the emperor every word of your representations, and his orders are: the men who came to our country are some of them afar off and some of them have disappeared or are dead, and much delay and a long time will elapse in making the necessary inquiries and examinations. When the snowy season arrives, the cold will be very great, and these embassadors, who have been

sent to us on business relating to the country, had better return with all expedition.' The wún-gyih also said, 'the six men with Nga Tsít who were formerly deputed, were taken to the province of Kuantoún in Tartary, but they were ordered to be brought back the moment you arrived here, and as soon as they come, they shall be sent down to Yunnan and forwarded to you;—and with respect to the chief of Bamoo, inquiry shall be made, and he shall hereafter be surrendered. There is nothing difficult now that our two masters have become friends, and the governor of Yunnan has already received full instructions on every subject.'

"On the 1st November, 1788, after seeing the emperor receive the homage of all his officers, which he does once a year on the last day of a month seated on his throne, we took charge of the emperor's letter, the Shikyá Muni image, and various costly presents, and left Peking. We came in a carriage with horses in 23 days' journey from Peking to the city of Shyeng-yeng heën in the province of Húpê, beyond the provinces of Tsítlí and Hônăn, when we embarked in boats, and came down the stream in 18 days, on the 12th December, to the city of Changshá foo in the province of Hŭnăn. The route from thence by water being against the stream and very difficult, we proceeded by land in covered sedan chairs, and arrived at the city of Kweichow on the 5th January, 1789. We left that city on the 6th and arrived at Yunnan in 16 days, on the 21st January. The governor had marched with a force of 10,000 men to attack the city of Akyô, lying to the southeast of Yunnan, where there was then a war, and Thuyín, the governor of Yunnan, who received us, informed us that in conformity with the application which we had submitted to the emperor, the six men, Nga Uh, Nga Lhe-go, Nga Tsít-tô Nga Tsít-lí, Nga Pô-bú, and Nga Pô-yí, subjects of the king of Ava who were formerly detained and sent to Tartary, had been recalled and had arrived at Peking on the 2d Dec.; that orders had been received to forward them, and that the moment they reached Yunnan, they should be sent to the golden feet. He also said, 'our two masters having become friends, the two countries must be like one, and constant intercourse maintained between them;—and added:—'the new year being close at hand, some difficulty is felt in supplying you with the means of continuing your journey; wait here, therefore, for a short time.' We stopped at Yunnan, accordingly for four days; and on the 26th of January left it, and in 21 days' journey, on the 15th of February, arrived at Kaing:muh. The chief of Kaing:muh also said, that he had received letters from the governor of Yunnan in-

forming him, that the six men who had been sent to Tartary were coming with all expedition for the purpose of being forwarded to the golden feet. He also told us, that he had sent letters to Maing-Teín and Theinní to have the temporary buildings and provisions prepared for us, and requested us to give them a few days to have all in readiness. We waited accordingly at Kaing:muh nine days, and on the 24th of February left it, and on the 4th March arrived at Theinní."

Memorandum appended to the foregoing, giving an account of the emperor of China and his sons and officers, and a description of the city of Peking and of the imperial palace.

"The age of the emperor is 78 years, of which he has reigned 53 years. The principal of his nine queens is dead. He has five sons and two daughters. The eldest son, Lu-yéh, is 45 years of age. He has six wún-gyíhs, three Tartars, Hô-tsoún-teng, A'-tsoún-deng and Thú-tsoún-deng, and three Chinese, Weng-tsoún-deng, Kyí-tsoún-deng, Lhyó-tsoún-deng. There are six great officers, one superintendent of war, one treasurer, one superintendent of law and custom, one superintendent of criminal affairs, and one superintendent of learning. There is a general of the nine gates, named Kyó-meín tetŭh. A governor of the city, named Shueng-deng-thú, and another governor, who is also the chief revenue officer of the city, named Phíng-sheng.

"Thefts, murders or other public offenses committed within the city are taken cognizance of by the governors of the city; but those committed in the suburbs and outside of the city, are taken cognizance of by the governor of Tsītlī from the city of Pauk-tīn-chow. The officers and soldiers do not hold districts and villages (in jaghír), but are paid monthly salaries in money according to established rates, and agreeably to their several ranks.

"The emperor of China has always worshiped the image of the most excellent deity (Gaudama), whom the Chinese call Shikya Muni; and once a year he executes the sentences of criminals in the following manner. The emperor goes to a monastery at which there is an image of the Tha-gyă Nat, and the names and acts of the criminals are proclaimed, and written on slips of paper, which are burnt upon a horse and cow, and these animals are then executed. This custom is always followed from a belief, that these papers and the souls of these animals are sent up to the Tha-gyă Nat. Within the building covering the Wunein gateway of the wall surrounding the palace inclosure, the figures of those men who have gained victories in war, with the number of the victories, are written; and on the

outside of that gate there is a monastery in which different emperors have had carved and placed, the figures of men, who acquired renown, and of officers who were faithful or good soldiers; and to this place the emperor goes once a year and does honor. On the northern bank of the lake, to the westward of the palace wall, the figures of the three men Mí-koún-yé, Kuá táyín, and Tseng táyín, who were killed in the victories obtained in the year 1029 (A. D. 1767), are placed, each under a separate pyramidal building. At the four angles of the palace inclosure wall, there is a pyramidal building, in which the armor worn by soldiers, and swords, and spears are lodged. In the buildings at the gateways of the outer city, guns, muskets, shot, and powder are lodged, and constantly guarded by troops.

"Peking is divided into two cities, the southern and northern city. In the former there are seven gates, and in the latter nine. The walls are 13 cubits high and 14 cubits thick. At each of the gateways is a building on each side, and a double pair of folding doors. There is a pyramidal building also at each of the four angles of the wall. The ditch surrounding the wall is not lined at the sides, and is about 70 cubits broad, with water let into it. The northern city is about 3500 cubits square, and the southern city about 4200 cubits square. The line of walls inside of the northern city has no battlements, but is covered on the top with yellow-colored tiles.* It is 1750 cubits square, 10 cubits high, and has six gateways at six different points. Inside of this last-mentioned wall is the wall surrounding the palace inclosure; and this is upwards of 700 cubits on the eastern and western side, and about 1058 cubits on the northern and southern side. It is surrounded by a ditch filled with water, seventy cubits broad and ten cubits deep, the sides of which are faced with stone. This wall is fourteen cubits high and seven cubits thick; at the four angles there is a tower, and it has a gateway on each of the four sides, and a double-roofed shed supported on ten posts covers each gateway. There are three entrances at each gateway, and the folding gates are covered with plates of iron fastened with nails. The road within the walls of the palace inclosure is fourteen cubits broad and paved with stone. From a lake situated three taing (six miles) to the northwest of the city of Peking, water is brought into the ditch surrounding the walls of the palace inclosure by a canal, which also conducts it from the ditch into the palace, and thence to the east of the city; and there are stone bridges over this canal. The southern side is the front of the palace. The principal palace is sur-

* The external inclosure of the palace.

rounded by another wall, outside of which stands the palace with the throne (hall of audience), which has a square roof fourteen cubits above the ground, and is paved with stone. About one hundred and forty cubits distant from the hall of audience is another large building with a square roof, and on one side of it is the gold treasury, and on the other the silver treasury, with a line of other buildings. To the left of these buildings, and thirty-five cubits distant, are temporary buildings occupied by the officers of the court, and a line of three buildings occupied by scholars or students, literally 'people learning books.'"

"When the emperor of China takes his seat on the throne, flags, chowries, and satin umbrellas are arranged on his right and left hand, and the band of music plays in a large building to the southward. On his right are the military officers, and on his left the civil officers; and they all, at a given signal, bow their heads nine times. The emperor comes out of the palace in the following manner:—he is seated in a sedan chair covered with yellow satin, and preceded by upwards of fifty horsemen, twelve umbrellas of yellow satin, each with three rows of fringe, twelve chowries and twelve flags, upwards of twenty spears having the points sheathed, ten led horses with saddles and bridles complete, and upwards of twenty horses with the brothers and sons of the emperor dressed in yellow satin jackets, and armed with bows and swords. Immediately in front of the emperor is carried an umbrella of yellow satin with three rows of fringe, and having the figure of a dragon worked upon it in gold thread, and upwards of an hundred men in charge of the women (eunuchs) surround the emperor's chair. The band of music which plays when the emperor comes out or enters the palace, consists of a pipe with six stops, two trumpets, a fiddle, a lyre, and an alligator harp. The instruments used at Chinese historical plays consist of a small gong, a large gong, a pair of large cymbals, two trumpets, a drum, and a pipe.

"There are fifteen elephants at Peking. The following are the prices of articles in the bazar there. One and a half ticals for a basket of rice; 10 ticals for one hundred viss of salt; 125 ticals for one hundred viss of cleaned cotton; 60 ticals for one hundred viss of oil; 1 tical for a basket of pyaung grain (Madras Colum); 1½ ticals for a basket of millet. One thousand copper pice pass for 2½ ticals; and these pice are used in sales and purchases. Rice is cultivated and used in the provinces of Yunnan, Kweichow, Hoonan, and Hookwang (Huquang). But there are no paddy lands; and pyaung,

pulse, barley, and millet only are cultivated and used in the provinces of Hónăn and Tsĭtlĭ, and about the cities of Zhehol and Taíng. As far as Kweichow the people of the country wear their hair like the Burmese, all over the head. The people to the north are very numerous, and there are a great many hills, precipices and streams. In Hookwang, people travel in boats, as there are many lakes and streams in that province; and in Honan and Tsĭtlĭ, the ground being natural and even, carriages are used. There are no trees, bamboos, or rattans, and instead of firewood coal is used.

"We heard in China, that in the month of May or June in the year 1149 (A. D. 1787), the people of Taik-wun having revolted and put to death the governor and officers, the force first sent to subdue them under the general Tshaít táyín was defeated with great loss. The general was executed by the emperor, and another general Thú-thí táyín detached against the rebels, whom he subdued in the month of April, 1789, when Mí-doún-yé's younger brother, Khue-koun-yé, was appointed governor over the people with the office of tsé-taik. The two leaders of the Taik-wun rebels were decapitated, and their heads, together with the head of the general Tshaít táyín, were suspended in the market place of the great southern city.

"On the 23d of August, 1788, about 9 o'clock at night, the Thí-tshuen river rose and the water overflowed and drowned the whole city of Kyĭn-chow in the province of Hookwang. Upwards of ten thousand people were destroyed, together with the wife and children of the governor, and the lieutenant-governor himself with all his family. On the receipt of this intelligence at Peking, the wún-gyíh A'tsoún-teng was dispatched with upwards of two thousand viss of silver, to provide clothing, food and habitations for such of the inhabitants of Kyĭn-chow as remained, which service he performed. Intelligence was also received from the people appointed to guard, that an embryo Budha had appeared at the city of Thĭ-tsăn in the Kulă country to the westward of Thĭ-tshuen, and that the people were disputing and going to war about him. The general Aung-tsong-kyín was appointed to go and attack them with the force in the city of Thĭ-tshuen. We saw all the houses and land destroyed by the floods along the whole road we traveled in the provinces of Hoonan and Hoopĭh, from the city of Kyengchow included. The people also said, that when the walls of the city of Thĭ-tshuen fell down and were being rebuilt, a prophetical writing was found, which the nobleman, Khoút-myén, who first built the walls, had placed there. The contents of this writing were:—'To the south one thousand taings will

be destroyed by water. To the northward, beyond the city of Shyăn Shī, a stream of blood will flow. A great calamity will befall the chief and inhabitants of the city of Kueng-chow, whilst they are asleep.' People say, that what happened lately corresponds with this prediction.

"The governor of Kueng-toŭn reported, that the uncle of the chief of Annan, a territory lying to the west of Kueng-toŭn, and near the Kueng-thī (Kwangse) and Yunnan provinces, had revolted, and that the chief and his family had fled and arrived at the city of Kwangse. The chief of Annan having regularly sent presents, and being a friend, it became necessary to assist him, and attack those who had molested him. The tetŭh of Kwangse, Yuí táyín, was appointed general, and a force of ten thousand men, three thousand from Kwangse and seven thousand men from Yunnan under the tetŭh of Yunnan, was sent against the rebels."

The itinerary of this mission, which visited the emperor in 1787, given at full length in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, we here omit: and proceed to notice the *second* of the three, which visited Peking in 1823. It appears quite certain that in some instances the Burmese kings have been deceived, and received missions from the governor of Yunnan, supposing them to have come from Peking. One of these is worthy of notice; and we give the account of it in colonel Burney's own words:—

"On the 7th September, 1790, the chief of Bamoo reported to Meng-dará-gyíh, king of Ava, that several officers of high rank and a Chinese embassy had arrived at Mó-wún, with some valuable presents and three Chinese princesses for his majesty. The king ordered the chief to proceed immediately and escort the embassy to Bamoo, and on its arrival there, a special deputation, consisting of a wún-gyíh and wún-dauk, with several ladies of rank, was sent with suitable boats from the capital, to go and bring down the ladies and embassadors, who, on the 15th October, reached some buildings constructed for their accomodation, outside of the city of Amarapŭra. Three days after, the Chinese ladies were taken into the palace and received by the king, and placed in some apartments specially constructed for them; and on the 20th October, the Chinese envoys received a grand public audience, at which they delivered the presents sent by the emperor, and were asked by the king the customary two or three questions. At this audience the king placed the Chinese ladies near himself within the elevated stage which forms the throne. The three Chinese ladies, who appear to have been sisters,

and are called in the Burmese history Tá-kú-ngyen, E-kú-ngyen, and Thán-kú-nygen, received honorary titles, and the province of Taung-baín was conferred on them in jaghire. The envoys left Amarapúra again for China on the 1st of November, 1790. These Chinese ladies are called princesses, and a letter, of which I possess a copy, was written for them in the Burmese language addressed to the emperor of China, styling him their grandfather, and expressing great anxiety that he should become a true Budhist. But they were natives of Malong, a town in Yunnan province, and their feet were in a natural state. There is no doubt that they were women of low rank, and that the whole was an imposition practiced upon the king of Ava's amorous propensities by the Chinese viceroy of Yunnan. This was not the only occasion on which that king was imposed upon—for women were also presented to him as daughters of a king of Ceylon and a king of Benares."

Of the missions sent to the court of Peking in 1823 and 1833, colonel Burney procured copies of the routes and of most of the reports, which were submitted to the king. Both, he says, "proceeded in company with a Chinese embassy when it returned to Yunnan from Ava, and it will be seen that the route of both, with a very slight deviation was the same—in as straight a line as possible from Yunnan province to Peking." However, what colonel Burney has published is merely an abstract, made for him by the king's minister at Ava. The mission of 1823 brought the following letter.

Letter from the emperor of China to the king of Ava in the year 1822.

"Translation made in the Lhuot-tô of the royal letter which was brought by the emperor of China's embassadors Yan tálôyé and Yeng tshengyé, and a copy of which was taken in a (Burmese black) book in the presence of a party of officers assembled in the conference held on the 10th April, 1823, by the interpreters Lô-shue, Lô-tsheng, Nga-shue-zen, and Nga-shue-maung, superintended by the Chinese clerk.

"Elder brother Thauk Kuon, (Taoukwang) king of U'dí, who, assisted by the Tha-gyá chief, rules over the great kingdoms and multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the eastward, affectionately addresses younger brother, the sun-descended king, lord of the golden palace, lord of the Tshaddan king of elephants, master of many white elephants, and possessor of mines of gold, silver, rubies, noble serpentine and amber, who rules over the great kingdoms and a multitude of chiefs wearing umbrellas, and dwelling in palaces to the westward. The royal ancestors of elder and younger brother, assisted by the Tha-gyá Nat, have uninterruptedly interchanged letters, and it is now two years since elder brother succeeded to the throne on the departure to the Nat country of (his) father. Once in the time of (our) royal ancestors in the year 1111 (A. D. 1787); and once, in the time of (my) father

Kyá-tshín in the 16th year of (his) reign, and in the time of younger brother's grandfather Alaung Meng-dará-gyíh, embassadors were mutually deputed; and the gold and silver road having been established, and the two countries joined in a manner into one, the poor people and (our) slaves have continued to trade together. It is now twelve years since any presents have been exchanged between younger and elder brother's countries. Tshín táyeng, the governor of Maing-tshi, was directed to transmit presents again in charge of Yeng-tsheng-yé, but the governor having reported that the presents were not received, because they were unaccompanied by a royal letter, Yan ta-lóyé has also been commissioned to convey the presents; and by the newly appointed governor Myín-tá-yeng, and Shaya-we of the imperial guard, are sent a royal letter, two fur jackets lined with yellow silk, 1 small Yenthain box, and 2 boxes containing glass tea-cups with covers and saucers, for the purpose of being forwarded to younger brother, together with the presents formerly sent, and a male and female ass with saddles complete. Let these embassadors return without delay, and on their return, it will be as if the countenance of younger brother, the sun-descended king and lord of the golden palace, has been seen."

Direction of the letter. "On the 1st December, 1822, in the second year of Taoukwang's reign, elder brother, Taoukwang, king of U'dí, has to represent to younger brother the sun-descended king."

King of Ava's reply to the above letter. June 17th, 1823. "The royal letter on gold leaf to be delivered to the king of Gan-dá-la-yít* by the tsare-dô-gyíh (principal clerk or secretary) Ne-myo-men-tha, and others who are appointed envoys to accompany the Chinese embassadors."

"The founder of the great golden city of Yatanápurá, Ava, lord of the Tsaddant king of elephants, master of many white elephants, possessor of mines of gold, silver, rubies, amber, and noble serpentine, the bearer of the title *Thíri-pa-wara thú dhamma mahá rájá-di-rájá*‡ the sun-descended king, and great king of righteousness, who rules over the kingdoms and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward, addresses Taoukwang king of U'dí, who rules over the great kingdoms, and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the eastward. It is now thirty-five years since Meng-dará:gyíh, the grandfather of (your) royal friend, and founder of the great golden city of Amarapúra, and Keënlung the grandfather of Toaukwang king of U'dí, having formed a sincere and affectionate friendship, the inhabitants of the two countries have been in the enjoyment of a happy and cordial intercourse and trade. In the 4th year of (your) royal friend's reign, and in the 2d year of Taoukwang, king of U'dí's reign, on the 6th of April 1823, Yan tálóyé, Yeng-tsheng-yé, Tsô-lô-tsoún, Toún-lô-tsoún and La-

* This is the classical term for China. Taroup country is the common name.

† According to the Burmese, there were at one time in this world ten different kinds of elephants, each rising above the other in strength, in a decimal ratio. The lowest in the scale was the present common elephant, and the highest, which was named Tsaddan and the king of elephnats, was the present white elephant.

‡ The meaning of this Pálí title is thus rendered by the Burmese: "the illustrious and excellent, and, through good works, the great king of kings."

tsheng-yé, arrived with a royal letter and various presents, consisting of two fur jackets lined with yellow silk, 1 small Yenthain box, 1 box containing glass tea-cups with covers and saucers, 8 rolls of velvet, 39 rolls of satin, 30 pieces of figured silk, 8 rolls of gold net-work, 190 glass tea-cups, 20 carpets, 15 paper boxes, 20 purses, 10 fans in cases, 100 fans, 1 fur jacket lined with plum-colored silk, a male and female ass, 2 Chinese horses, 1 large stone hill (imitation of a hill) with flowering shrubs planted on it, 4 small stone hills with flowering shrubs planted on them, 1 *thauk-zó* tree bearing fruit, and 1 *me-tsó* tree bearing fruit (dwarf fruit-tree). A public audience was granted to these embassadors on the new year's kadó (beg-pardon levee-day). (Your) royal friend has appointed in return, Ne-myó-men:tha, who is employed within the palace, Nara-ze-ya nôra-thá, Thí-ha-tsí-thú nôra-thá, Shue-daung-thú-yan nôra-thá, Shue-daung-thú-ra nôra-tha-gyô-den, and Yáza nôra-thá-gyô-gaung, to proceed as (his) embassadors with the following presents:—Three white marble images of the lord Gaudama, supreme over the three races of beings, Byamhás, Nats, and men, whom (your) royal friend unceasingly adores to obtain *meg* and *phó* (qualities possessed by inspired disciples of Gaudama), and Neibban (the Budhist heaven), and whose images are sent from a desire that he should be worshiped; 2 ivory mats for Taoukwang, king of U'dí's own use; 2 ivory cushions; 2 pieces of yellow broadcloth; 1 of green and 1 of scarlet; 10 pieces of Bilat chintz, 10 pieces of the same with white borders; 10 carpets from the ship country (country beyond sea); 4 lacquered-ware boxes, each capable of holding half a basket, 50 lacquered-ware boxes, each capable of holding an eighth of a basket; 3 viss of white sandal-wood, and 3 of red; 100 bundles of gold leaf, and 100 of silver leaf; 2 ruby rings; 2 sapphire rings; 60 viss weight of noble serpentine; 2 elephants' teeth weighing 42 viss and 82 ticals; 46 uncut rubies; 1 viss weight of Mobye stone; 15 peacocks' tail, with 3 male elephants and 2 female. Let these envoys return without delay."

The king of Ava's letter, observes colonel Burney, besides not acknowledging the fraternity claimed by the emperor of China, and styling him simply "royal friend," has not the respectful particle "*bá*," which is given in the translation of the first part of the emperor's letter. He then gives the following "information obtained from Thí-ha-tsí-thú nôra-thá and Yáza nôra-thá-gyô-gaung, who accompanied the tsa-re-gyíh Ge-myó-men-tha, when he was deputed as envoy to the Chinese city in the kingdom of Gan-dá-la-yít, on examining them regarding the affairs and customs of China, and the distances of the different halting places on the road."

"In the year 1185 (A. D. 1823), on the arrival of Yan tálôyé and Yeng-tsheng-yé, with more than thirty other Chinese, and with a royal letter and various cloths and presents from the emperor of China, who desired to cultivate the same kind of friendship as had existed in the time of his grandfather and father, the king appointed the

tsa-re-gyíh Ne-myó-men:tha and us as his envoys, to proceed and convey to the residence of the emperor of China a royal letter on gold, and various presents in return. We left the great and golden city of Yatanápúra (Ava) on the 18th June, 1823, and in twenty-nine days arrived at the city of Bamoo, on the 17th July. On the road between Ava and Bamoo, there are many large cities and villages. On our arrival at Bamoo, the principal Chinese envoys, Yan tálôyé and Yeng-tsheng-yé, dispatched a letter in the Chinese language to Hú tálôyé, the governor of the city Mó-myín, informing him of our arrival at Bamoo, with a letter on gold, and other things from the Burmese sun-descended king. The governor of Bamoo, also, sent orders by letters to the chief of the wild Ka-khyens* residing on the hills and in the woods between the two countries of Ava and China. We stopped at Bamoo twenty-nine days, until the 14th of August. We left Bamoo on the 15th August, escorted by the Ná-k,hán (Nga-shán) (the city writer) Nga-bóh, with two hundred followers, and by four hundred Ka-khyens and their chiefs, making altogether six hundred men. In six stages we reached the village and fortified chokey of Luay-laing. On the road between Bamoo and Luay-laing-ken there are many cities and villages.† At Luay-laing-ken, we found the men sent by the governor of Mó-myín to receive us, and therefore sent back to their homes the people from Bamoo, and the Ka-khyens and their chiefs, who came as our escort. We left Luay-laing-ken with the men and the horses that had been sent from Mó-myín to receive us, and after traveling a distance of ten taings reached the city of Mó-wún. In the villages lying between Luay-laing-ken and Mó-wún, there are many pagodas and inns. In the monasteries to the eastward of the brick-house, in which the tsô-buáh of Mó-wún resides, there are many priests, who have yellow cloaks and other articles of use like the Burmese priests; who adore the three objects of worship; observe the five commandments, and distinguish the ten greater and the ten lesser sins. We stopped at Mó-wún two days, and on leaving it reached the city of Mó-myín in five stages. A taing before reaching that city we met its governor, who was coming to receive us, seated in a sedan chair, and having red umbrellas, and men bearing muskets, swords, lances, and bows and arrows arranged on his right and left. We entered the city of Mó-myín with the governor, and were accommodated in a brick-built

* Wild mountainous race on the frontier of China.

† This sentence must have been interpolated by the Burmese ministers, for the country between Bamoo and this chokey consists of hills and forests inhabited only by the wild Ka-khyens.

house with a conference shed, on a space of ground of 30 *ta* or 210 cubits in extent. We remained in this city eleven days, occupied in preparing boxes, in which to pack up the royal presents. The governor furnished the embassadors with sedan chairs, and our followers with horses, and just as we were about to take our departure, an order from the emperor of China was received, which was transmitted by the governor of Yunnan, and stated, that in consequence of the successful services of the principal Chinese envoys who had come to Ava, Tsê-tô-tsoún and Toun-lê-tsoún were appointed to a command of 3,000 soldiers each at Mê-myín, where they were to remain, and Yan tálôyé was appointed to a similar command at Maing-tshí, where he was to remain. With Wún tálôyé, whom the governor Hú tálôyé appointed to the charge of us, and the Chinese interpreters Yeng-tsheng-yé, La-tsheng-yé, and Ya-tsheng-yé, we left Mê-myín, and in four stages reached the river called by the Chinese Loŭn-kyan and by the Burmese Mê-khaung. To cross this river there are two iron chains, each consisting of three chains twisted together and measuring about ten fingers in diameter, and 245 cubits long with hooks at the ends. These being drawn over the stream, which is 140 cubits broad, and fixed to two posts on each bank, a plank flooring is laid upon them, at the sides of which flooring posts are let in, and the whole is covered by a roof. This bridge is called an iron bridge, and is 7 cubits broad. Thence in seventeen stages we reached the city of Maing-tshí. Here on a piece of ground 175 cubits in extent, paved with bricks, a religious edifice is erected, in which is placed a gilded wooden image of Gaudama sitting cross-legged on his throne. We were lodged in some brick-built houses to the south and north of this religious edifice. The governor lives in a brick house of 70 cubits in extent. We remained here twenty days, and left it on the 21st October, 1823, the governor of Maing-tshí having given to us, the five embassadors, sedan chairs with glasses at the sides, and horses to our followers, with bearers and attendants for the whole of our party. In twenty-four stages, we reached the city of Tsein-shuon fŭ where we stopped a day to prepare the boats in which we were to embark. There were ten boats for the Chinese and ten for us; and having obtained the requisite number of boatmen and porters, we moved down the stream, and in fifteen days reached the city of Tshan-taik fŭ, where there are many ships (junks) and boats. Between Tshan-taik fŭ, and Tsein-shuon fŭ, there are many large towns and villages. We stopped a day at Tshan-taik fŭ, and then proceeded by land in thirty-seven stages to Tseng-tein fŭ. This city

is one taing square, and in the middle of it there are four pagodas, forty or fifty cubits high, built in shape like the base of a Phoŭngyíh's or Budhist priest's flag staff, and a large *kyaung* or monastery with five roofs of green and red color, and with a winding staircase. In the centre of this monastery there is a gilded image of a nat 25 cubits high, standing upright and having lotus leaves on its head, and within a hole made between the eye-brows of this nat, we saw an image of Gaudama sitting cross-legged, and about eight fingers breadth in height. Between Tshan-taik fŭ and Tsheng-tein fŭ there are many large towns and villages. After leaving Tseng-tein fŭ we arrived in ten stages, on the 22d January, 1824, at the city of Peking, the residence of the king of China. We left Bamoo on the 15th August, 1823, and arrived at the Chinese capital on the 22d January, 1824, being one hundred and sixty-one days, or five (Burmese) months and twelve days.

"On arriving at Peking we were lodged at the brick-house, where is customary for all embassadors to be accommodated, about 2100 cubits distant from the hall of the inner town, to the north-west of the palace within the large town. We think the walls of the outer town are about 20 cubits high and 14 thick, and those of the inner town 18 cubits high and 10½ thick—and the former are complete in parapets and platforms. The walls of the large outer town are entirely of brick, and the top of the walls of the inner town is covered with sheets of copper, on which there is a coat of yellow paint. On the southern side of the large town there is a large hog's head or bastion of brick work, extending from the southeast angle to the northeast, and we entered by the Khăn-shyi gateway of this hog's head, and by the centre gateway of the great town called Tsheng-mheín. We first went to the house of the wúngyíh Lá-pú-tá-yeng, situated within the large town, and were requested by him to deliver the royal letter; and on our doing so, he bowed his head down respectfully and came forward to receive it. We were lodged in a brick-house with a conference shed within the large town, and to the northwest of the palace inclosure walls.

"The outer large town may be about 14,000 cubits from north to south, and about 6300 cubits from east to west. The inner town may be about 4200 cubits from north to south, and about 3500 cubits from east to west. There are twenty gates; to the south in the hog's head, seven gates; on the eastern face of the great city, two gates; on the southern face, three gates; on the western face, two gates; and on the northern face, two gates; making sixteen gateways altogether in the large town. In the inner town there are four gates.

"The second and inner wall around the residence of the emperor of China is surrounded by a moat with water, and has towers and fortifications. Its extent from north to south is 1400 cubits, and from east to west about 2300 cubits, and it is 20 cubits high and 14 thick. The front of the palace faces to the southward. In regard to the construction of the palace, on a terrace of bricks 5 cubits high, 210 cubits long, and 140 broad, covered with plaster, posts are let in, surrounded by stone at the bottom, and on them transverse beams and rafters are placed, and a double roof without a spire, covered with yellow Chinese tiles. The sides of the palace are of plank painted with blue and red color. The planks are not of teak-wood but of fir. The centre gateway on the southern sides of the palace inclosure wall is arched, and is that used by the emperor of China, and on each side of this gateway there are two smaller entrances used by the ministers and officers. The centre gateway on the northern face also is arched, and has smaller entrances on each side. The western and eastern faces have the same kind of gateway and entrances.

"Whilst residing in the brick-house, the five principal men of the Burmese mission were daily supplied at night and in the morning with rice, salt, fish, ngā-pi, chillies, onions, greens, pork and fowls under the direction of the Chinese officer Pan-tshaing and his servants, Teng-tsani, who watched us day and night. The thirty-two inferior people (of the mission) also were daily supplied with rice and curries ready dressed.

"At 3 o'clock on the morning of the day of our arrival, five carriages with horses were sent to us, and we were summoned by the Lí-pú-tá-yeng wún-gyíh to attend on the emperor, who was coming out to see the amusement on the ice. We proceeded accordingly, and joined Lí-pú-tá-yeng on the outside of the gateway, on the northern face of the palace inclosure wall. We got out of our carriage, and waited with the wún-gyíh outside of the gateway for the appearance of the emperor. About twenty-two minutes after we arrived, the sound of large gongs, bells and trumpets announced the approach of the emperor, and shortly after he made his appearance. Outside of the gateway there were two rows of twenty men in each, waiting with large fans in their hands, and when the emperor came out of the gate, these men stooped down and formed an arch with their fans, but when the emperor had passed through this arch, they did not follow him, but remained where they were.—With respect to the ceremonial on this occasion of the emperor's appearing abroad—in front of his party there were four umbrellas of red, blue, green and

black colors, two on each side, on the right and left of the road; behind them there were two rows of horsemen, twenty in each, armed with swords—behind them, came two rows, six men in each, of officers of rank, who had obtained two or three peacock's feathers, armed with swords and dressed in the fashion of the country. Behind them came two rows more, six in each, of officers of rank, who had obtained two or three peacock's feathers, armed with bows and arrows. Seven cubits in front of the emperor and in the middle of the road, a yellow umbrella was carried, and the emperor followed, seated in a yellow sedan chair borne by eight men. Behind him there were officers of rank armed with swords and bows and arrows, and arranged in the same manner as those who preceded him. After the emperor's party, his relatives, some in sedan chairs, some on horseback, and some in carriages followed;—and after them came the ministers and officers, and a party of men in charge of the ladies of the palace (eunuchs). On arriving at a lake situated more than 1050 cubits to the northwest of the palace inclosure wall, on which the ice amusement was to take place, and near which there was a garden with a small rocky hill, the emperor's sedan chair was set down at the side of the garden. In the lake measuring about 700 cubits in extent, the top of the water consisted of hard solid ice upwards of three cubits thick, and on this ice a target with a pole 15 cubits high was fixed. A hundred soldiers armed with bows and arrows, and having places of iron fixed with nails on their shoes, stood with their feet close together and shot with arrows at the target. Some hit the target and some not; but after discharging their arrows, they moved forward, not as in walking, but with both feet close together, suddenly to a distance of 140 or 210 cubits, and turned round and went away. The emperor did not get out of his sedan chair, but had it placed on the lake upon the ice, whence he looked on at the amusement. We stood about 42 cubits distant from the emperor with the Toi-tshuon (Si-chuen?) Mohammedan embassadors, but in front of them, having our shoes on, and the official cap, dress and ear-rings which his majesty had bestowed upon us. The emperor, we saw, was dressed in yellow-colored pantaloons and a fur jacket, and he returned to the palace from the ice amusement at 7 o'clock, in the same order as before, and we also returned to the embassadors' house.

"On the 26th January we sent the royal presents under charge of Yáza nôra-thá-gyô-gaung, and on the 30th we had an audience of the emperor in the front of the palace, in the Thaik-hô-teng apart-

ment. We were asked if the sun-descended king, the queen, royal family and ministers were well and happy, and respectfully answered, that through the grace of the three objects of worship, they were well and happy. We were treated in the palace with sweetmeats and fruit, and then returned home. On the 31st of the same month we again went to the palace on the occasion of the emperor going out to a temple. On the 1st February, were again admitted into the palace, and had an audience; and again on the 6th and 7th February; and again on the 11th, when the emperor was going out to the Tsí-kuon-kô garden, situated about 100 cubits to the west of the palace. A roll of red, blue, and yellow silk was given to each of the five principal men of the mission, and we were treated with cakes and sweet and sour fruit. On the 12th February, we were again admitted, when the emperor was going out to see fire-works of white and yellow colors, resembling flowers and flags, let off in the Yue-mi-yeng garden to the northwest of the palace. On the 12th, a carriage with *ló* horses was sent, and we were invited by Lí-pú-tá-yeng to accompany the emperor, when he was going out, and we went accordingly. We were accommodated in a brick-house about 3500 cubits distant from the palace in the Yue-mi-yeng garden. On the night of the 14th February we attended the emperor in the Yue-mi-yeng garden, and saw the fire-works, and were treated with sweetmeats and eatables and drinkables. On the 15th February we went again, and were again treated with refreshments, and on the night of the same day we went again, when fire-works were let off. On the 19th February, Lí-pú-tá-yeng having sent word to us to request leave to return, when we went before the emperor we submitted our request. The emperor ordered, that suitable royal presents and gifts for the ambassadors should be prepared and delivered, and the envoys allowed to return; and on the 20th we returned to our former residence within the large city. The emperor of China proceeded from his palace in Peking to his palace in the city of Ye-hó (Zhehol) in Tartary on the 24th February. On the 25th we went by desire of Lí-pú-tá-yeng to receive and take away the royal presents, and on entering the palace, the royal presents and cloths were packed in boxes and delivered to us, under the direction of Lí-pú-tá-yeng, and we received and took them away. Ten rolls of fine silk were given to each of us five principal men of the mission, and to the subordinate persons five pieces of silk and five pieces of blue cotton cloth. On the 27th February, we went to Lí-pú-tá-yeng's house to take leave. Lí-pú-tá-yeng having furnished us with five carriages and men, we took our departure on the 29th February, 1824.

"Whenever the emperor came out of the palace, or went to the Yue-mí-yeng garden, he was attended by two rows, two in each, of persons who had obtained two or three peacock's feathers, or who wore red on the tops of their caps. They used fur cushions or carpets spread on the floor.

"For the use of the emperor in the hot season, the ice in the lake to the northwest of his palace inclosure is broken open, as we saw, with hatchets and axes, &c., and pieces about three or four cubits thick, and two or three long, have a hole made at one end as is done by us to logs of timber, and are conveyed by ropes and put into the moat surrounding the palace inclosure. This ice melts and becomes water in consequence of the heat in the increasing month of March.

"The emperor appoints seven different governors; to the westward two, to the southward three, and to the eastward two. There is no governor appointed to the northward, where the kingdom joins to Tartāry. There are thirteen officers who exercise authority under one of the western governors. The names of those who receive orders from the tetŭh, who commands the soldiers under the governor, are tí-taik, kheng-taik, shyín-taik, taŭk-taik, tshăn-kyan, kō-kyge, tū-tseng, shyō-pe, tsheng-tsoŭn, pê-tsoŭn, wū-tsoŭn, and lô-tsoŭn, making altogether thirteen military officers. There are ten civil officers under the governor, and their names are phú-taik, who exercise authority over the revenue officers, sitting on the left hand of the governor, and on an equality with him; and under the phú-taik and receiving orders from him, are, Phú-khueng, Yeng-tse, Yeng-taung, Pan-tshaing, Tá-kauk-koún, Shyauk-kauk-koún, Tú-tó, and Teng-tsaní, making ten great and small civil officers. The governor has authority over and issues orders equally to both classes of officers. In the same manner as we have above described, the other six governors exercise authority over the military and revenue officers. With each governor under the tetŭh there are seven military officers, and under each military officer there are 3,000 musketeers, making 21,000 under the seven officers. Under the seven governors, there are seven tetŭh, 49 military officers, and 147,000 soldiers. When the soldiers are to receive their monthly pay, orders are given to the phū-taik, who brings the money to the governor, and he delivers it to the chief of the soldiers, to the tetŭh, who distributes it amongst the soldiers, at the rate of three ticals of Chinese silver a man per month. There are eight officers near the person of the emperor, receiving and executing his orders. The wún-gyíh (minister) Lí-pú tă-yeng, Lí-pú tá-yeng, Koun-pú tá-yeng, Hú-pú tá-yeng, Pyeng-pú

tá-yeng, Shyeng-pú tá-yeng, Nue-pú tá-yeng, and Kyóm-hein tetŭh. Lí-pú ta-yeng has a general control over the affairs of the empire. Lí-pú tá-yeng has authority over ambassadors and persons who have come from a distance. Koun-pú tí-yeng has authority over all that relates to learned men and artificers. Hú-pú tá-yeng has authority over the revenue, cultivation of lands, and lists of the population taken once in three years. Pyeng-pú-tá-yeng has authority over carriages, horses, and boats used for conveyance to different places, and he grants orders, with his seal whenever they are required. Shyeng-pú tá-yeng exercises authority over thieves, robbers, and all whose crimes are deserving of punishment. Nue-pú tá-yeng has charge of the palace, and all that relates to it. Kyó-mhein tetŭh has charge of the different gates of Peking.

"On the jackets worn by the military officers, on the breast and back, there is the figure of a tiger; and on the jackets worn by the civil officers, on the breast and back, there is the figure of a bird. On the breast and back of the jackets worn by the 147,000 lô-tseng, (Chinese word for musketeers?), there is an inscription in the Chinese character. The civil and military officers, according to their several talents, receive as a mark of distinction, one, two or three peacock's tails. There are not more than three peacock's tails; but the mark of distinction above that number, is to have the top of the head-dress colored red. The royal family wear on the top of their head-dress three rows of rubies. When a Chinese governor travels, there are five men on each side of the road in front of him, carrying iron chains and howling like dogs. The officers under the governor are accompanied by six, four, or two men, according to the respective rank of such officers. Whenever all these officers, including the governor, go abroad, a salute of three guns is fired, and at every military post, of which there is one at every two miles on the road, a salute of three guns is fired, when these officers arrive at those military posts. The governor, tetŭh, tí-taik, kheng-taik, shyín-taik, tauk-taik, with the civil officers phŭ-taik, phŭ-khueng, tsŏ-khueng and yeng-tse, every night at 9 o'clock shut their doors, fire three guns, and go to sleep. At dawn in the morning the doors of their houses are opened, and a salute of three guns is fired. The governor, tetŭh, phŭ-taik, and all other military and civil officers perform the public service on monthly wages, paid agreeably to their respective ranks. In order that the money of the poor may not be diminished, those who deserve flogging are flogged, and those who deserve imprisonment are imprisoned (meaning that there are no fines).

"In the empire of China there are no leaf palm, palmyra, mango, jack, betelnut, plantain, tamarind, lime, guava, or custard-apple tree. The trees which grow before you reach Peking, in the neighborhood of Mō-myín, Yunnan, and Kweichow, are walnuts, chestnuts, pears, firs, wild palmyras, wild plantain trees, pumplemoos, and oranges. In the city of Peking there are not any large trees or bamboos, or fire-wood for cooking, as there are at Ava; there are fir trees only. Food is cooked with coal, and there is a separate hill from which the coal is brought.

"Between Bamoo and the city of Peking there are 120 stages, and a distance of 6,944,000 cubits. We halted in 59 cities and 59 villages, and twice in the jungle, making altogether 120 stages. We left Ava for China on the 18th June, 1823, and returned to Ava on the 14th March, 1825."

The journal of the embassy is given by Col. Burney from official documents; in this journal it is stated that the elephants died before reaching Peking. We omit it, and pass on the third and last mission. The Burmese *taing* is equal to 2 miles 293⅓ yards, or 2 miles and one coss.

"The last embassy sent by the king of Ava to Peking," says Burney, "accompanied a Chinese embassy, which arrived at Ava in the month of April, 1833. The principal envoy from China was distinguished by a great attachment to strong liquors, with which the Burmese government liberally supplied him, and he was often publicly seen in a state of intoxication. The principal envoy of the Burmese deputation was a tsaredo-gyih whose family name is Maung Weng, and with whom I was well acquainted. But on his return from China he caught a jungle fever which brought on mental derangement, from the effects of which the poor man is not recovered at this date, 1836. The fever was caught after the envoy had entered his own country again, for a large tract of territory above Ava is considered by the Burmese as particularly unhealthy. The following is a translation of such portions of the proceedings of this late embassy as I have yet been able to procure."

Letter from the emperor of China to the king of Ava in 1833. "Elder brother Taoukwang, king of U'dí, who, assisted by the Thagyá Nat, governs the great kingdoms and countries to the eastward, affectionately addresses younger brother, the sun-descended king, lord of the golden palace, and owner of mines of gold, silver, rubies, amber, and noble serpentine, who governs the great kingdoms and countries, and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward. Elder brother, who obtained possession of the throne through the glory

of his ancestors, is in amicable relations with various kingdoms and countries. In elder brother's empire also, elder brother himself, his queen, sons, daughters, nobles and officers, together with the inhabitants of the country are in good health; and he desires to hear and know, that in younger brother's empire also, the sun-descended king, his queen, sons, daughters, nobles, officers, the poor people and royal slaves, are all well and happy. In pursuance of the custom which has existed since the year 1787, in the reign of his grandfather Keënlung, king of U'dí, for a royal letter with presents to pass once in ten years, the ten years having expired, a royal letter with gifts, four good horses, and various cloths, such as are always presented, are now sent with Tshein tálóyé, and Yeng-tsheng-yé. On their arrival, let younger brother, the sun-descended king, agreeably to the friendship and love subsisting between the two countries as if they were one, and according to existing custom, prepare a royal letter and envoys in return and forward them. When the men deputed by the sun-descended king and the royal letter and gifts arrive at the city of Yunnan, the (governor of Yunnan) will appoint officers to convey them safely on the road as far as the great city (Peking), and the envoys deputed by the sun-descended king with the royal letter and presents shall be suitably taken care of and entertained. Let the men, Tshein tálóyé and Yeng-tshengyé, whom elder brother deputes, return soon; and when the envoys come back it will be like having seen the countenance of younger brother, the lord of the golden palace."

Answer from the king of Ava to the letter from the emperor of China, received at Ava in the month of April, 1833. "The lord of the Tshaddan elephant, the master of many white elephants, the owner of mines of gold, silver, rubies, amber and noble serpentine, who bears the title and designation of *Thíri tari bawaná dítiyá dipadi pawara pandita mahá dhamma-rájá dirájá*,* the royal supporter of religion, the sun-descended king, lord of life and great king of righteousness, who governs the great kingdoms and countries and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the westward, affectionately addresses (his) royal friend Taoukwang, king of U'dí, who governs the great kingdoms and countries, and a multitude of umbrella-wearing chiefs to the eastward. In accordance with the friendship which (his) royal grand-father Men:daráyíh (great king of righteousness), who founded the golden city of Amarápúrá, and king of U'dí's royal grandfather, Keënlung, affectionately cultivated for a long period of years, royal letters with presents were reciprocally sent once in ten years without interruption. On the 8th day of the waning moon of Tagu in the Burmese year 1194 (April 12th, 1833), when royal friend (king of Ava) had been in possession of the throne for fourteen years, and Taoukwang king of U'dí for 12 years, Tshein tálóyé, Yeng-

* This is a title conferred upon himself by the king of Ava since the date of the war with the British government, and the meaning of the Pálí words is thus translated by the Burmese: "The illustrious lord of life, who exercises boundless dominion and possesses supreme wisdom, the exalted king of righteousness and king of kings." It is, I believe, the third title which he has given himself since his accession to the throne in 1819. *Burney.*

tsheng-yé, Tsó-ló-tsoun, Lá-tsheng-yé and Yan-la-tsheng-yé, having arrived with a royal letter and various presents, consisting of three cups of the nob's serpentine; two cups of the same, covred with flowers; goglet of the same; two jackets of fur lined with yellow silk, four jackets of the same fur lined with plum-colored silk; eight rolls of brocade; six rolls of various kinds of velvet; six large rolls of satin, and four horses: they were received and brought to Ava in a suitable manner. On the day on which the New-year's kado (beg-pardon audience) was held, the royal letter and presents being arranged in the palace in front of the throne, his majesty came out and took his seat attended by the royal son, younger brothers, kinsmen, and all the nobles and officers, and had the royal letter submitted and read out. His majesty was pleased to hear, that the king of U'dí himself, his queen, sons, daughters and kinsmen are well and happy. Royal friend himself also, his queen, son, daughters and kinsmen are well and happy. Agreeably to the friendship subsisting between the two great countries, his majesty has appointed as his envoys in return Men-thá-yázá-gyó, of the royal household, Né-myó-yázá, Né-myó-yé-gaung norathá and Né-myo'-bula-thú, and sends them with the following presents: two ruby rings for royal friend's own wearing: two sapphire rings; two blocks of noble serpentine weighing forty-eight viss and forty ticals; four elephants' teeth weighing forty-four viss and sixty ticals; three whole pieces of scarlet broadcloth, three of green and two of yellow; ten pieces of long-cloth; 10 pieces of European chintz; 10 pieces of European handkerchiefs; 10 foreign carpets; one hundred of silver leaf; three viss of white sandal-wood, three viss of red, three viss of bastard sandal-wood; ten bottles of otto of roses; ten bottles of rose water; two lacquered-ware boxes with high conical covers, gilded and inlaid with pieces of looking-glass; two of the same with flowers engraved on the lacquered work and gilded; two of the same engraved according to the Yuon pattern; two of the same with high stands and engraved in the same manner; four round lacquered boxes, each capable of containing half a basket, and engraved according to the Yuon pattern; 50 small round boxes of a quarter of a basket measure each; fifteen peacock's tails, with four male elephants, and one female. Let these envoys return soon, and when they come back, it will be like having met and seen royal friend, king of U'dí."

Copy of the instructions given by the ministers of Ava to the embassadors appointed to proceed to China from Ava.

Men-thá-yázá-gyó, Né-myó-yázá, Né-myó-yé-gaung norathá, and Né-myó-bula-thú, who have been appointed by his majesty, embassadors to proceed to China, having received charge of the royal letter and presents, and having been furnished with boats and crews complete, namely, the governor of Bamoo's gilded paddle boat with a brass *pya-that* for the king's letter, a *phaung* or accommodation boat with a double roof for the royal presents, a war boat for Men-thá-yá-

zá-gyó, a phaung with a plain roof for the other embassadors, and another phaung with a roof partly plain and partly double for the Chinese envoys: they will depart from Ava on a propitious day. They must travel the proper stages in the following order. In front of all, the boat with the king's letter, then that with the royal presents, then Men-thá-yázá-gyó's boat, then the boat of the other ambassadors, then the boat of the Chinese envoys, and lastly the governor of Bamoo's phaung with the war and other paddle and row boats.

At each halting-place the sheds and provisions which have been built and collected, are to be allotted and distributed by the headmen of the place, who will, agreeably to the orders issued by the ministers, calculate the number of men, and deliver provisions sufficient for each man from one halting-place to another.

On arriving at Bamoo, the 215 boatmen with the phaungs and other boats must be sent back to Ava, the governor and officers of Bamoo supplying the men with provisions sufficient for their journey back. Letters reporting the day of arrival there and every other particular, must also be sent down by these men for the information of the king and ministers.

Men-thá-yázá-gyó, and some of the officers with him will have a shed with a square roof buil at Bamoo, and lodge the royal letter and presents in the same. For the more easy conveyance of the royal letter the governor of that place will construct a plank *ta-zaung* (a portable pyramidal structure), having three roofs, and an umbrella and other ornaments, with a door on one side with a lock and key, and varnish and gild the whole. In this the royal letter must be placed, the lock fastened and care taken that no rain is admitted, and it must be carried carefully by men whom the town of Bamoo will furnish. The four male elephants and one female, intended as presents for the emperor of China, will proceed by land to Bamoo, so that they may travel with ease and be fully supplied with grass.

Two hundred men being expeditiously supplied to proceed from Bamoo to the Chinese boundary, the embassadors will travel by the usual stages, and having in front two men with rods.

On your arrival at Maing-tshi, viâ Mo-myín, you will represent that you are to promote the advantage of both sovereigns; that friendship has existed between the countries of the two kings (here some of the long titles of the kings are given) from the time of their ancestors; and that you have been deputed, and are come as embassadors with a royal letter and presents. That in the eastern empire, Yuen-tá-yain the

governor of Maíng-tshi, and in the western Menthá-yázá the governor of Bamoo, are placed like boundary flags and outposts, and are required to promote the advantage of both countries, conformably to the qualifications essential to governors and generals.

Do not remain long at Maíng-tshí: request that the royal letter and presents and the elephants may be conveyed, so as to reach Peking properly; speak boldly, and as persons who are well acquainted with what is due to kings, to religion and to this world, and then proceed. Speak also on the subject of Ma-ha-weng, and Maha-nué of Kyain-youn-gyíh, in the manner you have been instructed, following the memorandum given you on this point, and taking care that much discussion may not arise, and that you may persuade and overcome. Prepare and transmit a report to Ava of all that may be proper to be submitted without any omissions, once from Mo-myín, and once from Maíng-tshí.

After leaving Maing-tshí, and when you reach Peking, observe and record everything carefully and unreservedly, so as to justify the confidence and favor of his majesty, who has selected you, and speak daily with firmness.

You must note and bring back with you, after making inquiries secretly and ascertaining, what the emperor of China worships in order to obtain neibban; what he practices and worships in order to obtain advantages in this world; as well as an account of his queens, concubines, kinsmen, children, nobles, and officers, and of their equipage, dress and ceremonies, with a map and description of China and Tartary. You must express a desire to go and worship the genuine teeth of Gaudama, and in order that you may obtain positive information, you must go yourself, and see and take an account of everything curious or worthy to be seen and known. You must also apply for permission to go and see and take an account of caves, pagodas, and zayats in every quarter.

You must always keep in mind the interest of his majesty, and execute his service boldly and truly, in fulfillment of his majesty's belief when he appointed you, that you would accomplish every point in which the two countries are concerned, and in accordance with the favor which you have received from, and the obligation which you owe to his majesty.

The royal woondauk Mahá-men-gyá-yázá submitted and read the above on the 28th June, 1833, to the prince of Tsalen, and to the wúngyíhs, Kyí-wun mengyíh, Myá-wadí mengyíh, Padain mengyíh, Ngarane men-gyíh, and Kyouk-tshaung mengyíh.

Route of a journey from the city of Ava to the city of Peking, traveled by a mission deputed by the king of Ava to the emperor of China in the year 1833.

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
June 27th.	Left the city of Ava by water, and stopped at the temporary buildings occupied by the Chinese embassadors, at the pagoda of Shue-gyet,	—	The boats of the Chinese envoys were made to follow those of the Burmese envoys.
28th.	Proceeded to Amarapúra, at which the Chinese envoys desired to stop a day, with some of their relatives and friends residing there,	3	
30th.	Stopped at Shyáh-yaung village under Tságain	3	
1st.	Village of Shein-ma gá,	7	
2d.	City of Kyauk-myaung,	11	
3d.	Jungle village of Thein-kha,	7	
4th.	City of Tsam-bay-ngaó,	6	
5th.	City of Henga-moo,	9	
6th.	City of Ta-gaung,	6	
7th.	City of Khyun-daung,	4	
8th.	Village of Thí-gyain, under the city Mya-daung	4	
9th.	Village of Thá-gaya, under Mya-daung,	5	
10th.	Village of Nyaung-khye-dauk under Ka-thá city	5	
11th.	City of Ka-thá, where the fleet stopped a day, as the boats of the Chinese envoys had not come up, and the stream was very violent,	4	
13th.	Village of Let-pán-zín (line of silk cotton trees) under the city of Yen:gê or Yeng-khyé,	3	
14th.	Village of Tshí-byú-goún under Shúe-gú city,	5	
15th.	City of Shúe-gú,	5	
16th.	Village of Tsín-khan under city of Kaung-toún	5	
17th.	Village of Len-ban:gya under city of Ba-moo,	5	
18th.	City of Ba-moo,	3	

The Chinese envoys, Tshein tálôyé and Yeng-tsheng-yé, had 34 followers, the 4 Burmese envoys had 46, and the crews of the boats amounted to 218 men. All these men were supplied with provisions by the chiefs of the different towns and villages on our route from Ava to Bamoo, and the current being very strong between the village of Thí-gyain and Bamoo, the fleet was assisted by additional paddle boats and men sent by the chiefs of the different places lying in that portion of our journey. On the 26th June, the officer in charge of the elephants intended as presents for the emperor of China arrived at Bamoo, with four of these animals only, and reported, that on the journey from Ava, they had all got loose at the village of Mo-wún, under Kaung-toún, and that on pursuing and overtaking them on the Nga-zín Ka-khyen hill, in the territory of Mo-meit, he found one dead. The mission stopped 23 days at Bamoo, preparing for their land journey, and collecting horses and porters. The governor made a small pyramidal box with a lock and key and gilded it all over, for holding the king of Ava's letter. On the 11th August, 1833, the embassy left Bamoo in the following order: 2 men holding gilded rods; then the box containing the royal letter; then the boxes containing the royal presents; then the baggage of the embassadors; then a couple of jingals; then 100 musketeers; and then the Burmese embassadors dressed in full uniform and mounted on elephants. On both sides of the streets, the women poured out libations of water, and the officers of the city escorted the embassy outside, with music and dancing. Sacrifices were also made, by order of the governor, to the guardian nats of the place. There were 200 porters, and 50 bullocks for conveying the baggage, and a guard of 100 musketeers and 100 lancers with 2 jingals, besides 15 men sent by the governor of Bamoo to return from Yunnan, with letters from the embassadors, reporting progress. Outside of the city the principal Burmese embassador entered a covered sedan chair, and the rest of the Burmese and the Chinese envoys mounted horses.

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
Aug. 11th.	Left Ba-moo, and slept at the village of Mó:mauk,.....	6	
12th.	Slept at the Ta-dá-gyíh, ...	4	
13th.	Slept at the village of the Kakhyen chief of Tein mount.	6	
14th.	Slept at the village of the Kakhyen chief Ma-theng,.....	6	Here the mission stopped a day in consequence of the porters not having come up with the baggage.
16th.	Slept at the foot of the Mainkhah mountain,.....	6	As far as this place provisions were brought for us all from Bamoo.
17th.	Slept at the Luay-laing-ken or chokey (Shan Lóai-leng, red hill or mountain),.....	7	Here the mission was met by a party of Chinese, under Tsoun-lô-tsôun, which had been sent by the governor of Mó:myín (Theng-ye), and to which we transferred the charge of the royal letter and presents and all our baggage. The Burmese porters and guard who come with us from Bamoo were paid what was right and proper, and sent back to that city on the 18th.
18th.	Left the frontier chokey, and reached the city of Mó-wún (Chinese Long-tchuen fú) (Shan Mung-wan),.....	8	This is one of the eight Shan cities. The mission, considering that it was the rainy season when the streams are full, and difficult to cross, stopped at this city 3 days, for the purpose of recruiting the royal elephants properly.
22d.	Left Mó-wún, and slept at the Ken-dat or fortified chokey on the top of the Shyá-mueloûe mountain, ...	-	Here the mission found tálôyé, the Nan-ten officer, having authority over 1000 men, and Tsoun-yín having authority over 500 men, who were sent by the governer of Mó:myín to meet the mission, and who, after communicating with the envoys, returned to Mó:myín.
23d.	Slept at the village of Mantoun,.....		
24th.	Slept at the village of Nanteng (Shan Múngtí, and Burmese Maindi).....	8	
26th.	Reached the city of Mó-myín. (Chinese Thengyi chow, Shan Múng-myen,)	7	Here the mission stopped a day to refresh the elephants.
		10	The governor of Mó:myín came out in state with troops half a taing in advance of the city to meet the Burmese envoys, whom he conveyed into the town in sedan chairs, and entertained with a play. The walls of Mó-myín are of brick, 1050 cubits square and 10 cubits high, with one gateway on each side. There is a governor and the military officer. The former has charge of the revenue and judicial affairs, and the latter commands the military. There are 3000 soldiers, and only 10 guns and mortars. The governor's house is at the northwest angle of the town, and to the westward there are two granaries capable of holding about 2000 baskets of paddy each. The envoys reported their arrival at Mó:myín to the king of Ava. On the 4th September, the governor of Mó:myín dispatched the Burmese interpreter, Thíri-gyô-den, with the Chinese interpreter Nga-shue-tha, under charge of Ha-tsoun-yín, Kyí-pu-tayín and Yan-lô-tsoûn, to proceed to Peking in advance of the mission. The envoys and the royal letter and presents were then put in charge of the officer Tsu tálôyé, who wore a blue button, and commanded 1000 men, the interpreter Main-tha, who was a Shan, and a Chinese interpreter Nga-pa-nouk, and 5 other men who wore a white button. The mission stopped nine days at Mó:myín.
Sept. 7th.	Left the city of Mó-myín, and slept at the village of Kán-lan-tshan,.....	8	

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
Sept. 8th.	Stopped at the village of Pá-weng, after crossing an iron bridge 7 cubits broad and 70 long, over the Shue-lí river,	8	
9th.	Stopped at the village of Phú-pyauk, after crossing the Salween river in a boat,	7	
10th.	Slept at the city of Wun-tsheng (Chinese Yongtchang fú and Burmese Wun-zen).	6	The governor and military commander
12th.	Slept at the Kuonbô village,	4	came out in state and met the mission
13th.	Stopped at the Shyá-muhô village, after crossing an iron bridge 105 cubits long and seven broad, over the Mè-khaung river,	8	a taing in advance of this city where we stopped a day. The walls of this city are 1750 cubits square and 6 cubits high. There are 2 arched gateways on each face, and there is a military officer
14th.	Slept at Youn-pyen-hien,	9	as well as a governor here.
15th.	Slept at the village of Khuon-leng-phú,	9	
16th.	Five taings beyong Khuon-leng-phú, we crossed an iron bridge 70 cubits long and 7 broad, over a river which separates from the Hô-kyán and falls into the Mè-khaung and stopped at the village of Yan-pyin-hien,	5	
17th.	Crossed, in the Yan-pyin-hien village, an iron bridge 56 cubits long and 7 broad over the Hó-kyán river, which flows from the Tálí lake, & stopped at Hô-kyánpo village	6	
18th.	Slept at the city of Tsauk-chow subject to the jurisdiction of the city of Tálí,	9	There is no wall round this town, but
19th.	Slept at Khoún-haik village,	8	there is an arched gateway with a
20th.	Slept at Yit-nán-yí village,	9	double roof.
21st.	Slept at Phú-poún village,	6	
22d.	Slept at Shyá-khyauk village,	8	
23d.	Passed the city of Kyen-nán-chow,	3	The walls of this town are five cubits
23d.	Slept at the village of Lí-hô,	3	high, 700 cubits long from east to west, and upwards of 560 cubits from north to south, with a gateway on each face. There is a governor and commander of cavalry here.
24th.	Slept at the city of Tshú-shyoún or (Tchou-hiung or	6	The walls of this town are about 5 or 6
25th.	Tchou-yung,)	7	cubits high, 2,100 cubits from east to
26th.	Slept at Kueng-toún-hien city	6	west, and 2800 cubits from north to south. There are 2 gates in the eastern and western faces, and one only at each of the other two faces. A governor, a military officer, a shyeng-gueng, and three other officers have charge of the town.
	Slept at Shyè-lshe village,		

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
27th.	Slept at city of Lû-thoûn-hien,	8	The walls of this town are upwards of
28th.	Slept at Lô-ya-kuon village,	6	2,100 cubits square, and 4 or 5 cubits high, with a gateway on each side. A
29th.	Slept at the city of An-lêng-chow,	8	governor has charge of the town. The walls of this town are upwards of 4,900 cubits square, and 5 or 6 high, with a gateway on each face. There is a governor here also. Seeing but few houses within and without the city, we asked the inhabitants the
30th.	Reached the city of Maing-tshí (Yunnan), the residence of the governor,	6	cause, and they told us that the town had been ruined by an excessive salt tax. The walls of this town are upwards of

6300 cubits square, and 6 cubits high, with battlements complete. On each of the eastern and western faces, there are two gateways, and on the southern and northern only one. At each gateway there are 6 pieces of cannon capable of carrying shot weighing a viss or half a viss. The gateways are arched and have double roofs over them. There is a large lake which extends from the south to the west of the town, in which there is a great deal of cultivation. Two or three severe shocks of earthquake had been daily felt in this town between the 6th and 28th September, 1833, and upwards of six hundred brick houses had been thrown down, and upwards of ninety men killed. We saw portions of the walls of the town and a great many houses in ruins, and found the inhabitants of the country much alarmed.

On inquiry we learnt, that at Yunnan, there is a governor named Yueng-ta-yeng, and a tetûh named Lô-tá-yeng, and there are eight officers under them, Lí-tá-yeng, Phan-tá-yeng, Khô-tá-yeng, Nyo-tá-yeng, Tsheín tálôyê, Tshan tálôyê, Lô tálôyê, and a royal teacher named Lítan. The governor superintends the revenue and civil affairs; the tetûh governs the military. The tí-tá-yeng conducts, under the orders of the governor, all civil matters which occur at any place subject to the jurisdiction of the governor. The Phan-tá-yeng takes charge of all the revenue collected therein, and disburses pay to the military when ordered by the governor. The Khô-tá-yeng examines and tries all criminal offenses committed within the same extent of jurisdiction. The Nyo-tá-yeng collects the land and salt taxes. The three officers, Tsheín tálôyê, Tshan tálôyê and Lô tálôyê have jurisdiction within the city of Yunnan only, in which they conduct the revenue and judicial duties. The royal teacher, Lí-tan, examines all men within the governor's jurisdiction who come to him, as to their learning and skill in archery, and in the musket, sword and lance exercises, and reports whether they are qualified for the public service or not.

The royal elephants joined the mission at Yunnan on 16th October, and on the following day the Burmese envoys waited on the governor and communicated to him the two subjects comprised in their instructions from Ava. The envoys requested the governor to solicit the emperor to put a stop to the differences which exists between Mahá-weng and Mahá-nue the Thín-ví or Shan chiefs of Kyain Youn-gyíh (a town eight days' journey to the east of Kyain-toun, situated on the great Camboja river and on the frontiers of China, the chiefs of which pay tribute to both Ava and China). The envoys also requested the governor to make certain subjects of China, who had worked the royal silver mines at Bô-duen during the years 1829, 1830, 1831, and 1832 to pay up the balance of the duty they owed the king of Ava. The duty was upwards of two hundred viss, but these men had only paid thirty viss, and had gone off to Tshú-shyoûn, Tálí, and Mó:myín.

The envoys sent back from Yunnan the elephanteers and men whom the governor of Ba-moo had ordered to accompany the mission so far. Chinese were appointed by the governor agreeably to ancient custom, to take charge of the elephants. The mission now consisting of the four envoys and their thirty followers, besides two men acquainted with the Chinese language, whom the go-

vernor of Bamoo had attached to the envoys, left Yunnan on the 21st October, 1833, attended by the undermentioned Chinese appointed by the governor to take charge of the mission. *Two military officers, Kue-tá-yeng who had a red button, and Tsú tálôyê who had a blue button; and two civil officers, Tsheng tálôyê who had a blue button, and Teng tálôyé who had a transparent white button; and eight subordinate officers, Tí tálôyê, who had a white button, and Tshue tálôyê, Shyá lôyê, Tsoun lôyê, Mo-wé lôyê, Houn lôyê, Thoun lôyê, and Han lôyê, each of whom wore a brass button.*

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
Oct. 21st.	Left the Yunnan city and slept at Wún-khyauk village,....	5	
22d.	Slept at Yan-leit village,.....	7	We learned from Pyeng tálôyé the governor of this place, and some men of rank, who came and paid us a visit, that this town had consisted of upwards of 2,000 houses, but that at 9 o'clock on the morning of the 6th September last, an earthquake had completely destroyed the place, leaving not a single house or shed standing, and killing upwards of a thousand of the inhabitants.
23d.	Slept at Yí-loún-tsán village,	9	
24th.	Slept at the city of Má-loun-chow, (Malong,).....	7	The walls of this city are 6,300 cubits in circumference and ten cubits high, with a gateway on each of the 4 sides. The name of the governor is Lhyó tálôyê.
25th.	Slept at the city of Shyá-yi-chow,.....	5	The walls of this city are 4900 cubits in
26th.	Slept at Pê-shue village,.....	7	circumference and 9 cubits high, with a gateway on each of the four sides. Lhyó tálôyé is the governor.
27th.	Slept at the city of Pyeng-yeng-hien, ...	6	The walls are about 4900 cubits in circumference and 5 cubits high, and has a gateway on the east, west, and south faces, but none on the north. The governor is Tsán tálôyê.
28th.	Slept at Yí-za-khoún village,	7	
29th.	Slept at Yó-kuon-teng-tsan village,.....	7	
30th.	Slept at the village of Shyan-tsain,.....	7	
31st.	Slept at Pê-shyá-tí village,..	4	
Nov 1	Slept at A-tú-teng village,...	6	
2d.	Slept at the city of La-taing,.	6	The walls are upwards of 2800 cubits
3d.	Slept at Bó-koun village, ...	6	in circumference and ten cubits high, with a gateway on each of the four sides. The governor is Tsheng tálôyê.
4th.	Slept at the city of Tsein-leng-chow, (Tchin-ning?)..	6	The walls are upwards of 4900 cubits in circumference, and 12 cubits high, with 1 gateway on each of the 4 sides. Tshauk tálôyê is the governor.
5th.	Slept at An-shue-fú, (Ngan-chan?).....	6	The walls are about 7000 cubits in circumference and ten high with a gateway on each of the 4 sides. Kyeng tálôyê and Tshein lôyê are the governors.
6th.	Slept at the city of Ngan-pyeng-hien, ...	8	The walls are 4900 cubits round and ten high with 1 gateway on each of the 4 sides. Tsó tálôyê is the governor.
7th.	Slept at the city of Tsheng-tsein-hien, ...	6	The walls are about 1,400 cubits round and ten high, with gateways on each of the 4 sides. Myen tálôyê is the governor.
8th.	Slept at the Kwei-chow city, (Koei-ngang?).....	8	The walls are about 10,500 cubits round

and 15 high, with 4 gateways on the north face, 2 on the east, 1 on the south, and 2 on the west. The officers here are Tsoún-tá-yéng, military officer and 4 governors, Lán-tá-yéng, Tsán-tá-yeng, Lhyó tálôyê and Tsán tálôyê. The governor of Yunnan has jurisdiction in all civil, criminal, and revenue affairs, in all places subject to both Kweichow and Yunnan cities; but he has no power in military affairs, which are superintended by the military officers tetûh and tí-taik. The officers under the governor only disburse the pay of the military. The mission stopped at this city one day.

Date. 1833.	Names of places.	Teings.	Remarks.
10th.	Slept at the city of Loún-lí-hien,	6	The walls are about 600 cubits round and ten high, with a gateway on each of the 4 sides. Pá-má-tsoún is the governor. The mission stopped here a day as the porters with the baggage had not come up.
12th.	Slept at the city of Kue-tein hien,	7	The walls are about 3500 cubits round and 8 high, with one gateway on each
13th.	Slept at the villaye of Lhyó-yan-tsán,	6	of the 4 sides. Tsauk tálôyê is the
14th.	Slept at the city of Yeng-pyeng-hien,	8	governor. The walls are about 6300 cubits round and ten high, with one gateway on each of the 4 sides. Yan tálôyê is the go-
15th.	Slept at the city of Khan-pyeng-chow, (Koang-ping?)	7	vernor. The walls are upwards of 4900 cubits round and 5 high, with 1 gateway on each of the sides. Shyeng tálôyê is
16th.	Slept at the city of Tsi-pyeng-hien,	7	the governor. The walls are about 5600 cubits round and 12 high, with 1 gateway on each
17th.	Slept at the river's side in the city of Tsein-yuón-fú, (Tchin-yuen,)	7	of the four sides. Tsán tálôyê is the governor. The walls are about 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with a gateway on each of the 4 sides. Tsán tálôyê is the go-
20th.	Dropped down the stream in boats from Tsein-yuón fú & stopped at the city of Tshí-tshein-hien,	6	vernor. The mission stopped here 3 days preparing boats and embarking in them. The walls are 4900 cubits round, and
21st.	Slept at Tá-yí-tán chokey,	9	10 high, with 1 gateway on each of the
22d.	Slept at Pyan-shue village,	10	4 sides. Shyen tálôyê is the governor.
23d.	Stopped at Yí-pyen-hien city and received provisions.	7	The walls are 5600 cubits round and 7 high, with 1 gateway on each of the 4 sides. Lhyó tálôyê is the governor.
24th.	Slept at the city of Yuón-tsó-fú,	3	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 9 high, with a gateway on each of the 4 sides. There are a great many small villages dependent on this city. It has 3 governors, Tsoún tálôyê, Phu tálôye and Lí tálôyê.
25th.	Left Yuón-tsó-fú at 3 o'clock in the afternoon, and dropped down as far only as the chokey village of Kyin-leng dan,	3	
26th.	Slept at Khyay-ya-hien city,	10	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 6 high, with 2 gateways on the south side
27th.	Slept off the landing place at the village of Tshi-tshí,	9	and one only on each of the other
28th.	Slept at Shyeng-yí-wun,	16	sides. Tsoún tálôyê is the governor.
	Slept at the city of Tseng-kyí-hien,	13	The walls are 4200 cubits round and 9 high, with one gateway on each side. Taik tálôyê is the governor.

Date 1833.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
29th.	Slept at the city of Lú-kyí-hien,.....	8	The walls are 4200 cubits round and 8 high, with one gateway on each of the 4 sides. Lyéng tálôyê is the governor.
30th.	Slept at the city of Shyeng-tsó-fú, (Tching-tcheou?)...	6	The walls are 8400 cubits round and ten high, with four gateways on the south side and one only on each of the other 3 sides. Wun tálôyê is the governor.
Dec.	Slept at Kaing-shyo village,.	17	The mission disembarked from the boats and remained here during the 4th of Dec. making arrangements for prosecuting their journey by land.
2d.	Slept at Tsoún-seh village,..	15	
3d.	Reached the city of Tshan-tek-fú, (Tchang-té,).....	6	
5th.	Proceeded by land and slept at the village of Tá-loun-tsan,	6	
6th.	Slept at Tsí-khuá-yí village,.	6	
7th.	Slept at the city of Lí-chow,	6	The walls are 8400 cubits round and 9 high, with two gateways on the western, and only one on each of the other three sides. Tshein tálôyê and Tsán tálôyé are the governor. The mission stopped here 3 days, as the porters with the baggage had not come up.
10th.	Slept at the village of Shue-leng-yeng, ...	6	The mission was detained at this village a day, a relief of porters not being immediately procurable.
12th.	Slept at the city of Koun-gan-hien,.....	8	The walls are 5250 cubits round and 7 high, with one gateway at each of the 4 sides. Tsú táólyê is the governor. The mission was detained here a day, in consequence of the porters with the baggage not having come up.
13th.	Slept at the city of Kyeng-tsó-fú, (Kin-tcheou,)	6	The walls are 21,000 cubits round and ten high, with two gateways each on the eastern and western sides, and one only on each of the other two sides. Tsán tálôyé, Tsheng tálôyê, and Lhyó tálôyê are the governors. The walls of this city are very handsomely and properly built, and the ditch surrounding them is full of water, on which we saw a great many boats plying. The mission was detained here a day, in consequence of the porters with the baggage not having come up.
17th.	Slept at the village of Kyeng-yeng-ye,.....	9	The mission was detained in this village two days in consequence of a great fall of snow which had covered the roads and made them impassable.
20th.	Slept at the city of Kyeng-mein-chow, (Kinmen.).....	9	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 9 high, with 2 gateways on the southern, and 1 only on each of the other three sides. Lú tálôyê is the governor. The mission was detained here a day, in consequence of the porters not having come up with the baggage.
22d.	Slept at Shí-khyauk village,.	6	
23d.	Slept at Leng-yan-yé village,	6	
24th.	Slept at Yí-tshein-hein city,..	9	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 8 high, with one gateway on each side. Tshauk tálôyê is the governor.
25th.	Slept at the city of Thuon-tshéng, (Syang-yang,)	9	The walls are 10,500 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each of the four sides. Weng-tá-yeng and Gsueng-yeng are the governors. In consequence of the whole of the country between the cities of Tshan-tek fú and Thuon-tshéng having been destroyed by an inundation in the year 1829, great difficulty is now experienced there in procuring post horses and porters. The mission was repeatedly obliged to wait, and was unable to travel the distance between the two cities in less than twenty-two days,

although the same journey formerly occupied only twelve days. The officers, appointed by the governor of Yunnan to escort the mission, here stated, that they had received letters, ordering them to make all haste, as the feast of lanterns in in the month of February was near at hand, and they requested that, in order to facilitate the journey, the Burmese envoys should each proceed in a covered chair, having an ass harnessed to it before and another behind. The mission stopped at this city 6 days, and hired 50 sumpter-horses and mules at 50 ticals each to convey the presents and baggage, leaving the lighter articles only to be carried by porters.

Date. 1834.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
Jan. 1st.	Left the city of Thuon-tsheng in covered chairs with large horses, and stopped at the village of Lhyó-yeng-yí,....	6	
2d.	Stopped at the city of Yí or Rí-hein,.....	6	The walls of this city are 4200 cubits round and ten high, with 1 gateway on
3d.	Slept at Wá-teng village, ...	6	each of the 4 sides. Wún tálôyè is the
4th.	Slept at Nan-yan-fú (Nan-yang),.....	6	governor. The walls are 7000 cubits round and 12
5th.	Stopped at Tseng-teng village in consequence of the porters with the baggage not having come up,.....	3	high, with one gateway on each of the four sides. Yéng tálôyè and Shyauk táyéng are the governors.
6th.	Slept at the village of Tsô-hô,	6	
7th.	Stopped at the city of Yí-chow, being unable to proceed in consequence of a fall of snow, (Yu?)	4	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 14
8th.	Slept at Kyó-sheng village,..	9	high, with one gateway on each of the
9th.	Stopped at the city of Yuí-hien, the porters with the baggage not having come up,	3	4 sides. Tsoún tálôyè is the governor. The walls are 4200 cubits round and 9 high, with one gateway on each side. Lô tálôyè is the governor.
10th.	Slept at Shan-hein city,.....	6	The walls is 10,500 cubits round and 11 high, with 2 gateways on the eastern, and one only on the three other sides. Tsán tálôyè is the governor.
11th.	Slept at Tshan-kô-hein city,.	11	The walls are 3500 cubits round and 9 high, with a gateway on each side. Wún tálôyè is the governor.
12th.	Slept at Sheng-tseng-khyeng,	6	The walls are 9300 cubits round and 8 high, with one gateway on each side. Tsán tálôyè is the governor.
13th.	Slept at the city of Tseng-chow, (Tching?)	10	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 7 high, with one gateway on each side. Lô tálôyè is the governor.
14th.	On leaving Tseng-chow we found the Yellow river was frozen, & being unable to proceed by the same route as that traveled in 1823 by the present governor of Bamoo, we deviated to the NW., and stopped at the city of Youn-yán-hien,	7	The walls are 3500 cubits round and 8 high, with one gateway on each side. Tseng tálôyè is the governor.
15th.	Stopped at Há-lô-kuon city to change post-horses and porters	4	The walls are 9800 cubits round and 8 high, with 1 gateway on each sides. Wún tálôyè is the governor.

Date. 1834.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
15th.	Slept at the city of Koun-hien,	4	The walls are 8400 cubits round and 8 high, with 1 gateway on each side. Koun tálôyé is the governor.
16th.	Slept at city of Yan-tsé-hien,	6	The walls are 4200 cubits round and 9 high, with one gateway on each side. Lí-tá-yeng is the governor.
17th.	Slept at Moún-bien,.....	6	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Hú tálôyé is thegovernor.
18th.	Stopt at the city of Huaik-kyeng-fú to change horses and porters, (Hoai-king?)..	6	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Wún tálôyé is the governor.
18th.	Slept at the city of Tsán-fú,.	4	The walls are 5600 cubits round and ten high, with two gateways on the eastern and one on each of the other three sides. Shyán tálôyé is the governor.
19th.	Stopt at the city Tsheng-huá-yí to change horses and porters,.....	3	The walls are 2100 cubits round and 8 high, with an arched gateway of brick having a double-roofed shed over it on each of the four sides. Hô-ní-hien is the governor.
19th.	Passed the city Tit-au-hein,..	8	The walls are 21,000 cubits round and ten high, with an arched gateway of brick covered by a double roofed shed on each side. The walls have also parapets of brick.
19th.	Slept at Hô-yá-hien city....	2	The walls are 17,500 cubits round and 13 high, with one gateway on each side. Shyá tálôyé is the governor.
20th.	Stopt at the city of Shyeng-nán-hien, to change horses and porters,.....	2	The walls are 6300 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Tsú-tá-la is the governor.
20th.	Slept at the city of We-kue-fú, (Oue-kiun?) where we joined again the road which the governor of Bamoo traveled in 1823,.....	5	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 13 high, with one gateway on each side. Lyán tálôye and Tshein tálôyé are the governors.
21st.	Stopt at the city of Khyí-hieng, 2 taings distant from the above,.....	2	The walls are of mud with brick parapets. They are 7000 cubits round and two high, with an arched gateway of brick, covered by a double-roofed shed on each of the 4 sides.
21st.	Passed through the city of Tsan-tek-fú, (Tchang-te,)...	—	The walls are 6300 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each of the 4 sides. Hú tálôye and Tsán tálôyé are the governors.
21st.	Passed the figure of a *nat* 70 cubits high within a 4 roofed building, and having a figure of Dipengara Budha on its head, half a taing distant from the above,.....	—	
21st.	Slept at the village of Yí-koun, distant from We-kue-fú,.....	12	
22d.	Passed through the city of Tsan-chow,.....	—	The walls of this city are 6300 cubits round and ten high, with *one* gateway on each of the 4 sides. Lyó tálôyé is the governor.
22d.	Slept at Oun-lô-kyeng, distant from Yíkoun, ...	11	

Date. 1834.	Names of places.	Taings	Remarks.
Jan. 23d.	Slept at the city of Han-tan hien,.....	10	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 12 high, with 1 gateway on each side. Yoún tálôyé is the governor.
24th.	Stopt at the city of Youn-leng hien, to change horses and porters,.....	5	The walls are 5600 cubits round and twelve high, with one gateway on each of the four sides, and Hô tálôyé is the governor.
24th.	Passed through the city of Shya-hôk-hien,.....	3	The walls are 4900 cubits round and 9 high, with one gateway on each side. Yuéng tálôyé is the governor.
24th.	Slept at the city of Yuon-tek fú, (Chun-ti?).....	5	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. T,hán tálôyé is the governor.
25th.	Passed through the city of Nue-shyú-hien,.....	6	The walls are 5000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Lyó tálôyé is the governor.
25th.	Slept at the city of Pô-shya hien,.....	6	The walls are 3500 cubits round and 7 high, with one gateway on each side. Nyó tálôyé is the governor.
26th.	Stopped at the city of Tsauk-chow, to change horses and porters,. (Teha?),.....	6	The walls are 14,000 cubits round and fourteen high, with one gateway on each side. Teng tálôyé is the governor.
26th.	Slept at the city of Luon-tshoun-hien,.....	6	The walls are 10,500 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Hú tálôyé is the governor.
27th.	Slept at the city of Tseng-tein fú, (Tching-ting.).....	6	The walls are 10,500 cubits round and 13 high, with one gateway on each side. Li tálôyé is the governor.
28th.	Stopped at the city of Teng-chow, to change horses and porters (Ting),.....	3	The walls are 8400 cubits round and 13 high, with one gateway on each side. Hú tálôye is the governor.
28th.	Passed through the city of Wún-tu-hien,.....	6	The walls are 14,000 cubits round and 10 high, with one gateway on each side. Yó tálôyé is the governor. (The route of the mission of 1787 makes this place much more distant from Tseng-tein-fú.—B.)
28th.	Slept at the village of Myeng-yí-teng,.....	3	
29th.	Slept at the village of Puon-tsheit-khyó,.....	12	
30th.	Slept at the city of Pauk-teng fú, where a governor resides, (Pao-ting,).....	6	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 12 high, with one gateway on each side. Tshi-hauk-yé is the tsungtüh, and Tshein tálôyé and Oun tálôyé are the governors.
31st.	Stopped at the city of Ngan-shyú-hien, to change horses and porters,.....	5	The walls are 5600 cubits round and 7 high, with one gateway on each side. Tshein tálôyé is the governor.
31st.	Slept at the village of Pe-khô,	6	
Feb. 1st.	Passed through the city of Teng-tsí hien,.....	2	The walls are 8400 cubits round and 7 high, with one gateway on each side. Lyó tálôyé is the governor.
1st.	Slept at the city of Tsuechow (Tso-tcheou?),.....	7	The walls are 10,500 cubits round and 13 high, with 2 gateways on the eastern, and one on each of the other three sides. Tshauk tálôyé is the governor.
2d.	Slept at the city of Leng-yan-hien,.....	7	The walls are 7000 cubits round and 10 high, with one gateway on each side. Tsheín tálôyé is the governor.
3d.	Reached the city of Pê-kyín, (Peking), the residence of the emperor of China.....	10	

"From the city of Mō-myín to Peking, there is a fortified chokey or post, with an officer at every taing or half taing of the road as considered necessary; and from a distance of 10 days before you reach Peking to that city, there is at intervals of one quarter of a taing, and between every two chokies, a small building with a centinel on duty, At each chokey the guard of four or five men came out to receive us, when we arrived there, and fired five guns. At every large town where we were to stop for the night, a party of 500 or 600 armed men came outside of the town to meet us, and fired three vollies with 50 or 60 muskets, and in these towns three guns were fired on our arrival at night, and departure in the morning. At each stage we were furnished with horses, boats, porters, &c., at the expense of the town, and officers of the govprnment conducted us from one stage to another, as far as their jurisdiction extended.

"Including the (inner) wall of the palace inclosure, there are three lines of brick wall on the eastern, western, and northern sides of the city of Peking, and four on the southern. The line of wall outermost is 28,000 cubits square and 20 high, with four gateways on the eastern and western, six on the southern, (apparently including the gateways in the southern wall of the Tartar city,) and two on the northern side. In the middle line of wall there is one gateway on the eastern and western, and four on the southern side (apparently one within the other). In the inner wall of the palace inclosure there is one gateway on each of the four sides. The middle wall is ten cubits high, and the wall of the palace inclosure thirteen cubits. There are battlements on the outermost, and on the inner wall of the palace inclosure, but none on the middle line of wall, which is covered with yellow tiles. The gateways in the outermost, and in the inner wall of the palace inclosure are of brick arched, with sheds of three roofs over them. There is a tower at the four angles of the outer wall. There is a ditch full of water surrounding the outer wall; another between the outer and middle walls; another between the middle and palace inclosure walls; and a fourth inside of the palace inclosure wall.

"The palace of the emperor consists of a brick terrace with posts, over which is placed a double roof, the upper part of which is square, and covered with yellow tiles. The age of the emperor is 52 years, of which he has reigned 13 years. He has seven queens but his principal queen is dead. He has one son eight years old, and another four years old. He has two daughters also by one queen. One daughter fifteen and the other ten years of age. He has two younger brothers by a different mother."

Note. Here we bring to a close colonel Burney's very long and very valuable account of modern intercourse between Burmah and China. We have preserved his orthography, even in the Chinese names; and have passed unnoticed errors in facts; as for example, where he mistakes the six Boards in Peking for six high officers. According to this account, the Chinese have a treaty with the *Burmese* and well as with the Russians, and their country and capital are as accessible from the south and southwest, as from the north and northwest.

ART. III. *Notices of China, No. III. Architecture, roads, inns, and commerce.* Translated for the Repository by S. R.

CHINESE architecture is altogether different from our own; indeed we have nothing in France that resembles it. Houses are ordinarily built against some small hill, if there be any. Where wood is abundant, they are constructed of it, being supported by posts, between which is a kind of coarsely woven matwork, covered with mud and then whitened with lime. The pieces of timber-work perfectly joined and exposed to view, are, so to speak, like a frame that may be taken to pieces, and transported from place to place at pleasure. Where there is a scarcity of wood, the walls are constructed of bricks, or mud [or stone], and the roof of gutter tiles or thatch. In the province of Canton, the houses are almost all of bricks, having scarcely anything but a ground floor. In cities, many have an upper story, or more properly a garret. They must not equal the temples in height, a thing which would expose him, who might be so daring as to attempt it, to a lawsuit, and his house to demolition. As to the interior, the apartments are badly distributed, and badly ventilated. Instead of glass there are latticed windows prettily carved and covered with silk paper. The first apartment entered is the hall for the reception of strangers, which is likewise the dining room, and extends through the house, or the main building, if there are several edifices united. From this hall, we pass on to the other apartments, which no person, not even a kinsman can enter, unless he be a very near relative. There is no floor except in the houses of the wealthy, and no ceiling unless there be an upper story. Seen at a distance the better Chinese houses present a pretty appearance, but the interior by no means corresponds to the outside. As they are [generally] of only one story, an individual sometimes occupies as many as three

contiguous buildings, and hence it is not surprising that their towns should cover a great space. In front of the house there is always[?] a pretty yard or court, which serves for drying rice, thrashing, and divers other purposes. The rear and sides are environed with trees or bamboos, and if there are several main buildings, they are separated by inner courts.

The temples (much higher, as I have already said, than dwelling-houses,) have usually a beautiful front, supporting a stage for comedians. The corners of the roof, which is sharper than that of a private edifice, are turned up in the manner of a cornice, and on the right and left of the entrance, are placed huge lions in stone, of inferior sculpture. After passing the portal, we enter a spacious court surrounded by long galleries resting upon columns. At the further extremity of this is the proper temple, where are figures in wood or stone of various colors, which though varnished and gilded are for the most part very hideous. Before these are set open dishes, and large vases, bearing lights and incense burnt in honor of the gods. At the side are one or two iron bells, and a large drum. Besides the principal edifice which is properly the sanctuary, there are lateral apartments where the priests lodge. A temple built against a rock, upon a hill, or in the midst of a grove, presents to the eye a very picturesque view. The Chinese erect upon certain eminences towers of many stories in height. These are of a hexagonal or octagonal shape, and much overtop the temples. Each story supports a jutting roof, which does not so much serve to shade the gallery under it, as contribute to the beauty of the structure. Such towers are built in the neighborhood of cities, not at all for their defense, but to secure prosperity to the inhabitants, and to avert calamities.

Where it is practicable the Chinese travel by water. The watermen always proceed at a little distance from each other, from the fear of robbers, and halt together. In dangerous defiles they band together to get their boats through successively. One would suppose that in this way they could make but little daily progress. The rivers are constantly thronged with boats going and coming, not to speak of those stationed at the towns, which serve as shops, inns, and ferry-boats. At night when looking at the lights that glimmer in every direction, one might fancy himself to be in the vicinity of a considerable borough. The next morning he is surprised to find nothing but boats at anchor.

The roads of China better deserve the name of paths. They are not ordinarily kept in repair by government, but individuals contri-

bute jointly for that purpose, as well as to repair the bridges. If ever they are obliged to construct a new work of the kind, they take care to erect a pillar of stone, on which are engraved the names of those who contributed to it, and he who has given most will have his name cut first, and the sum annexed.

The military roads are at the expense of government. By way of precaution, the officer charged with the work, demands twice as much money as will be necessary for its construction. Few roads are laid out in straight lines, but, their direction depending entirely upon the caprice of him through whose lands they pass, they are often obliged to follow the boundaries of his fields. I have traveled on the great road from the capital of Szechuen, which is the best in the province, and it is little more than five feet wide. Should one meet a buffalo or cow in these footpaths, he must turn out and give them the road, or tumble into a paddy-field. I have never seen either carriage or cart in those districts through which I have passed. There is now and then a wheelbarrow in Këangse, Hookwang, and the western part of Szechuen. It is said, however, that in Honan, Shense, and Cheihle, there are waggons and public conveyances.* Wares and merchandize are transported by water, or in the absence of rivers by porters. These divide their burdens into two equal parts, which they attach to each end of a strong pole or lever, and swing across their shoulders. In the districts that furnish salt and mineral coal, if there are no rivers, the roads are thronged by porters, and from time to time small cattle or miserable horses laden with coals are met with. There are few asses or mules, except upon the frontiers of Hookwang adjacent to Kwangtung. The reason of their use here is, that the two rivers which transport the merchandize of the two provinces are there interrupted by a chain of mountains, and the quantity of merchandize being very great, porters alone would not suffice for the labor of transportation.

On all the routes there are inns, but miserably furnished. When a traveler arrives there is nothing ready for him but rice and tea, and sometimes nothing at all; at least unless it should happen to be an extraordinary hotel. For meat, if he would eat it, he must go in person to the shambles and procure it. The same is true of wines, which are always drunk warm, and are found only in particular inns and shops. Their beds are usually very uncomfortable things, so that the traveler is obliged to carry with him at least one blanket. Those

* The roads on which the latter are found, according to the accounts of former missionaries, are much broader than those of which he has been speaking. *Tr.*

inns which are out of the villages upon the roads seldom lodge travelers, and most of the time nothing can be procured there but rice and herbs.

There is no nation, perhaps, that has the mercantile spirit of the Chinese. Hence their market-places are very near to each other, and their fairs very frequent. In common towns, there are nine of the latter every month, in those of the second order fifteen, and in the large cities they occur daily. Besides these, there are special fairs for the sale of buffaloes and cattle. At the usual fairs are found every species of animals which the country produces, all sorts of eatables, instruments of agriculture, cloths of every description, etc. Purchases are usually made upon credit. If the vendee is not acquainted with the buyer, the latter is obliged to find a man who knows both parties, to act as a security. The Chinese [seldom or] never make a sale or purchase without such a mediator, as without him they could never agree.* This go-between lives at the expense of the purchaser, often at that of both contracting parties. When a sale of land is effected, the number of these securities is never less than two. They serve as witnesses, and if after the transaction a lawsuit comes on, they must appear before the magistrate.

For the mediators, in the purchase of real estate, they agree first of all upon the pay which they shall receive for their services. Each kind of merchandize, or saleable property, has its particular security-man. Negociations, though they be of ever so little inportance, are effected at night(?). In the daytime, the Chinese part immediately, if they cannot agree at once, (?) whereas on the other hand, in the evening they have time, while drinking tea and smoking the pipe, to suit themselves, and conclude their bargains. It is proper to add to what I have said on this subject, that frauds are very common, and that, if a man would not be constantly cheated in trade, he must always be on his guard.

ART. IV. *E Tsung Kin Keen Yu Tsoan, or the Golden Mirror of Eminent Medical Authors, compiled by imperial authority.*

MEDICAL science, in its various branches, is intimately connected with the well-being of the human species, and justly claims the at-

* This at the most can only be true in large transactions. *Tr.*

tention of all who are anxious to remove, or alleviate, the many ills which flesh is heir to. Within the last fifty years, this science, like many others, has received more attention, been more thoroughly investigated, and more widely extended, than ever before. To what high degree of perfection it is destined yet to reach, none will presume to conjecture. Even now, so many and so great are the benefits, which through its medium may be conferred,—or for the want of it may be for ever lost—that its practitioners and professors are evidently charged with no small amount of respensibility. For to them belong the important duties—of employing to the best possible advantage the knowledge and means already possessed, of perfecting the various branches of the art, and of extending its practice, speedily as practicable, wherever its healing and preserving influences are now needed.

It is chiefly to this last point—the extension of medical practice in foreign lands—that we wish now to direct the attention of our readers, because it has not received the consideration which it justly claims. An immense, an almost incalculable, amount of suffering might at once be removed, if the knowledge of the practice, now enjoyed by western nations, was in vogue throughout the east—in India, China, and Japan, &c.

It is not easy for foreigners, with their present means of information, to estimate the exact amount of correct knowledge now possessed by the Chinese in this department of learning. Enough, however, has been ascertained to convince most people, that were all the native practitioners in the empire at once swept away, the remainder of the inhabitants, so far as regards their prospects of health and longevity, would sustain no very serious loss. And so it seems to us —'seems' we say, because the extent of our observations in this matter does not warrant us to speak in positive terms. There are no statistics in the empire, that we are aware of, that can show the number of deaths in any given place of time, or that can afford data for drawing conclusions respecting the effects of medical practice. The average length of human life may be, for aught we know, as great here as it is in Europe. The numbers of every aged persons in China, appear not to be small, when compared with those of other countries. Be this as it may, there are thousands, and tens of thousands of cases of diseases here, which—though quite beyond the reach of any skill possessed by the native,—are yet such as the foreign hand could speedily and easily relieve.

Moreover, there is so much error mixed up with the little that is correct and true in the medical books of the Chinese—so much that is manifestly either of no utility, or positively injurious, connected with this little that is worthy of commendation—that it becomes highly desirable and very important to ascertain clearly, in the first place, what they actually do know, and how and with what effect they employ their knowledge. To aid in this inquiry, we can recommend the perusal of the work named at the head of this article: but of which, at present, it is not in our power to give either an analysis or a review. The work, however, is worthy of being carefully read by all who desire to ascertain what knowledge of medicine is now possessed by the Chinese. And here we ought to remark, that their treatises on this 'benevolent art,' as they aptly style the science of medicine, are very numerous, comprising thousands of volumes. Among them all, none probably are superior to the Golden Mirror—a work usually comprised in about forty volumes. It is the best work of the kind that we have yet seen in this language. As a specimen of it, and as a sequel to the anatomical plate, given in a former number of our present vol. (page 196), we will quote from it two or three of the anatomical terms, with their definitions. By these, though brief and more or less erroneous, the learned reader will perceive that the Chinese, albeit they so much dread the knife, are yet not wholly ignorant of human anatomy.

1. "*Arms* is the general designation of the two large limbs on the upper part the body. They are also called the upper extremities; and vulgarly named *yih-pŏ*. The joint in the middle of the arm, at the place where the upper and lower bones are articulated or joined together, is called the elbow. The bone above the elbow is called the humerus. The bones below the elbow are called the forearm; the bones of the forearm are 2, a primary and a secondary; the secondary (or *ulna*) is joined or articulated above, is small and inclined outwards; the primary (or *radius*) is articulated at the lower end, is long, large, and inclined outwards. At the lower extremity, they both are articulated with the bones of the wrist." *See the 80th chapter of the Golden Mirror, page* 11.

2. "The *clavicle* is a bone outside of the top-ridge of the sternum, above the cartilages of the ribs, and is commonly called the collar-bone. Interiorly it joins on the upper ribs; externally it joins upon the top of the shoulder joint."

3. "*Fontanelle;* this is in the front part of the skull. In infant children, when just born, and before the bone is close up, it is called the fontanelle; but after it has closed, it is called the fontanelle-bone, that is, the covering of the celestial spirit."

Art. V. *Notices of Japan, No. III. Stay at Yedo; audience with the emperor; return to Dezima.*

The Dutch deputation, or embassy, whichever it is to be called, being now fairly housed in Yedo, those who are accustomed to read narratives of travels may naturally expect from one of the travelers a description of the court and actual capital of Japan. But in Nagasakkia, at Yedo, the strangers are far more strictly imprisoned than in their artificial island at Nagasaki; and, except in case of some accident, such as that to be presently described, see little more of the place than the road between their own dwelling and the palace. The particulars they give, rest, therefore, for the most part, on the authority of their native friends; and this being the case, a few words concerning Yedo may suffice to introduce the account of the Dutch proceedings there.

The town stands at the head of a bay or estuary, round which it extends in a crescent; but as the water is, for many miles below Yedo, too shallow to admit vessels of any burden, it has nothing of the character of a seaport. In fact, the harbor is reported by Dr. Parker, apparently upon the authority of fishermen upon the coast, to be as much as eighteen or twenty leagues from the capital.* In buildings and appearance, Yedo resembles other Japanese towns, differing from them principally in its extraordinary size (it is averred to be from fifty to sixty miles in circumference); and although the population is estimated by different writers at from 500,000 to 2,000,000 (and even 8,000,000 by Capt. Golownin), much of this size is the consequence of the extraordinary extent of rising ground occupied in its centre by the imperial palace, to walk round which is said by late writers to occupy three hours, whilst Thunberg gives it the still greater circumference of fifteen miles. This is somewhat explained by the information that the palace comprehends not only the residence of the *siogoun* himself, with his numerous household, and the separate mansions of a whole harem of lawful concubines, whom he is allowed in addition to his empress (as his wife, the *midai*, is called by Europeans), but also the mansion of his eldest son, of several adult members of his family, and of some high functionaries, together with gardens, pleasure-grounds, and woods—the nominally despotic vicegerent ruler of Japan being, by the customs of his court and government, virtually, pretty much imprisoned within these spacious palace-precincts. This real *rus in urbe*, being a country-seat upon the largest

*[The bay upon which Yedo stands is fed by several small rivers, the largest of which disembogue upon the western side, and their waters combining flow down in a deep channel near the same shore, until they reach Uragawa, a place about twenty miles south of Yedo, where the shores approach each other, and form an estuary for several miles to the ocean. The vessels trading to Yedo anchor at Sinagawa on the southwest of the city, distant between two and three miles; this anchorage is reached by keeping in the channel on the western shore, the rest of the bay being very shallow, interspersed with islands, and covered with numerous fishing-boats. According to Krusenstern's chart, Yedo is situated in lat. 35° 40′ N., and long. 130° 55′ E., in the principality of Musasi. There are also other anchorages between Sinagawa and Uragawa, and villages along shore, the principal of which is Kanagawa. A thousand vessels are sometimes collected at Sinagawa from all parts of the empire, some bringing taxes in kind, some merchantmen, and others fishing craft.]

scale within a city, is not inclosed by walls, but encircled by a wet fosse, supplied from the river that runs through the middle of the town into the estuary. Across this river, in the heart of Yedo, is thrown the celebrated bridge, called *Nippon-bas*, or bridge of Nippon, from which every distance in the empire is measured.

In this immense town, the Dutch deputation is shut up in four back rooms of a house, the more open parts of which are assigned to their Japanese companions and attendants; and here, until the day of audience, they are still more closely confined than elsewhere. The Japanese of their party, even the bearers included, are doomed to the same imprisonment, and the head police-officer is forbidden not only to visit his family, but likewise to receive visits from them; and the observance of this strict seclusion is enforced by placing guards at the door of the mansion. The presents are conveyed to the castle, where, undelivered and unseen until the day of audience, they remain under the care of one of the two governors of Nagasaki, whose turn it is to reside at court.

But at Yedo, this seclusion, lawfully relieved, as at Miyako, by official visits of inquiry from the governor of Nagasaki in person, and from the secretaries of those ministers who have the superintendence of foreigners, is altogether nominal. The *gobanyosi*, and their Japanese fellow-prisoners, who naturally choose to see their own relations and friends in secret, cannot refuse to indulge the Dutch with similar clandestine visits for a bribe; and, in fact, it is evident that this constant *natbon* infringement of rigid laws is avowedly connived at by government, as it cannot be supposed that the spies neglect to report it.

The Dutch give their reception-room an European air, with chairs, tables, carpets, and the like; and thus, in their dwelling at Yedo, with the exception of grandees who come officially, every one is received after the fashion of Europe. Their most frequent visitors are the four physicians and the imperial astronomer; all better Dutch scholars than the interpreters, and anxious to make the most of the opportunity of acquiring information respecting the latest scientific discoveries: an appreciation of the superiority of European knowledge, which strikingly distinguishes the Japanese from the self-sufficient Chinese. Siebold (whose testimony is, from his own character for learning, most satisfactory) says, that the questions of both physicians and astronomers discovered a proficiency in their respective sciences, which, considering their deficient means of acquiring information, astonished him. The most acceptable present that can be offered them is a new scientific publication in the Dutch language. Many of those given them they have translated into Japanese, some of Laplace's works included.

These scientific men are members of the Yedo College. Such colleges, which the Dutch writers compare to their own high schools, are said to exist in most of the great cities, but the most distinguished for the proficiency of their scientific professors are the colleges of Yedo and Miyako, though the latter, indeed, seems more akin to an academy of sciences.

But these are by no means the only visitors of the Dutch. "We had," says Fischer, "no want of merchants and shopkeepers, who offered us the most beautiful wares, infinitely better and much cheaper than are to be had at Nagasaki. If they did not bring prohibited wares with them, they willingly sent for whatever we desired. Great personages always came late in the evening, and their arrival was commonly preceded by a present, consisting of mercery, lackerwork, fine paper, fans, letter-cases, tobacco-boxes and pipes, or rarities, such as they know the Hollanders value. When the present was costly, the *opperhoofd* always gave

something in return; but it was necessary to do this very circumspectly, and through a third hand, and our envoy was especially diligent thus to win the favor of these officials, on whom our business depends. Although no women could lawfully be admitted to us, the concourse of our fair visitors was greater here than anywhere else. One gentleman would sometimes bring with him six ladies, especially in an evening, whereby our large stock of confectionary and liqueurs was prodigiously reduced. At these visits, the ladies often unpacked our trunks of clothes, expressing much wonder at the form of our garments, as well as curiosity concerning the mode of wearing them. We were thus obliged to present them with some of the more valuable articles, either immediately, or through their servants, sent to us for that purpose. At all events, something as a remembrancer they must have, were it but a couple of Dutch words written upon their fans. The *opperhoofd's* Dezima servants, who all understand Dutch, are usually our underhand interpreters; and, indeed, the princes and other high personages who come *nathon*, prefer employing our servants, rather than the governmental interpreters, in that capacity. These grandees rarely make themselves known until next day, when they send a secretary with a present, and their thanks for our reception of them. They are accordingly received without any ceremony, and often come in the dress of the middle classes, as do their attendants, who, if the prince is right well-pleased and merry, become very familiar, and write down as much of our answers to their inquiries as they wish to recollect. The princes are always friendly, conversable, and unwearied questioners respecting European arts, sciences, customs, and manners, or the locality and government of Holland and our East-Indian possessions; but they never allude to Japanese policy. We thus received visits from the princes of Matsmai and of Tamba, the prince of Mito, brother to the emperor, and the emperor's secretary; from the secretaries and other household officers of the princes of Satzuma, Nagats, Firakatta, Owari, Kaga, &c.; the first of whom brought us a present of twelve beautiful birds, fifty rare plants, a pair of dwarf fowls, a pair of rabbits, a pair of fan-ducks, and some pieces of silk; but all stowed in such nice cages and boxes, that their cost assuredly exceeded that of their contents."

The amusements of the Dutchmen in their not solitary confinement must not be dismissed without adding Doeff's account of one of the shop-keepers who visited them in his time, whose wealth, grandeur, and liberality remind the reader of some of the merchants commemorated in the *Arabian Nights' Entertainment.*

"There is a silk-mercer here, named Ichigoya, who had shops in all the large towns throughout the empire. If you buy anything of him here, take it away to another town—say to Nagasaki—and no longer like it, you may return it, if undamaged, to his shop there, and receive back the whole sum paid for it at Yedo. He sent us five or six large chests, out of which to choose. The wealth of this man is astonishing, as appears by what follows. During my stay at Yedo, there occurred a tremendous fire, that laid everything, our residence included, in ashes, over an area of about three leagues by one and a half. Ichigoya lost on this occasion his whole shop, together with a warehouse containing upwards of a hundred thousand pounds weight of spun silk, which fell altogether upon himself, the Japanese knowing nothing of insurances. Notwithstanding this, he sent *forty* of his servants to our assistance during the fire, who were of great use to us. The second day after the conflagration, he was already rebuilding his premises, and paid every carpenter at the rate of about ten shillings (English) per day."

This accident afforded the Dutch a sight of more, at least, than they usually see of Yedo, and Doeff gives the following account of it:

"At ten o'clock in the morning of the 22d of April, 1806, we heard that a fire had broken out in the town, at the distance of about two leagues from our quarters. We heeded not the news, so common are fires at Yedo; a fine night never passes without one; and as they are less frequent during rain, a lowering evening is a subject of mutual congratulation to the citizens of Yedo. But the flames came nearer and nearer; and about three o'clock in the afternoon, a high wind driving the sparks towards our neighborhood, four different houses round about us caught fire. Two hours before this occurred, we had been sufficiently alarmed to begin packing, so that now, when the danger had become imminent, we were prepared to fly. On coming into the street, we saw everything blazing around us. To run with the flames before the wind appeared very dangerous; so, taking an oblique direction, we ran through a street that was already burning, and thus reached an open field, called *Hara*, behind the conflagration. It was thick set with the flags of princes, whose palaces were already consumed, and who had escaped hither with their wives and children. We followed their example, and appropriated a spot to ourselves by setting up a small Dutch flag used in crossing rivers. We had now a full view of the fire, and never did I see anything so frightful. The horrors of this sea of flame were yet enhanced by the heart-breaking cries and lamentations of fugitive women and children. Here we were, for the moment, safe, but had no home. The governor of Nagasaki, then resident at Yedo, Fita Bungo no kami, had been dismissed; and the house of his successor, appointed that very day, was already in ashes. We had quarters assigned us in the house of the other governor, then resident at Nagasaki, which stands quite at the other side of the town; thither we were led at half-past ten in the morning, and were received, and all our wants supplied, in the most friendly manner, by the son of the absent governor. About noon next day, a heavy rain extinguished the fire. We learned from our landlord, that thirty-seven palaces of princes were destroyed, and above twelve hundred persons (including a little daughter of the prince of Awa) were burned to death or drowned: this last misfortune having been caused by the celebrated bridge *Nippon-bas* breaking down under the weight of the flying multitude, whilst those in the rear, unconscious of the accident, and wild to escape from the flames, drove those in front forward, and into the water. Politely as we were treated in the house of the governor of Nagasaki, we were less free there than in an inn, and I caused diligent search for a suitable residence to be made. At the end of four days, we thanked the governor's son for his hospitality, and betook ourselves to our new abode. It was situated in a very agreeable open place; immediately behind it ran the large river that divides Yedo, and being the fourth house from a bridge over this river which many people are constantly crossing, we were very decided gainers in point of cheerfulness of prospect. From a sort of balcony attached to the back of our apartments, we commanded this restless throng, which was much augmented by the numbers whom curiosity to see us drew thither, but who at that distance in no wise inconvenienced us. The circumstance was, nevertheless, noticed, and the under-interpreter brought me a message from the governor of Yedo, forbidding us thenceforward to show ourselves on this balcony, on account of the curious crowds we attracted. Hereupon, I requested to speak to the head police-officer who had accompanied us from Nagasaki. To him I expressed my astonishment at receiving such a message from the governor of Yedo, and not

from the governor of Nagasaki, from whom alone, during the whole journey, the Hollanders had received commands or communications, and who, as he the police-officer, had repeatedly informed me from the said governor, was intrusted exclusively with such authority over us. I added, that I did not intend to obey any other person's orders, and earnestly intreated the *gobanyosi* to make what had happened known to the said governor. The appeal to his authority was not fruitless. The very next morning, he sent me word by the same *gobanyosi* that he fully approved of my conduct, and gave me and my countrymen free leave to enjoy our balcony unmolested. He even increased that enjoyment, by ordering a certain court-yard to be cleansed."

It does not appear, however, that the deputation acquired much new information by this glimpse of the living world of Yedo. We will now, therefore, proceed to the grand object of the journey—the audience of the *siogoun*. This, it is to be observed, can take place only on the 28th of a month; a holiday appropriated, after the performance of the appointed religious rites, to the paying of compliments and making of visits. Should the 28th of one month by any accident be missed, the deputation would be obliged to wait four weeks for the next. We take the account from Doeff:

"A sort of full dress is ordered for this occasion. That of the president is composed of velvet, those of the doctor and secretary of cloth, trimmed with gold or silver lace, or embroidered with gold or silver. All three wear cloaks—the *opper-hoofd* of velvet, the others of black satin—but these are not put on till they enter the interior of the palace. The president alone enjoys the privilege of having his sword borne behind him in a black velvet bag; no other foreigner is suffered even to retain his side-arms in Japan. On the appointed day, the 28th of the third Japanese month (which then answered to the 3d of May), we repaired in state to the palace at six o'clock in the morning, to the end that we might be there prior to the arrival of the state councilors. We were carried in our *norimono* into the castle, and to the gate of the palace, where even princes are obliged to alight, except only the three princes of Owari, Kiusiu, [?] and Mito, who, being princes of the blood, are carried as far as the gate opposite to the *guard of a hundred men*. To this guard we proceeded on foot, and there awaited the coming of the councilors of state. We were desired to sit on benches covered with red hangings, and were offered tea and materials for smoking. Here also we saw the governor of Nagasaki, and one of the first spies, general commissioners of strangers, who, after congratulating us upon our approaching happiness of beholding the emperor, entered the palace. Then came the commandant of the guard to visit the president; and here it is necessary to stand rigidly upon one's rank. The commandant required that I should come from the innermost room, which is held the most honorable, into the first, or outer room, because his inferior rank did not authorize him to enter the inner room. I, on my side, asserted the impossibility of leaving the upper place assigned me. The commandant advanced, but paused at the distance of two mats (about twelve feet), whence he saluted me. By thus resolutely maintaining my place (which must always be done in Japan, when one is in the right), I insured the observance of old customs, the restoration of which, if through good nature one ever gives way, is exceedingly difficult. When all the state councilors had arrived, we were invited to cross yet more courts, and enter the palace, where we were received by persons who, except for their shaven heads, might be compared to pages. They conducted us to a waiting-room, where we

sat down on the floor, in a slanting direction, and covered our feet with our cloaks; to show the feet being in Japan an act of gross rudeness.* After remaining some time here, the governor of Nagasaki and the commissioner of foreigners led me into the audience-hall, where I was desired to rehearse the required ceremonial, as the governor would pay the penalty of any imperfection. I was now led back to the waiting-hall. Some time afterwards, I accompanied the governor to the real audience, from which we saw several grandees returning. I was led along a wooden corridor to the hall of a hundred mats—so named, because it actually is carpeted with a hundred mats, each six feet by three. These are made of straw, are about two inches thick, and covered with others of finer workmanship, ornamentally bordered: such mats cover all handsome sitting-rooms. There we left the chief interpreter, and I alone, with the governor of Nagasaki, went into the audience-hall, where I saw the presents arranged on my left hand. Here we found the *siogoen*, or emperor, whose dress differed in no respect from that of his subjects. I paid my compliment in the precise form in which the princes of the realm pay theirs, whilst one of the state councilors announced me by the shout of *Capitan Horanda!* Hereupon, the governor of Nagasaki, who stood a step or two behind me, pulled me by the cloak, in token that the audience was over. The whole ceremony does not occupy a minute."

As this account, although, no doubt correct as far as it goes, does not give a very distinct idea of the ceremonial of the Yedo court, a more particular description may be added from Fischer, who, if he did not attend the ceremony was present at its rehearsal, and may, therefore, be considered a competent witness.

"The whole ceremony consists in making the Japanese compliment upon the appointed spot, and remaining for some seconds with the head touching the mats, whilst the words *Capitan Horanda* are proclaimed aloud. A stillness, as of death, prevails, broken only by the buzzing sound used by the Japanese to express profound veneration. The governor of Nagasaki and the chief interpreter are the only persons who accompany the *apperhoofd*, and give him the signal of retreat, which, like his entrance, is performed in a very stooping attitude; so that, although the presence of numbers may be perceived, it is impossible, without violating the laws of Japanese courtesy, to look around for what should attract attention or excite curiosity."

But if the imperial audience be now over, not so the business of the day. The deputation, leaving the imperial palace, repair to that of the *sisi-no-miya*, or crown-prince, which is described as finely situated upon a hill, whence some idea of the extent of the palace-grounds may be formed, and, negatively perhaps, of the size of the town, since in no direction can its limits be discovered. The crown-prince is not found at home by any deputation, and is probably in attendance upon his father; thus performing his part of the compliment-paying of the day. The deputation is received in his name by state councilors deputed for the purpose, and no account is given of the ceremony observed. Of the subsequent visits of compliment and present-making to the officers of state, something more is related. The deputation visits the extraordinary and ordinary state councilors to present them gifts, but find none of them at home. Doeff adds: "We were everywhere politely received by a secretary, and entertained with tea and confectionary. This last was

* Fischer speaks of this as a peculiarly handsome waiting-room, and says that several imperial spies kept them company there, and divers great men there visited them.

set before us on wooden trays, but not touched; it was neatly folded up in paper, secured with gold or silver cords, and carried to our lodgings, in lackered bowls, by the under-interpreter and our landlord. Behind the screens we heard the wives and children of the councilors, who were curiously watching us. That they did not show themselves in the room was not from any Turkish custom of secluding women, but because it might have led to too great familiarity with strangers." Their concealment might possibly be in part a following up of the system that prohibits unnecessary intercourse between Japanese and foreigners, but as much a consequence of the great difference in rank that separates the wife of a minister of state from a trader. Pipes and tobacco are likewise everywhere presented to the Dutch strangers.

Fischer says: "In some houses, permission was asked to examine our watches, and the president's hat and swords; whilst at every visit I had the irksome task of writing with red lead upon several sheets of paper, which, after the fatigues of the day, together with the inconvenience of the posture, sitting on the ground, became at last exceedingly troublesome, and almost intolerable. It was half-past nine in the evening before we got home from these honorable ceremonies, and then we had to receive a number of congratulatory visits, as though the object had been by dint of compliments, to put our health and strength to the test, for it became at last a feverish agitation, under which many persons might have fainted."

Since the year 1822, it appears that the Japanese government has taken compassion upon the Dutch deputation, and given them an additional day in which to go through their visiting labors. Siebold, who performed the same journey four years later, says, that only the five state councilors of the first class were visited by his party on the day of audience, the eight of the second class on the following day; and the visits described by Fischer, in his attendance upon president Blomhoff, as paid on the second day, were then deferred to a third.

The day dedicated to the continuance and termination of this round of complimentary visits, was even in 1822 less fatiguing than the first, and the energies of the visitors were supported through it by more substantial hospitality. Four dignitaries only are named as visitors—to wit, the two "temple lords," as the Dutch designate the ministers to whom the department of religion is committed, and the two governors of Yedo, who respectively take charge of the eastern and western halves of the capital, and they entertain their guests, whom only the Yedo governors receive in person, with a hot meal and *saké*. Doeff makes no mention of the governor of Nagasaki (who could not be burnt out every time), in his list of visits; but Fischer explicitly says, "The governor of Nagasaki *did not* receive us, probably because he is very plainly lodged here, and, amongst such numbers of grandees, wished to conceal his mean estate from us. In fact, in the imperial palace, we saw the same man, who held himself so high at Nagasaki, trotting about like a servant."

For the few days that the Dutch remain at Yedo after the audience, the physicians and astronomers visit them openly; but how many of their other acquaintance come thus *omote-muki*, as the Japanese call the opposite of their *nasbon*, is nowhere stated; it only appears that the visits of princes and of ladies continue invariably of the latter class.

More than three or four days are seldom suffered to elapse, after the first compliment and tribute-paying audience, ere the Dutch deputation is summoned to an audience of dismissal. The ceremonial of this audience is said to be precisely

the same as that of the former; but it is far less honorable, inasmuch as the *siogoun* does not accept the *kotow** of the *opperhoofd* in person. The state councilors only receive him in the hall of a hundred mats, where the governor of Nagasaki reads to him the same proclamation that he annually hears read at Nagasaki, as already mentioned. After these commands have been communicated, the Dutch president withdraws for a short time, and on his return to the hall receives the *siogoun's* present, consisting of thirty robes of state; he withdraws again and again returns to receive twenty from the crown-prince. He then goes home, where, in the afternoon, the secretaries of the state councilors, temple lords, governors of Yedo, and commissioners of strangers, bring him their master's leave-taking compliments, thanks for the presents received, and return presents, consisting likewise of silk robes, but inferior in quality to those given by the *siogoun* and his heir, and wadded only with cotton. Each bearer of these gifts receives a present of sweetmeats, a paper of Dutch tobacco, and two gilt pipes.

This is the whole of the ceremonial now practiced at the court of Yedo, in the reception of foreigners, as given by writers of the present century. It differs not much from the forms described by Kæmpfer, as observed nearly 150 years ago; but the modern relations want the second part of the former. A comparison of the two accounts, including this second part which seems to be now obsolete, can hardly be uninteresting. Kæmpfer, though admitted to the imperial presence, was like his successors, excluded from the tribute-presenting audience; his description of which agrees with Fischer's. Still, as the quaint and somewhat prolix old German physician is both more explicit and more graphic, the extract about to be taken from his book may as well begin with this audience.

"As soon as the resident entered the hall of audience, they cried out, '*Horanda Capitan!*' which was the signal for him to draw near and make his obeisances. Accordingly, he crawled on his hands and knees to a place shown him, between the presents ranged in due order on one side, and the place where the emperor sat on the other; and there, kneeling, he bowed his forehead quite down to the ground, and so crawled backwards like a crab, without uttering a single word. So mean and short a thing is the audience we have of this mighty monarch. Nor are there any more ceremonies observed in the audience he gives, even to the greatest and most powerful princes of the empire; for having been called into the hall, their names are cried out aloud, then they move on their hands and feet humbly and silently towards the emperor's seat, and having shown their submission, by bowing their forehead down to the ground, they creep back again in the same submissive posture. The hall is not well lighted, and it is no easy matter to see him, besides that the audience is too short, and the person admitted to it, in so humble and submissive a posture, that he cannot well have an opportunity to hold up his head, and to view him. This ceremony is otherwise very awful and majestic, by reason chiefly of the silent presence of all the councilors of state, as also of many princes, gentlemen of the bedchamber, and other officers who line the hall of audience, sitting in order and clad in garments of ceremony. In the second audience, seemingly an extra audience, for the diversion of the ladies of the court, and immediately following the first, the emperor, and the ladies invited to it, attend behind screens

* [The mode of paying the compliment in Japan differs from the Chinese *kotow*, in being a simple kneeling with the head near or upon the ground, and no knocking at all; this is the highest mode of paying a compliment, and of course paid only to the very highest personages, and to deities.]

and lattices, but the councilors of state, and other officers of the court, sit in the open rooms, in their usual and elegant order. As soon as the captain had paid his homage, the emperor retired to his apartment, and not long afterwards we three Dutchmen were likewise called up, and conducted through galleries, &c."

But it is hard for modern patience to extract the circumstantial detail; and we proceed *per saltum* to the more private audience-hall, where every one, Dutch and Japanese, is at length arranged in his proper place, Bengo, the emperor's favorite and prime minister, sitting on a raised mat, between them and the emperor.

"After the usual obeisances made (bowing and creeping towards the lattice,* behind which sat his majesty), Bengo bade us welcome in the emperor's name; the chief interpreter received the compliment from Bengo's mouth, and repeated it to us. Upon this, the embassador made his compliment in the name of his masters. This the chief interpreter repeated in Japanese, having prostrated himself quite to the ground, and speaking loud enough to be heard by the emperor. The emperor's answer was again received by Bengo, who delivered it to the chief interpreter, and he to us. The mutual compliments over, the succeeding part of the solemnity turned to a perfect farce. We were asked a thousand ridiculous and impertinent questions. Thus, for instance, he desired to know, in the first place, how old each of us was, and what was his name? which we were commanded to write on a bit of paper, having for these purposes taken an European ink-horn along with us. This paper, together with the ink-horn itself, we were commanded to give to Bengo, who delivered them both into the emperor's hands, reaching them over, below the lattice. The captain, or embassador, was asked concerning the distance of Holland from Batavia, and of Batavia from Nagasaki? Which of the two was the most powerful, the director-general of the Dutch East-India Company at Batavia, or the prince of Holland? The following questions were put to me: — What external and internal distempers I thought the most dangerous and the most difficult to cure? How I proceeded in the cure of cancerous humors and imposthumations of the inner parts? Whether our European physicians did not search after some medicine to render people immortal, as the Chinese physicians had done for many hundred years? Whether we had made any considerable progress in this search, and which was the remedy most conducive to long life that had been found out in Europe? The name (of a medicine) was minuted down behind the lattices, for which purpose I was commanded to repeat it several times. They asked whether I could make it up? Upon this, our resident whispered me to say, 'No;' but I answered, 'Yes, I could make it up, but not here.' Then it was asked whether it could be had at Batavia? And having answered that it was to be had there, the emperor desired that it should be sent over by the next ships. The emperor, who had hitherto sat among the ladies, almost opposite to us, at a considerable distance, did now draw near, and seat himself down on our right, behind the lattices, as near us as he possibly could. Then he ordered us to take off our *kappa*, or cloak, being our garment of ceremony; then to stand upright, that he might have a full view of us;

* [These lattices Kæmpfer says, are made of reeds, split very thin, and covered with a fine transparent silk within, with openings about a span broad for persons to look through. They are adorned with figures the better to hide the persons standing behind. They are also, sometimes at least, made of ornamented paper.]

again, to walk, to stand still, to compliment each other, to dance, to jump, to play the drunkard, to speak broken Japanese, to read Dutch, to paint, to sing, to put our cloaks on and off. We obeyed the emperor's commands in the best manner we could, and I joined to my dance a love-song in high Dutch. In this manner, and with innumerable such other apish tricks, we must suffer ourselves to contribute to the emperor's and the court's diversion. The embassador, however, is free from these and the like commands, for as he represents the authority of his masters, some care is taken that nothing should be done to injure or prejudice the same. Having been thus exercised for about two hours, though with great apparent civility, some servants, shaved, came in, and put before each of us a small table with Japanese victuals, and a couple of ivory sticks, instead of knives and forks. We ate some little things, and our old chief interpreter, though scarce able to walk, was commanded to carry away the remainder for himself. We were then ordered to put on our cloaks again, and to take our leave."

This is assuredly a curious scene in the annals of diplomacy; but the reader, who considers how completely in the dark the Yedo government must have been relative to European states and their colonial dependencies, will probably not think the *siogoun's* political questions so very impertinent. The medical interrogatory has been shortened, by omitting the physician's evasions, conquered by imperial pertinacity.

But we must not quit Yedo without adverting to a fancy, entertained by most students of Dutch there, and, indeed, by many friends of the strangers, for receiving a Dutch name from their European visitors. This whim appears to have begun with a man who, in honor of his few words of broken Dutch, had persuaded an *opperhoofd* of the last century to new-name him, and gloried in the appellation of Adrian Pauw; and it was followed up at Dezima by an under-interpreter's obtaining the name of Abraham. The bearers of these two Dutch names became objects of envy to such of their countrymen as cultivated the acquaintance of the foreigners, and the natural consequence was, that Doeff received at Yedo divers petitions for names; amongst others, one from the learned astronomer, Takahaso Sampei, who was appointed commissioner of inquiry in the affair of the Russian Golownin, and another from one of the imperial physicians. The worthy president was loth to nickname such respectable men as these, but yielding at length to their importunity, dubbed the former Globius, the second Botanicus; names too mellifluous for Dutch. A son of the *siogoun's* father-in-law, the prince of Satzuma, and his secretary, were more honestly indulged, the latter with the name of Pieter van der Stulp, his master with that of Frederik Hendrik, the name of one of the early stadtholders.

A somewhat original banquet, given to president Blomhoff by his *gobanyosi* and his landlord, must not be omitted. Fischer says:—"It was extremely splendid, and no expense was spared in order to display the luxury and etiquette of Yedo. On this occasion, many of those who called themselves friends to the Dutch appeared in Dutch clothes, which, having been gradually collected from olden times, formed a most grotesque whole. By all this, as well as by many prompt services, they gave us the most indubitable marks of friendship and goodwill." Blomhoff and Fischer remained twelve days at Yedo, in such friendly intercourse, after the audience of leave, which appears to have been an unusual indulgence.

RETURN TO DEZIMA.

The final signal of departure from Yedo is given by the leave-taking visits of the secretaries of the governors of Yedo and Nagasaki, in the names of their respective masters, on the morning of the day appointed for the commencement of the second half of the expedition. But not so ends all intercourse with Yedo friends, or Yedo population. Amidst the necessary bustle of the travelers' preparations for departure, with all the incumbrances that have been described, their apartments are, during these last hours, thronged with acquaintance, as is the street before the door with expectant spectators, waiting, with curiosity yet more eager than upon their arrival, for the last glimpse of the only strangers Yedo ever beholds. The commotion within and without the house is represented as beyond the power of words to express. "We were obliged," says Fischer, "upon coming into the street, about four o'clock, to close our *norimono* against the great concourse of people, who, notwithstanding the harsh means employed by the guard escorting us to keep them off, jostled each other to get a sight of the Hollanders. We alighted near the palace of the prince of Satzuma, in compliment to that respectable old man, who presented himself, with his whole family at the windows. About half-past six, we reached the Sinagawa suburb, where our Yedo friends were waiting us, to spend a last evening together, and say farewell. The next morning, setting forward on our journey, we met, at Omuri, a few miles from Sinagawa, the two sons of the prince of Nagats, who had come thither to obtain an underhand interview with us, for which they had perhaps found no opportunity at Yedo. The eldest answered our compliment very friendlily, saying, in Dutch, 'Seen for the first time;' which in their own language, is the expression usually employed by Japanese at their introduction to any one. This young prince had obtained the Dutch name of *Maurits*, and seemed, like his father, to think much of our nation and customs. They had with them a number of attendants, who had often visited us at Yedo, and now took leave of us."

Upon the journey back, the same road is taken as on the journey to Yedo; the division of stages, and the halting-places, are likewise the same, with the single exception, that where the travelers dined as they went, they now sleep; and where they then slept, they now dine; and they undergo the same search by the guards at Fakone and Araye. In the pleasure of the two journeys there is, indeed, a material difference, inasmuch as all traces of winter have now vanished, and they contemplate the fair landscape in its summer beauty, which grows more and more luxuriant as they proceed southward to Nagasaki. But one really essential variation from their former course there is, that makes their return worth notice, and this occurs in their sojourns at Miyako and Ohosaka, where they now enjoy as much liberty as a foreigner can hope for in Japan.

At Miyako, the Dutch deputation is now received in person by the grand judge and the governors of the town, to whom they give the presents left in deposit for them as they went, receiving in return silk dresses and silver. They are not honored with an audience of the *mikado*, nor have they any presents for him, the son of heaven being in all likelihood a personage too holy to be lawfully known to, or even thought of, by Christian foreigners; and they are of course not admitted within the precincts of his court, the *dairi*. Nevertheless, this singularly circumstanced autocrat by right divine, and his almost equally singular court, being fixed in this town, they cannot be passed over. The following particulars concerning them are gathered from different writers, ancient as well as modern;

but it may be premised, that the *mikado* is by some writers called the *dairi*, which, being the name of his court, can hardly be other than a mistake; but it should seem as if the Japanese termed him indifferently *mikado* or *dairi sama*—this last appellation meaning 'lord of the *dairi*,' and that the Europeans have merely dropped the title *sama* or 'lord.'

This nominal supreme sovereign does, indeed, claim to reign by right divine, both as being descended from the gods in a direct line, and as being in a manner still identified with them, the spirit of the sun goddess, the deity who rules the universe, gods and men included, *Ama-terasu oho kami*, being embodied in every reigning *mikado*. Such a claim to despotic power was indisputable, and indisputed, as it still is; but some centuries ago, a military chief, rendering his own situation hereditary, possessed himself of the actual authority, under the title of *siogoun*, as vicegerent or deputy of the *mikado*, to whom he left the nominal supreme sovereignty, and all his state, pomp, and dignity, a nominal ministry included.

In fact, it appears that the autocrat's dignity is now made the plea for depriving him of his power. Worldly affairs are represented to be so wholly undeserving the attention of the successor of the gods, that his bestowing a thought upon them would degrade him, even if it were not actual profanation. Accordingly, no business is submitted to him, no act of sovereignty is performed by him, that has not a religious character. He deifies or canonizes great men after death—the *siogoun* taking the trouble of pointing out the dead who are worthy of an apotheosis. He confers the offices of his court, a real spiritual hierarchy, and, from their nominal dignity and sanctity, objects of ambition to the princes of the empire, the *siogoun's* ministers, and the *siogoun* himself. He determines the days on which certain movable religious festivals are to be celebrated, the colors appropriate to evil spirits, and the like. And one other governing act, if act it may be called, he daily performs, which should prove him to be, in virtue of his partial identification with the sun goddess, quite as much the patron divinity as the sovereign of Japan. He every day passes a certain number of hours upon his throne immovable, lest by turning his head he should bring down ruin upon that part of the empire to or from which he should look; by this immovability maintaining the whole realm's stability and tranquillity. When he has sat the requisite number of hours, he resigns his place to his crown, which continues upon the throne as his substitute during the remainder of the day and night.

The honors paid to the *mikado* are as extraordinary as his situation and pretensions, and all are indicative of, or relative to his half-divine nature; if half-divine be an expression strong enough to express a degree of divinity so exalted, that all the *kami* or gods are held annually to wait upon the *mikado*, and spend a month at his court. During that month, the name of which implies 'without gods,' no one frequents the temples, believing them deserted. To dignify and to guard from violation the high sanctity of the *mikado's* person, is the grand object of all the honors in question. That his sacred foot may not touch the ground, he never moves but when borne upon men's shoulders. That unhallowed eyes may not pollute him with a glance, he never quits the precincts of his palace. According to most reports, neither his hair, beard, or nails are ever cut, that his sacred person may not be mutilated, although the erudite Klaproth avers, that such mutilation as may be deemed essential to his comfort, for instance, cutting his nails and trimming his beard, are performed during his sleep, and called

"stealing his nails and hair." It has been asserted, that the sun was deemed unworthy to shine upon him; but this is denied by later writers, and seems indeed very inconsistent with the intimate union existing between the sun goddess and himself.

What is more certain and consistent is, that everything about him must be incessantly new. No article of his dress is ever worn a second time; the plates and dishes in which his repasts are served, the cups or bowls out of which he drinks, must be new at every meal, as must the culinary utensils in which the meal is prepared. But none inherit his leavings. Whatever article of any kind has been hallowed by the *mikado's* use, even such as cooking what he is to eat, is thereby so sanctified, that no human touch must be afterwards suffered to profane them. To wear his cast clothes, to eat off his plates, cook in his saucepan, &c., or even to feed upon the broken victuals from his table, would call down the vengeance of heaven upon the sacrilegious offender. To prevent all risk of the kind, everything that has once been in any way employed in the service of the *mikado* is immediately torn, broken, or otherwise destroyed; his clothes, which are of a color no other person may wear, are burnt; and hence arises the only drawback upon all this state. The *mikado* is supported by the *siogoun*, and the allowances from Yedo not being as ample as might be wished, the heavy expense of renewing daily, almost hourly, whatever appertains to the son of heaven, is alleviated by supplying his wardrobe, table, kitchen, &c., with articles of the very cheapest, and therefore, coarsest description.

A *mikado* frequently abdicates in favor of a son or daughter;—there are many instances of a daughter being thus preferred to a son, both whilst the sovereignty thus transferred was real and absolute, and since it has been a mere shadow. When a change of reign thus occurs, it is plainly, and simply, and explicitly made known to the whole empire; but if the emperor retains his station to the close of his life, the announcement is not so straightforward an affair. The death of the *mikado* is carefully concealed, until the succession of his heir, male or female, is secured; and then the new *mikado* is proclaimed, with the additional intelligence that his predecessor has vanished. Indeed, in what other terms could the decease of so divine a personage be mentioned?

To guard against the possible failure of an heir in the direct line of these successors and representatives of the gods, the *mikado* has twelve lawful wives, the only individual in Japan indulged with polygamy; although fidelity to his one wife is not held to be the duty of a husband. These twelve empresses the *mikado* usually selects from among the ladies of his court, and they are distinguished from other Japanese women by the form of their dress. Their robes are said to be so preposterously long and large, and the silk of which they are composed to be rendered so stiff and heavy, by inwrought gold and silver flowers, as nearly to incapacitate them from moving; while Klaproth, taking no notice of their splendor, states that they, like the *mikado*, never put a robe on a second time; and adds, that when visiting the *mikado*, their hair hangs loose, though at other times properly dressed. The two statements of the magnificence, and the constant renovation of the robes of the empresses, are manifestly inconsistent with what has been said of the coarseness of the *mikado's* own dress upon this very account; and probably the truth is, that the internal economy of this completely secluded court is, of all other subjects, the one upon which foreigners are most likely to be led into error. All that can be done is to collect and compare

the different reports; and, to conclude the article of dress, it may be added, that the robes of the *daïri*, male and female, are almost as inconveniently large and long as those of the *mikado's* consorts, and in this respect they are generally imitated by the priesthood.

After all that has been said of the superstitions and absurdities still prevalent with respect to the *mikado*, is the reader prepared for the information that his *daïri* is the spot in Japan where literature is most diligently and enthusiastically cultivated? More science there may possibly be in the college at Yedo, although the *daïri* is said to constitute a college or academy for the cultivation of theology and other sciences. But, at any rate, the poets, historians, and philosophic moralists most universally admired by their countrymen, are to be found amongst the male and female members of the *daïri*, of whose lives literature is both the business and the pleasure.

To guard against the intermingling of any ambitious views with these laudable pursuits, is the business of the grand judge; and the watch he is required to keep over the movements of the *daïri* is facilitated by the position of his residence opposite to the palace-gate. His office, is, however, by no means a pleasant or easy one. The slightest negligence would incur the *siogoun's* anger, and any over-officiousness might provoke the resentment of the *mikado*, to whom he is professedly only the humble representative of a dutiful vicegerent. In either case, he could have no choice but to rip up his abdomen, after the established fashion of Japanese suicide.

The *daïri* does not occupy an extent of territory comparable with the *siogoun's* palace; nor can Miyako compete in size with Yedo. The whole population is estimated at little more than half a million:* but if inferior in magnitude, we are assured that the town is the most beautiful, in itself and in its surrounding fruitful soil and lovely scenery, as also the most healthy, in Japan. Miyako is in fact, esteemed the paradise of Japan, and one of its claims to this praise rests upon the acknowledged superior beauty of its women.

The Dutch spend some days here, which are chiefly occupied in purchases, the best of every manufacture being sent hither. Various celebrated temples are exhibited to them; and in the gardens of one of these, tents are pitched, under which to give them a banquet. The numbers who throng to this entertainment, to gaze at the foreigners, are spoken of by their Dutch guests as exceeding any crowd in which they have ever found themselves, in Japan or elsewhere: the object of the givers of the entertainment being apparently much more to gratify the inhabitants with a sight of the strangers from a distant land, than to amuse the Ducth deputation. The two are, however, far from being incompatible.

From Miyako, boats convey the travelers, in a day and a night, down the river to Ohosaka, where they make a much longer stay, and enjoy a greater variety of amusements. They are now permitted to view the town, which is said to be well worth exploring. Its dimensions are not given, but may be conjectured from two facts stated, namely, that it contains upwards of a hundred bridges over the river and the several canals or branches led off from the main stream, and that the citizens boast of being able to raise an army of eighty thousand men from their own population alone. Not only is it inhabited by the

* Six hundred thousand souls, exclusive of the *daïri*, however; the members of which are probably too lofty to be numbered in any census.

most considerable and the wealthiest merchants of the empire, as being the great mart of commerce, whither the foreign goods brought by the few permitted Dutch and Chinese vessels are sent from Nagasaki; it is also a manufacturing town, and the manufactories visited by the deputation are spoken of favorably. Ohosaka is fortified in the Japanese unskillful guise, and is further protected by a castle on one side of the town, the commander of which is of higher rank than the governor, but without authority over, or connexion with him.

The presents are now formally delivered to the governor, in a regular audience, after which the donors are magnificently as well as hospitably feasted by him. Other parties of pleasure follow. The governor's race-course is visited, but no mention is made of the races; and president Doeff commemorates, as that which seemingly most impressed him, one especial entertainment at a tea-house, where, he says, such hearty joy reigned, that he still, at this distance of time, recollects it with delight.

But an amusement more calculated to gratify the reader is the theatre, which should seem to be superior, at Ohosaka at least, to any other visited by the Dutch, for persons, who never allude to plays at Nagasaki, dwell upon those they have seen at the former town, on their return from Yedo.

The Ohosaka theatre is described as very large; containing, besides the pit, three tiers of seats, elegantly ornamented like the boxes of European theatres. The decorations, scenery, and dresses, are said to be handsome, and in good taste; but this eulogy must be received with some little modification, inasmuch as it appears that "it is occasionally difficult for a stranger to comprehend the decorations, on account of the extraordinary manner of placing the lines in the paintings." A perplexity resulting, probably, from the total absence, in Japanese painting, of perspective, upon which the effect of scenery wholly depends.

Unfortunately, not only have we no translation of any Japanese play, but no writer has hitherto given such an analysis of any piece, as might afford the means of forming an opinion respecting the state of the dramatic art in Japan. A few general notions are all that can be gathered. The Japanese plays appear to be mostly founded on national history or tradition, representing the feats, exploits, and loves of ancient Japanese heroes and gods; a few, however, turn upon imaginary love-adventures, and others may be called didactic, being designed to illustrate and enforce some moral precept. The general tendency of these pieces is said to be excellent; although they are, as indeed they must necessarily be, so characteristic of the people, as to render the praise somewhat startling to minds more delicately organized than those of the Japanese. "They are often," says Fischer, "very instructive and useful. In their heroic dramas, the thirst for revenge shines preëminent as a national characteristic, but always in union with a lofty courage. I saw a theatrical representation of one of their punishments by torture, which was astoundingly cruel."

These horrible as well as tragical scenes are blended, according to Meylen, with comedy; and any such law as that of the unities of time and place appears to be altogether unknown. One play often dramatizes the birth, life, and death of its hero, whilst the scene changes from island to island, and passes over to the continent, if it does not even ascend from earth to heaven, when the adventures of a deity form the subject. The only additional information given touching the plays themselves is, that more than two persons are seldom, if ever, upon the stage at once.

The actors are said to consider declamation as the most important part of their art; and from the astonishment expressed at their maintaining for a quarter of an hour together an unnaturally raised, strained, and passionate tone of voice, it must be inferred that their style of declamation is ranting. What is esteemed the perfection of histrionic talent, however, is one actor's performing several different characters in one and the same piece. This frequent alternation of the parts played by one individual is of course much facilitated by the small number of persons who appear upon the stage together: and it is not unlikely to have given rise to a singular practice of the Japanese theatre; the performers are said frequently, if not habitually, to pass through the pit in their way on to the stage; the reason assigned for which is, that the audience may be the more familiarly acquainted with the costume and appearance of each character. If this species of knowledge is so much more difficult to be impressed upon a Japanese audience than upon any other, it must probably be from the frequent breaking of the association of each actor with his especial character, elsewhere established once for all for each play.

Actresses there are none in Japan; the female parts are therefore filled by boys; but it does not clearly appear whether this proceeds from the excessive fatigue of the profession in that country, to which no woman's strength is thought equal, or from the utter contempt in which actors, although extravagantly remunerated, are held, and which no woman can be suffered to incur. This contempt originates in an idea, that the man who will temporarily renounce his own character, and assume one foreign to his nature, for the amusement of others, can have no sense of honor; and, as a common consequence of being despised, the Japanese actors are said to be distinguished for immorality and licentiousness. In common justice to the players, the concluding remark of one of the Dutch critics (Fischer), who speaks contemptuously of their skill in the histrionic art, should be added: "This satisfactory and inartificial representation in all respects surpassed our expectations."

But, perhaps, the most original point relative to the Japanese stage yet remains to be told. It is the mode, or rather the order, of performance. Three pieces are frequently represented the same day; not, as with us, successively, in wholes, but in portions or fragments, *viz.* first, the first act of one, then the first act of a second, then the first act of a third; and then, returning to the first play, the second act of this first play, and, successively, the second acts of the second and third plays, and so on, till all three are completed. Thus any of the audience who wish only to see one of these pieces, or who dislike the confinement of sitting out the whole—it need hardly be said that the three tragi-comedies occupy great part of a day, from early in the afternoon to late in the evening—may withdraw to smoke, drink *saké*, or attend to business, whilst the pieces they care not to see take their turn of representation, coming back refreshed to witness the next act of the favorite drama. The Japanese ladies, however, so far from objecting to the length of time to be spent in the theatre, appear to consider it as a peculiarly happy opportunity for displaying the stores of their respective wardrobes. They are attended to the theatre by their female servants, with an ample supply of dresses, and repeatedly change their attire in the course of the afternoon and evening. The theatre is said to be a very favorite amusement of the Japanese, but it is also very costly; and, in that country, few persons can afford to indulge in unnecessary expenses.

Before leaving Ohosaka,* the Dutch deputation receive the goods bespoken on their way to Yedo. On the island of Nippon, they likewise provide themselves, amongst other things, with a stock of charcoal, an article of first necessity, and said to be very expensive at Dezima, whither all are dispatched by water, along with the heavy baggage.

The last night of the journey, the travelers sleep at Yagami, where their friends, interpreters, and others, from Nagasaki meet to congratulate them upon the prosperous termination of their expedition. Here, too, their trunks and baggage are examined and sealed up; but the investigation is conducted with a forbearance that allows the prohibited wares, that are well known to have been purchased, to pass undiscovered.

The next morning, every person acquainted with the Dutch meets them between Yagami and Nagasaki. Upon the arrival of the bark with the remainder of the baggage, the president gives the *gobanyosi*, who has accompanied him, an entertainment. A few days, afterwards, he pays the governor of Nagasaki a visit, and with that closes the ceremony of the periodical journey to Yedo.

As we are now to turn from the personal narrative of the Dutch, (to adopt an expression of modern travelers,) in order to take a somewhat methodized, summary view of their desultory information respecting the manners, government, language, arts, &c., of the Japanese, it may not be amiss here to insert a few matters relative to that personal narrative, which, however irrelevant to the Yedo journey, must not be omitted, as being illustrative both of the ingenuity of the Japanese, and of the friendliness of their nature, when not interfered with by their singular and rigid system of policy; and for which no fitter place offers.

One of the writers, who has supplied the materials for the present papers, Heer Doeff, resided at Dezima from the year 1799 till 1817; consequently, through the whole of the period during which the subjection of Holland to France, and subsequent incorporation with Napoleon's empire, involved the former country in war with England. That war not only cost Holland most of her colonies, but interrupted her intercourse with those she retained, and also that of the colonies with each other. There were, accordingly, many years in which no ships from Batavia reached Dezima, and the factory remained destitute of many articles that are unknown in Japan, though almost necessaries of life to Europeans. Nor was this privation of comforts the most serious evil resulting from the partial or total cessa-

* [Ohosaka is distinguished among Japanese cities for its amusements of every sort, and for the wealth and mercantile enterprize of its citizens. The theatres there are famous above all others in the empire, and are moreover stationary establishments; for in Japan, as in China, this amusement is presented to the people at intervals by companies of strolling actors, who hire themselves out by special arrangement. At Ohosaka, the patronage is such as to call forth the best actors, but in other large cities, (as the capitals of different principalities,) the stationary theatres do not appear to attain to as much excellence. In small towns and villages, among which probably Nagasaki may be included, theatrical entertainments are held only at intervals. Companies of players, including wrestlers, tumblers, musicians, and mountebanks, as well as actors, are found in all parts of the country, ready to perform for individuals at entertainments, for corporations on festivals, or for whoever else will pay them. The price of admission varies from two to five dollars or more, beside which the spectators are expected to eat at the theatre on the mat which they have hired. In Chinese theatres, the stalls for selling hot and cold provisions, confectionary, &c., form no inconsiderable revenue to the managers.]

tion of intercourse. The tolerated strangers in Japan occasionally found themselves altogether without either merchandize or salaries with which to pay their daily expenses. This last formidable calamity was alleviated by the liberality of the native government, which at once ordered the factory to be supported in their temporary distress by the Nagasaki exchequer; and the governor sent regularly twice or thrice a week to inquire whether their purveyors duly supplied them, or they were in want of anything; but the Dutchmen had wants that the purveyors could not supply. Though thus saved from all danger of perishing from hunger or from cold, the Dutch languished for butter and cheese, for beer, wine, gin, and brandy, for which potations they found *sake* a poor substitute—the *sake*, it should be said, is always drunk warmed, as is every Japanese beverage, water included. The edible luxuries were wholly and absolutely unattainable, inasmuch as the Japanese hold themselves so deeply indebted to the race of horned cattle for their services in agricultural and other labor, that it would be an act of base and criminal ingratitude, either to eat their flesh or to rob their young of the mother's milk. The use of milk in any form is therefore unknown, or if known, prohibited, in Japan. With respect to drink, the case was less desperate. "They made every exertion," says Doeff, "to relieve, as far as possible, the disagreeableness of our dismal situation. The spy, Sige Dennozen, amongst other things, took great pains to distil us some gin, for which purpose I lent him a large still and a tin worm that I chanced to possess. He succeeded tolerably, though he could not get rid of the resinous taste of the juniper berries; but he produced corn-brandy that was really excellent. He likewise endeavored to make us wine from the grapes of wild vines; but in this his efforts were less happy. He obtained a red juice that fermented, but it was not wine."

ART. VI. *Illustrations of men and things in China: a mistake; a Tartar cheese; tracts of the Budhists; an idolater's oath; an opium smoker.* From a private note-book.

A Mistake.—First impressions are so commonly erroneous in this part of the world, that it is quite enough to say that a book is written by a wayfarer—a griffin—to nullify at least one half of its authority. It is difficult even with the utmost care, to ascertain the meaning of all that one sees; more by far to get at the truth of what is heard. I remember once paying a visit with a friend to a Cochinchinese man-of-war, which brought an envoy to Canton on his way to Peking. We were received with politeness, and contrived to carry on an imperfect communication through the medium of the Chinese language, which each party understood when written. After looking about the vessel, we prepared to leave, and had mounted the gangway

for this purpose, when we saw the marines forming a line on a broad plank which ran fore and aft the ship each side, on the top of the bulwarks. By the time we reached the boat, we heard a stroke of a gong, and instantly a clapping of sticks along the line of marines. On looking up, the captain bowed very graciously to us from the gangway, while the gong struck again, accompanied as before by the marines clicking the bamboo sticks in their hands. What else could it be than a Cochinchinese salute?—and so we set it down as meant to do us honor. The gong struck a third time, and again the click, click as before, with a still deeper bow from the gangway; we endeavored to show our sense to the honor done us by bowing too. Rap went the gong, and click went the bamboos, as before, but following each other quicker and quicker, until both were confounded in a kind of reveille, by which time we were a long way off, when it ceased. I afterwards ascertained that this performance was nothing but their mode of worship at vespers.

A Tartar cheese.—I once saw an account of a 'mammoth cheese,' as it was called, which was presented by a New England farmer to Daniel Webster; it was nearly of the circumference of a cart-wheel, and fully required a cart to carry it. In China, where everything goes by contraries, we have the antithesis to the big cheese of the west in a Lilliputian cheese which we suppose has come all the way from Tartary. It is made from mare's milk, weighs 1½ oz., and was cast in a mold not quite one inch in diameter by half an inch in thickness, having the character *lŭk* 祿 "happiness" stamped on the top. It ought to be packed in a glass case, and forthwith sent 'this side up' to the British Museum.

Tracts of the Budhists.—In order to attract notice, the priests of Budha sometimes arrange the words of their prayers or precepts in various fantastic shapes; when printed, the sheets are distributed among the people, or sold at a very cheap rate, their oddity being the chief recommendation. I have seen a book of prayers arranged like a seven storied pagoda, printed on a sheet three feet long; on each story excepting the fourth is a picture of Budha, and the whole building, with its ornaments, steps, sides of the windows, and cornices, is formed of characters, kept separate by fine lines, but all perfectly legible. On the basement is a representation of Budha sitting on a lotus, and on each side are priests reciting prayers. Small drawings of the god are also interspersed in the different stories, which serves to relieve the heavy appearance of the mass of characters. Even the bells, which are suspended from each story, have characters on them.

The whole, when printed by itself, forms an ordinary sized Chinese volume; I paid twenty-five cents for a dozen of these sheets.*

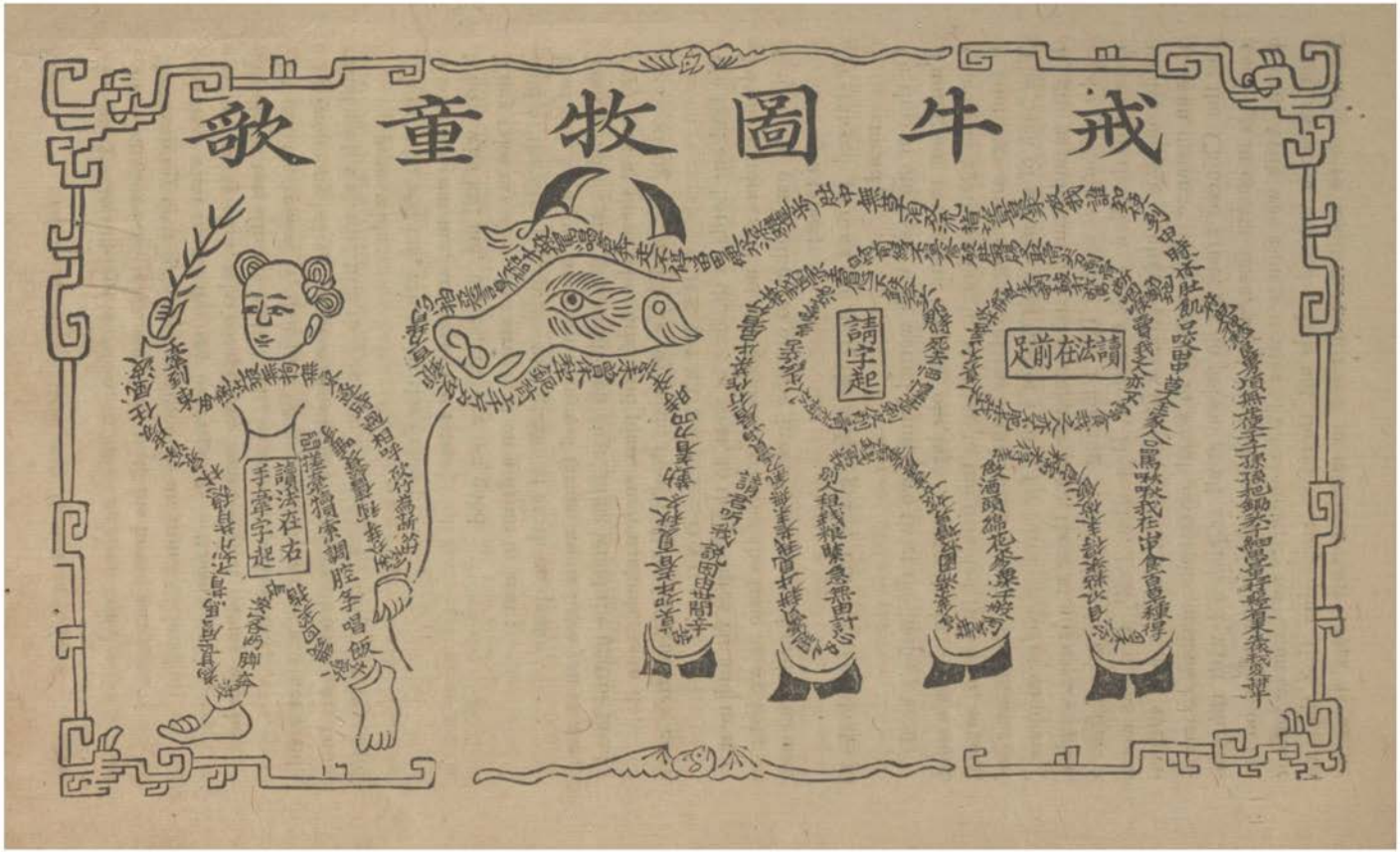
The opposite page affords a similar instance of a ballad, setting forth the grievances of oxen in general, arranged in the form of a cow, which she is supposed to repeat. It is found in the 8th volume of the *Keä Paou*, or Family Gems, from which it is slightly varied, and is sold by begging pedlars and priests for a cash per sheet. The substance of it is much as follows, beginning with the character 請 *tsing* at the left shoulder, and proceeding by heptameters round to the tail. The herdboy's song begins with the character 牽 *heën* at the wrist of the right hand.

THE COW'S COMPLAINT.

Please, noble Sir, hearken to my tale, and all my complaints.
In the wide world, none has sorrow like the poor cow:
Through spring, summer, fall, and winter, driven to my utmost strength,
My bitter woes, through the livelong year, see not a day's respite.
The plough-yoke upon my back, a thousand catties strong,
The hide-whip's ten thousand strokes, my back and heart provoke,
With vile and brutal words, a thousand times I'm urged;
Their hooting sounds, and my forc'd steps, unceasing never rest.
The hardened fields, and waters deep, hinder my entering feet.
My belly's empty of its grass, my tears together flow,
Looking in hope for early eve to have them let me go:
But how know I that e'en to dusk they'll not enforce my use?
My stomach's hungry, and as I crop the herbage from the dyke,
All in the house, with one accord exclaim, Get out! Get out!
I, among the hills, do only pasture on the varied herbage:
You, when fields produce their crops, harvest all yourself;
When the white rice is reaped, you spread the festal board;
When the old man's rice is cut, straight the wine is made.
Of cotton white, of wheat and grain, a thousand sorts you have;
Oils, hemp, and pulse, all sorts of greens, your gardens full produce.
You wed your sons, or pair your girls,—those happy, joyous acts:
You're short of cash, and advertise to lease me out to others;
Or, a tax is due, which must be paid, no source for it have you,
When all at once you think, ah! "I'll sell the old plough cow."
When I'm old, you look at me, "no strength at all have you,

* It is said that the Japanese sometimes write poetry, in the *hirakana* character, arranging the letters in the form of a man's head or person, and very ingeniously give the reader a profile of the writer at the same time that they give him a stanza of his poem.

戒牛圖牧童歌



I'll sell you to the butcher-man, to make a tid-bit cow."
The butcher-man takes me along unto his house away,
Between my eyes straightway descends an iron ax's head;
Ah me! what time I die, my bitter pangs— "*how can!*"
Who rips my skin, who scrapes my bones—what enemy was he?
While in this life the woes I felt, in many a portion fell;
I guess the reason is, that in a former life, my virtue was not good.
They ope my belly, and take out my bowels; they also take my bones,
And with a sharp knife they scrape them clean; they cut my windpipe wide:
Those who sell me, are never the richer;
Those who eat me, are never the fatter;
Those who kill me, certes, they're not good.
They take my skin, and stretch it on a drum to beat;
And at the din, the sprites and ghosts of earth do quake.
If of rich land you have ten thousand farms, no ox have you to use;
Your children and grandchildren dear, must wield the mattoc head.
Pray look at these who think and plan, such wickedness to do,
In a coming life, and I 've my wish, they'll all be ploughman's cows.

THE HERDBOY'S SONG.

We lead our herds to the east or west, to the pastures far and near,
No one hinders and no one goads us, passing the time as we list;
Calling to each other to cut the green bamboo, and make our new style pipes;
Or ranged in rows we part the sedgy grass, our old rain-cloaks to mend;
Or thus at our ease, with wetted hands, we twist the heifer's cord;
Tuning our voices and learning our lays, to sing the herdman's song.
Once and again we laugh, pointing to the troubled rich man, saying,
"Your legs unceasing travel back and forth, what can the matter be?
The back of a horse with that of a cow, for sureness wo'nt compare."
By groves and fountains in the coppice deep, there at our ease we play.

An idolater's oath. The following occurrence is taken from a number of the New York Observer, Dec. 21st, 1839. If it was worth while, one might philosophize a little upon this incident, and adduce it as an instance of the manner in which erroneous notions concerning the Chinese arise, for no person at all acquainted with the proceedings in courts here, need be told that the whole affair on the part of Ayuk was a mere matter of moonshine, as no Chinese officer ever swears a witness. It is not therefore surprising that the two Chinese here mentioned differed so much in their ideas as to the

mode of administering an oath. The summary conclusion drawn in the last paragraph, "that a temple and a court of justice in China is one and the same thing," reminds us of a captain who considered the disintegrated and time-worn rocks near Whampoa an evidence of the superior antiquity of China over other countries in the world.

"On Friday, (Dec. 6th, 1839,) a suit was tried before judge Schiefflin in the Marine Court in New York city, and a young man named Ayuk, about seventeen years old, a native of China, who could speak English tolerably well, was called by one of the parties as a witness. The opposite party objected to his evidence being received on the ground that he was not a Christian, nor believed in the existence of a God. He was then asked by the Court if he believed in Christianity, and he replied in the negative. He was next asked, did he believe in a God. and he said, 'I do; for there are several gods in our temples in China.' The Court then quoted a section of the Revised Statutes, which says, that 'Every person believing in any other than the Christian religion, shall be sworn according to the peculiar ceremonies of his religion,' and asked the witness what was the formula of an oath in China? The witness replied that a person about to give evidence first goes to one of their temples where there are idols, and that he reads or there is read for him, a portion of the Chinese Bible, after which the witness spits on the ground, and then takes in his hand a saucer containing salt, and dashes them against the ground, by doing which the saucer is broken in pieces, and the salt scattered along the floor. When this has been done, the witness then goes before a mandarin and gives his evidence. The Court then asked the witness by whom had the book been written which he called the Chinese Bible, or whether it was supposed to have been the work of Confucius. To this the witness replied that he had never heard of such a person, nor could he tell by whom the book had been written, nor did he know anything more about it, except that it was the sacred book of the Chinese, and the only English word that he was acquainted with, which conveyed his idea of it was the word Bible. On hearing this, the judge said that he could not see how the statute could be complied with, which enacted that a witness should be sworn according to the peculiar ceremonies of his religion. It was true that the Court might for the purpose be considered a temple, as it was called the Temple of Justice, and the ceremonies of spitting on the ground, and throwing down a saucer with salt in it might also be performed, but then there were no idols in the court, nor could the judge tell what was the name or nature of the book which the witness called his Bible. Under all the circumstances of the case, judge Schiefflin therefore determined to make no decision as to whether the witness could be sworn at all, or his evidence received, until he further considered the question, and consulted with the other judges of the court.

"On Saturday, Ayuk, the Chinese witness, attended in court, accompanied by another native of China, who was the plaintiff. The lad Ayuk, though an intelligent youth about 17 years old, appeared not to so be well informed in relation to the Chinese ceremony of swearing an oath, as his countryman, the plaintiff, who is more advanced in years, and from whom, it appeared, the young man had since the day before acquired more information on the subject.

"On being examined by judge Scott, he said that there were various ceremonies attending the taking an oath in China, some of which might be dispensed with, and yet the witness considers himself equally bound to tell the truth. In addition to what he said the day before, he now mentioned that a witness sometimes holds a lighted torch in his hand, but that his omitting to do so, or to use some other ceremonies, such as spitting on the ground, are not necessary to render the oath binding and valid. It would be sufficient, he said, to have the oath administered in the following manner, which was done accordingly. The plaintiff knelt down, and the witness took in his hand what he called the Chinese Bible, and the judge, as does the mandarin in such cases, then told the witness to tell the truth. The witness then handed a Bible to the plaintiff. The witness then took a chinaware cup in his hand, and held it while the plaintiff read aloud a portion of the Chinese

Bible. When the plaintiff stopped reading, the witness then handed him the cup, which the plaintiff dashed against the ground with much vehemence of manner, and of course broke it in pieces. The witness then shut up the book, and witness and plaintiff kissed it, and the plaintiff stood up. The plaintiff then required the judge to put his (the plaintiff's) name in that part of the Bible which he had read, which the judge did, and the witness then began to give his evidence. Prior to the oath being administered, the Court had decided that according to the Revised Statutes, the oath could be legally administered, as it was the form in which oaths were sometimes sworn in China.

"The difficulty in relation to the witness being sworn in a temple was obviated by the witness stating that their Chinese courts are held in their temples, or, as he called them, churches. So that a temple and court of justice in China is one and the same thing. What he called the Bible is a small book in the form of a pamphlet containing a portion of the writings of Confucius, in the Chinese language, and having a mandarin's signature on the cover, to attest its being a genuine copy of the work."

An opium smoker. One of the most unhappy consequences of the habit of opium smoking, if not the very worst, is the degradation of conscience and loss of moral resistance which it produces. No one need be told that loss of moral sense is the inevitable result of continued self-indulgence in that which the conscience itself disallows; but this vice, like a wily serpent, appears to inveigle its victim in its folds by palsying the powers of the mind and heart, and rendering them at last completely subservient to the morbid appetites of the body. No doubt, the power of moral resistance in a pagan is much less than in a Christian (I mean a mere nominal Christian), and any vice will overthrow the barriers raised against it in the former sooner than in the latter; but the vice of opium-smoking seems to excel in its power to deaden and stupefy all moral sense.

I once knew a melancholy instance of this. A man, aged about forty, came to me to find employment as a teacher. He was then, four years ago, much emaciated, stooped as he walked, and his sallow countenance led me to ask him immediately if he did not smoke opium. He readily confessed that he had indulged himself for about two years, but finding the habit rapidly preying upon his health, and diminishing his property, and blasting his character, he was alarmed, and in order to break it off altogether he wished to come and live with me, where he would have no temptation to smoke. He said he had smoked to excess, spending most of his time for these two years either smoking or under the effects of the drug, and had expended in this luxury about $2000 annually. In order more fully to carry his designs of reformation into effect, he had bought some strong Manila tobacco, some of it saturated with opium, which he hoped soon also to be able to lay aside for the weak Chinese weed. I gave him a trial, and for four months or so, he mended apace; his improvement was indeed very encouraging to himself. At the end of this time, he

went to Singapore, where he remained six months; there he could smoke as publicly as he pleased, but he tried to resist the temptation, in order to maintain a character among the Chinese there of a learned man.

On his return to China, he again lived in my house, and for a time things went on very well. After several months, however, his dark teeth and offensive breath led me to suspect that he had yielded to his appetite, but on being charged with it, he affirmed with an oath, and wished me to understand that it was the strongest asseveration he could make, that he had not touched the forbidden thing. This he reiterated again and again. The fear of losing both his place and character on being turned away from my employ, were, he said, the principal reasons which led him to abstain. His constant cough obliged him to take medicine, which was the cause of his sallow looks. However, he went on from bad to worse, growing weaker and more attenuated, and evidently fast verging to the grave with the consumption; and in fact, of this he died about a year since. I do not pretend to say that his death is to be ascribed solely to his use of the drug, but he said that his health was the worse for it before he came to live with me. After his death, I ascertained from the most unquestionable sources, even from those who lived in the same room with him, that he had been in the constant habit of smoking opium ever since he returned from Singapore, and had engaged them to keep silent. His own repeated asseverations and declarations before his death exhibited such an utter prostration of all moral principle, a mind so dead to all reasoning or intreaty, blind to the certain consequences of continuing the habit both in himself, his family, and his relatives, that one is almost ready to say that to see the moral sensibilities of a man so prostrate and dead from the habitual use of that which at first was looked upon with disapprobation, is even more sad than to behold the decay and death of the animal life. A long confirmed and habitual opium smoker in China is in ordinary cases far beyond the reach of moral suasion.

ART. VII. *The Blue Book: No. 10. Duke of Wellington to lord Napier; No. 23. Memorandum by the duke of Wellington, March 24th, 1835.*

THESE two are the only papers in the Blue Book from the duke of Wellington. As they are short, have often been referred to, and contain some important facts and opinions, we quote them entire.

No. 10.

Duke of Wellington to Lord Napier.

My Lord, *Foreign Office, February 2d, 1835.*

YOUR dispatch of the 9th of August, and your letters marked "private," addressed to lord Palmerston, to the 21st of August, were received at this office on Saturday the 31st ultimo. I learn that a vessel will sail for Canton from the river Thames this afternoon; and I avail myself of that opportunity earnestly to recommend to your lordship's attention, the instructions of lord Palmerston of the 25th January, 1834; and most particularly the 18th and 19th articles of the general instructions which you have received under the Royal Sign Manual. It is not by force and violence that his majesty intends to establish a commercial intercourse between his subjects and China; but by the other conciliatory measures so strongly inculcated in all the instructions which you have received. I have &c.,

(Signed) WELLINGTON.

No. 23.

Memorandum by the Duke of Wellington.

March 24th, 1835.

THE dispatches and proceedings of the commission of superintendents in China, have given us all the information that we can acquire, up to the end of October, 1834; and as it is quite obvious, from the reports and proceedings, that the attempt made to force upon the Chinese authorities at Canton, an unaccustomed mode of communication with an authority, with whose powers and of whose nature they had no knowledge, which commenced its proceedings by an assumption of power hitherto unadmitted, had completely failed; and as it is obvious that such an attempt must invariably fail, and lead again to national disgrace; and as it appears that as soon as lord Napier had withdrawn from Canton to Macao, the trade had been opened, that pilots had been allowed to take British ships up the river to Whampoa, and that the trade was flourishing as ever when the accounts came away; it appears that the time is come when the Cabinet may take into consideration the means of managing and regulating this affair in future. It is quite obvious, that the pretext for the jealousy of lord Napier and his commission, stated by the Chinese, was his high-sounding titles; the reality, was his pretension to fix himself at Canton, without previous permission, or even communication, and that he should communicate directly with the viceroy. It does not much

signify, as far as the Chinese are concerned, what we call our officer in our language. He must not go to Canton without their permission. He must not depart from the accustomed mode of communication. For our own purposes, and for the sake of the trade, he must be a man of naval, military, or official rank and reputation: he must be one in whose firmness and discretion we can rely; and he must have great powers to enable him to control and keep in order the king's subjects.

By the 5th clause of the 3d and 4th, William IV., c. 93, the king is enabled to appoint by commission or warrant, not exceeding three of his subjects to be superintendents of the trade of his majesty's subjects to and from China, to settle such gradation among the said superintendents, (one of whom shall be styled the chief superintendent,) and to appoint such officers to assist them in the execution of their duty; and to grant such salaries to superintendents and officers, as his majesty shall, from time to time, deem expedient.

The 6th clause enables the king to give to the superintendents, by order in council, power and authority over the trade of his subjects in China, to make regulations, by order in council, touching the said trade, and for the government of the king's subjects within the said dominions; and to impose penalties and imprisonment for the breach of the same, to be enforced, as specified in the said order; and to create a court of justice, with criminal and admiralty jurisdiction, for the trial of offenses, committed by his majesty's subjects within the said dominions, and the ports and havens thereof, and to appoint one of the superintendents to be the officer to hold such court, and other officers for executing the process thereof, and to grant such salaries as to his majesty shall appear reasonable.

The expense of the establishment formed under the authority of the Act of Parliament, was £18,200. The officers were as follows:

One Chief Superintendent	£6,000	
One Second Superintendent	3,000	
One Third Superintendent	2,000	
One Secretary and Treasurer	1,500	
One Chinese Secretary and Interpreter	1,300	
One Chaplain	1,000	
One Surgeon	1,500	
One Assistant Surgeon	800	
One Master Attendant	800	
One Clerk of a superior class, to act as Registrar of the Court of Judicature	300	
		£18,200
The Master Attendant has been abolished	£800	
The Assistant Surgeon might possibly be discontinued	800	
The Third Superintendent to be discontinued	2,000	
The second Superintendent to receive £2,000 instead of £3,000. Saving	1,000	
		£4,600
Total remaining expense		£13,600

I see that his majesty has the power to appoint not exceeding three superintendents. I would recommend one chief superintendent, and one second superintendent. The Act of Parliament enables the king, by order in council, to appoint one of the superintendents to hold the court. I would recommend that the second superintendent should be a gentleman of the legal profession, and that he should be appointed to hold the court. According to this mode of proceeding, the whole plan can be carried into execution without altering the Act of Parliament. It might be expedient to give the succession to the office of chief superintendent, by warrant under the sign manual, to the secretary and treasurer instead of the second superintendent, he being a gentleman of the legal profession, upon the death or sudden coming away of the first superintendent. If provision should thus be made for really forming a court, it would be necessary to frame some simple rules of practice, which might be carried into execution without the assistance of gentlemen of the legal profession, who would not be found in the Canton river. If the cabinet should be disposed to adopt this plan, I would give immediate directions for the draft of the proposed order in council, to make the necessary alterations and arrangements.

Some alterations must likewise be made in the instructions to the superintendents under the royal sign manual. They are instructed to proceed to and reside at the port of Canton. The port of Canton is described as being within the Bocca Tigris, to which point it is stated that his majesty's ships are not to go. The superintendents therefore are required to go to, and reside at, the place to which the Chinese authorities will not allow them to go, and at which they will not allow them to reside. This and other matters require alteration. It will be in the power of the government hereafter to decide whether any effort shall be made at Peking, or elsewhere, to improve our relations with China, commercial as well as political. That which we require now is, not to lose the enjoyment of what we have got. I would recommend, that till the trade has taken its regular peaceable course, particularly considering what has passed recently, there should always be within the consul general's reach, a stout frigate and a smaller vessel of war.

ART. VIII. *Likenesses of noble and disinterested men of Leäng Shan, who lived during the Tang dynasty, from* A. D. 618 *to* 908. By Tingqua.

"CHINA has a large mountain called Leäng Shan. During a rebellion in the Tang dynasty, there were a great many noble and disinterested men, who strove for the throne. At that time there was a talented

man called *Lo Jin*, to whom the people were willing to submit; he raised an army and exercised his troops daily. There was likewise an able physician, who was prepared to heal the soldiers; he was a divinely skillful man. There were also rich men, who appropriated their wealth; and great ministers of state to propose measures. Some of the soldiers could fly; others could go under ground; some could walk on the bottom, and others on the face of the ocean! There were giants also: indeed, all were veterans in fighting. After a few years Lo Jin died, lamented by all that he had lost the opportunity of becoming emperor. Nevertheless they still watched the mountains as before. And by taking from the rich and bestowing upon the poor, peace was effected. The emperor having raised troops and reduced all to subordination, the men who composed the army were scattered. Some returned home to engage in agricultural pursuits, some devoted themselves to literature, others engaged in commerce. From that time, all those men were dispersed."

The foregoing paragraph has been *got up* by Tingqua, and accompanies the likenesses—something more than one hundred in number, neatly bound in a folio volume. The likenesses present us with men, women, and children—heroes and heroines, scholars, councilers, &c. They exhibit a great diversity of character and costume. Some are clad in coats of mail, belted and booted and armed ready for the fight. Some are carrying bows and arrows; others are supplied with spears, lances, swords, and shields. Some are mounted on horseback; most, however, are on foot; a few are reclining either upon some solitary rock, or beneath a fir tree or an elm. Taking the volume all in all, it does the artist much credit. Some of the faces and some of the limbs of 'the noble and disinterested men' are exceedingly well drawn. The whole is thoroughly Chinese; and those who wish for a good variety of Chinese *likenesses* cannot do better than to furnish themselves with this production of Tingqua. The volume having been politely sent to us for inspection, we have ventured to make this notice of it, without asking the painter's permission. We trust, however, that he will not take any exception to our recommending his work to the notice of the admirers of the art.

ART. IX. *Notes on Chinese Grammar: additional remarks respecting the principles of this language; with examples and illustrations of the various kinds of nouns.*

ILLUSTRATION is the best mode of teaching, and demonstration the best kind of proof. We wish, and it shall be our aim, to show—and as far as it is practicable to demonstrate, by series of examples—that the Chinese language is not to be regarded as an exception from all others, in being without general principles and fixed rules of construction. If it be not as much and as rigidly regulated by laws as any other language, yet, like all others, it surely has its *usus loquendi*. Its usages, moreover, are capable of being defined. So clear did this seem to us, when writing out the introductory observations in our last number, that we restricted them to narrow limits, imagining that no one could believe this language to be without its grammatical rules. Very strong doubts, however, are entertained on this point; and a knowledge of their existence is our only apology for resuming this subject in this article.

Some who have published their views concerning Chinese grammar, have given what we suspect are erroneous opinions. Thus Mr. Davis, after having been acquainted with this people in their own country for more than twenty years, says, "*that the grammar of the language is extremely limited;*" and again he remarks, "there is so little of what can strictly be called grammatical rules, that the proper way to teach is by examples, rather than precepts." See his 'Chinese,' vol. II. pp. 155, 156. Now the grammar of any language is simply a collection of principles and rules, derived from its established usages; in other words, it is "an exhibition of the genuine structure of the language." So affirms one of the ablest grammarians of the age. The Chinese have done much less, in drawing out the rules and principles of their language, than has been done by some other nations. They have preferred to teach by illustration, and by examples to exhibit the structure of their language. It is chiefly this *mode* of treating the subject that has induced Mr. Davis, and some others, to adopt, what we are inclined to regard as an erroneous position, and to declare "that the grammar of the language is extremely limited."

As soon should we think of denying that the Chinese have any rational costume, or any habits of dress at all, as we should think of

questioning whether or not they possess any definable modes of expressing their thoughts—any habits of diction—or idioms to which their language must and does conform, both in speaking and in writing. Common sense must needs admit the propriety and the necessity of fixed usages, in the employment of the symbols of thought. Were there no such, how could it ever be known what meaning is intended by any collection of words? How could conversation be conducted? How could codes of laws, and records of events, be compiled? In their literary empire, as well as in their civil and social state, the Chinese have, if we may so term them, both statute and common laws—written and unwritten rules. Their standards and criteria are—as in other countries—the best native authors, and predominant usage among the best educated people. In the arts of civilized life, having made no inconsiderable advances, and furnished themselves with one of the most copious languages that ever existed—one in which there are probably more books than in any other—can it be supposed they have no well understood and well defined usages for the regulation of their diction? Can a language, whose origin goes back to time immemorial, used by three hundred millions of people, comprising a great variety of works in all the principal departments of literature, such as history, laws, government, commerce, education, philosophy, religion, and so forth, be without grammatical rules? Was such an anomaly ever known? Is it possible?

The question is not, whether the forms of grammar are the same in this as they are in other languages. In many respects the inhabitants of the east differ from occidental nations; and there are differences, too, among themselves,—and in no one thing more than in their languages. Their modes of writing and speaking are unlike in a great many particulars. The language of the Chinese is unique in the structure of both its words and sentences; and yet it is not so entirely unlike all others as many persons seem to suppose. It is used for the same ends that all others are employed for, and in most cases with equal facility; and the inquiry is now this single one: is it regulated by grammatical rules? In other words, has it a grammar?

The chief difficulty in answering this question, seems to arise from overlooking the nature of grammar, or from supposing that a grammar, in order to be worthy of that name, must of necessity, according to the fathers of all learned lore, be "divided into four parts—orthography, etymology, syntax, and prosody," and contain some eight or more "parts of speech," having withal conjugations of verbs, declensions of nouns, with "genders," for all things. Some of these, essen-

tial though they indeed are in western languages, are yet neither required nor admitted by the Chinese in theirs. It should be carefully borne in mind, while considering this subject, that the *grammatical rules of any language are merely statements of its usages.* In other words, they are—and they are nothing else than—simple descriptions of the various costumes with which people are wont to clothe their thoughts. Collect all the principles and rules on which any language is constructed, and you have at once embodied before you a complete system of grammar—a perfect illustration of the structure of that language.

If these few additional remarks fail to convince any reader, who may still be inclined to doubt the correctness of our position, we hope—we beg—he will take the trouble to state to us in writing wherein consist his doubts, showing and proving at the same time that this language is without grammatical rules, or 文法 *wán fă*, as the Chinese designate its laws. We are now prepared to proceed with our essay, commencing where we stopped in our last number.

According to the Tyro's Paragon, the Chinese divide all words into particles and substantives—the latter comprising nouns and verbs.* The four parts of grammar, and the eight parts of speech, so common in our own school-books need not, and cannot well, be preserved when treating of the Chinese language.

The art of penmanship is carefully studied, in order to secure a correct and beautiful character. But, being without an alphabet, the Chinese have nothing to do with the nature and properties of letters, the sounds of vowels, consonants, diphthongs, &c. Etymology also—so far as it treats of the various inflections and modifications of words to express person, number, case, sex, time, and mode, does not exist in connection with the Chinese language. However, with regard to the origin and formation of words, the Chinese does bear some resemblance to the Greek, Hebrew, &c., each and all having primary and secondary or derivative words.

This subject has been noticed by Mr. Lay, in the Repository for September, 1838. See vol. VII. page 255. Investigations, however, have not yet been pushed far enough to determine whether or not they are likely to be of any great advantage to the student. This subject seems not to have been wholly overlooked by the Chinese, though in modern times it has been quite neglected by them. A single example, which may here be introduced, will illustrate this system of primitives and derivatives. Take the word *te*.

* In our last number, page 330 line 17, for *verb* that governs, read *word* that governs, &c.

In Morrison's Dictionary *te* is defined thus: "From to *descend* and a *line* denoting the ground: reaching to the ground; low; mean: radical; fundamental; to revert or come to again; to arrive at." No. 9957.

1. 氐 *low*, mean, radical;
2. 低 *low-man;* a base fellow; a vagabond;
3. 恆 *low-heart;* a sordid mind; meanness;
4. 抵 *low-hand;* underhanded; crafty;
5. 柢 *low-wood;* the roots of a tree or a plant;
6. 砥 *low-stone;* foundation; fundamental;
7. 眡 *low-eye;* humble; condescending; to look down;
8. 舰 *low-boat;* (perhaps) the bottom of the boat, or rudder;
9. 觝 *low-horn;* to put the horn down; to gore;
10. 詆 *low-words;* vulgarisms; slander; detraction;
11. 秖 *low-grain;* ripe grain that bends down.

There are a few other words into which *te* enters, besides those which are here given, some of which cannot, without violence, be arranged in the same manner. The meanings derived from this literal interpretation of the parts of the compound are not always in accordance with the prevailing usage: the words, in short, 'do not mean what they ought to mean.' However, many words, which are the original names of common natural objects, such as the sun, moon, wood, water, man, horse, &c., enter into numerous compounds, and generally add something to the meaning of those compounds. Thus, all words which have 水 *shwuy* in them, will generally be found to have some connection with, or reference to, water. So when 心 *sin* is found in any word, it will usually be found to have some more or less direct reference to the heart—or to what is intellectual: and it may be convenient and correct to call such words as *shwuy* and *sin*, primitives, and those of which they form a part, derivatives. So also 面 *meën*, the face, and 手 *show*, the hand, &c., enter freely into society with other words, and form compounds: in sentences, they may all be employed either as *verbs* or *nouns*, or in an inferior capacity as mere modifiers. Such is the genius of the Chinese language, that there are but few words which may not be—and which indeed are not—used to discharge these several functions. This, however, depends chiefly on their position in sentences. And hence the *syntax* of this language—the casuation of propositions—or what be-

longs to the arrangement of words and phrases,—constitutes the most important branch of Chinese grammar. But before entering on the consideration of this part of the subject, it is necessary to notice, more in detail, the three classes of words already specified.

Nouns, or *sze tsze*, are first to be considered. The names of things, and of whatever else exists, are, in the language of grammarians, called nouns. Consequently these must be as numerous as are the combined creations of nature, art, and fancy; and moreover, in consequence of the Chinese mode of writing, being unchangeable in their forms, these nouns are all without any marks or accidents to indicate what, in other languages, are called their number, gender, and case. Their meaning is varied only by their positions and their relations—which positions and relations are of capital importance, and in their place must receive special attention.

Nouns, or the names of things, sometimes consist of a single word or character, and sometimes of two, three, four, or more; and they may be divided into numerous classes, such as compellatives, apellatives, &c. Of single words, the following are examples.

1. 理 *le*, reason, reasonable, reasonably, to reason;
2. 明 *ming*, brightness, bright, brightly, to brighten,
3. 蓋 *kae*, a covering, to cover, for (an illative particle).

These, besides exhibiting specimens of nouns consisting of a single word, show at the same time how that a single word may be a noun, a verb, or a *heu tsze*—the word *kae* being often used as a particle.

Sometimes, also, when two words are joined, they convey but one idea; which two, however, as in the preceding instances of single words, may, by construction, be employed as a noun, a verb, or become a mere modifying expression. Two words joined in this manner are called 蜆壳字 *heën hŏ tsze*, literally, 'clam-shell characters,' i. e. characters consisting of two parts, closely resembling and closely joined to each other. Such are the following.

1. 繾綣 *keën keuen*, union, attachment, intimacy, intimately;
2. 踟躕 *che choo*, embarrassment, hesitation, irresolutely;
3. 怡怡 *e e*, concord, harmony, harmoniously;
4. 郁郁 *yŭh yŭh*, elegance, elegant, elegantly.

Sometimes, as in the third and fourth instances here given, words are repeated, giving intensity to the phrase; thus *e e* means great concord, perfect harmony; and *yŭh yŭh* denotes a high degree of elegance.

The following are examples of two, three, four, and more, single words or characters being connected and used to express a single person, object, or thing.

1. 聖人 *shing jin*, a sage, a man of wisdom;
2. 賢人 *heën jin*, a worthy, a man of worth;
3. 騷人 *soo jin*, a bard, a man of songs;
4. 君子 *keun tsze*, a gentleman, an excellent man;
5. 義士 *e sze*, a just man, a man of justice;
6. 仁者 *jin chay*, a philanthropist, or philanthrophy;
7. 英雄 *ying heung*, a hero, a heroine;
8. 工匠 *kung tseäng*, an architect, or architects;
9. 輿匠 *yu tseäng*, a wheelwright, or maker of wheels;
10. 打鐵匠 *ta teĕ tseäng*, a blacksmith;
11. 補爛鞋者 *poo lan heae chay*, a cobbler;
12. 鬪壽板師傅 *choo chow pan sze foo*, a coffin-maker;
13. 吹玻璃師傅 *chuy po le sze foo*, a glass-blower;
14. 鑲玻璃師傅 *seäng po le sze foo*, a glazier.

Examples of these various kinds of nouns, and of others also, which, consisting of two or more characters, have for their final one, 氣 *ke*, 色 *sih*, 夫 *foo*, 子 *tsze*, 兒 *urh*, &c., may be multiplied *ad libitum*. Some good remarks concerning them, by Anglo-Sinicus, are to be found in our last volume, page 347.

Compellative nouns. Language being designed solely to preserve thoughts, so as to convey them from one person to another, or to transmit them from one period of time to another, must always be intended for some hearer or reader, to whom in every supposable case it may be considered as addressed. An imperial edict is addressed either to an individual, or to a class of persons, perhaps to the whole empire. So with all state papers, all essays, of every kind; whatever may be the subject, and whoever the writer or speaker, a direct address is made, or is supposed to be made, to some one, near or remote, whose name is either expressed or understood. Thus,

1. 帝曰卿欲封何爵

The sovereign said, what noble honors do you, my ministers, wish to have conferred?

2. 所惡於上毋以使下

That which you dislike in those who are above you, do not to those who are below you.

3. 看汝以何詞對朕也

See, with what words you will answer us.

李催忽變色曰樊稠何故交通韓遂欲謀造反

Lekeŏ, suddenly changing his countenance, said, 'Fanchow, why have you conspired with Hansuy, desiring to plot rebellion?'

In the *first* of these four examples, 卿 is the compellative; in the *second* it is understood; in the *third* it is 汝; in the *fourth* it is 樊稠. The 1st and 4th are quoted from the History of the Three States, the 2d is from the Four Books, and the 3d from an imperial edict addressed to Lin, late commissioner and govenor, at Canton. In reading Chinese authors, especially when a number of interlocutors are introduced, some care is requisite in order to understand who are the speakers. This needs no illustration.

Locative nouns, or those which designate places, not being distinguished by capital letters, as they are in European languages, require early and special notice. Even experienced readers are liable to mistake them, there being nothing in their forms or appearance by which they can be distinguished from other words in the page. In order to avoid this ambiguity, especially in their geographical works, the Chinese sometimes draw double lines down beside the names of places. Thus, in a work on the western countries of the empire, the following sentence affords examples of these double lines.

撻	*ta*	準	*chun*
拉	*la*	噶	*kŏ*
巴	*pa*	爾	*urh*
哈	*ha*	故	*koo*
臺	*tae*	地	*te;*
亦	*yih*		

'Tarpahatae, also an ancient country of the Songours,' &c. But this, though very convenient, is considered inelegant by the Chinese; and, consequently, is almost always avoided. The student should remember that the names of places *precede* the names of persons and things which belong to them, and that when there are several names of places occurring in succession, the greater territorial extent precedes that which is of less extent. Two or three examples will illustrate this use.

1. 中國人

A man of the central kingdom (i. e. a Chinese).

2. 天津菓子

Fruit from Teëntsin (brought from thence).

3. 那少年欠身答曰某乃常山眞定人也

That youth modestly replied, I am a man of Chingting in Changshan.

It may be noted here, in passing, that almost all names of persons and of places are in Chinese, as in Hebrew, significant: the first example above, *Chungkwŏ jin*, is an instance in point; so are most of the names of the eighteen provinces.

Appellative and *abstract nouns* need no particular illustration, being no way different in Chinese from what they are in other languages. The former are those that designate classes of beings by common terms, which are applicable to whole species; such are man, horse, bird, fish, &c. The latter are those which denote—neither person, places, nor beings, but actions, qualities, modes of being; such are joy, sorrow, hope, virtue, vice, diligence, activity, &c.; and they are capable of being used, as verbs; and also to modify, limit, define, and restrict, the meaning of other words, which may be either nouns or verbs. But there are words which point directly to particular classes of persons and things; these need to be particularized and illustrated by examples, in detail.

When speaking of things, persons, and places, the Chinese employ a large variety of words, each of which is used to designate a certain class or classes of objects. Of these there may be perhaps a hundred; they are like the words *member*, *sail*, *pair*, in such phrases as a member of the body, three sail of merchantmen, ten pair of gloves. These *classitives* are frequently recurring both in conversation and in reading, though they are not always capable of being translated, and frequently the idiom of our language does not require it. Their use must be learned chiefly by studying the phrases in which they occur. Two or three examples of each may here suffice.

1. *Ko* is used to denote individuality, or to individualize, when man and various kinds of objects are the subjects of discourse. It is used when one or more are spoken of: thus they say *yih ko jin*, *san ko jin*, &c. So of many other things.

1. 一個人 a man, or one man;
2. 一個字 a character;
3. 一個時辰鐘 a watch.

2. *Chih* is joined to almost all the names of animals, birds, to single numbers of the body which occur in pairs, such as the hands, the eyes, the feet, &c.

1. 一隻馬 a horse; or *lit.* one piece horse;
2. 一隻手 a hand;
3. 四隻船 four ships.

3. *Tuy* occupies the place of a dual; and is applied to those things which occur in pairs, as hands, feet, shoes, stockings, a pair of candles, bracelets, &c.

1. 一對手 a pair of hands;
2. 二對靴 two pairs of boots.

4. *Shwang* is used as synonymous with the preceding, and like it denotes two, when speaking of things which occur in pairs, as a brace of ducks, the *two* relations — father and mother — by way emphasis.

1. 雙親 one's parents;
2. 四雙鴨 four brace of ducks.

5. *Pa* means to take hold of with the hand, to grasp, and is placed before words denoting those things which are grasped, such as a fan, sword, nippers, lock, hammar, broom, umbrella, bow, and the like.

1. 一把扇 a fan;
2. 二把弓 two bows;
3. 三把草 three bundles of grass.

6. *Chang* means to spread out, and is joined to things that are spread out, like mats, blankets, tables, and likewise to imperial edicts, which are to be proclaimed abroad.

1. 一張枱 a table;
2. 五張床 five beds;
3. 六張上諭 six imperial edicts.

7. *Che* commonly denotes the branch of a tree, and is joined to such words as spear, pencil, mast, pipe, oar, cane, &c.

1. 二枝桅 two masts;
2. 六枝旗 six flags;
3. 三枝烟筒 three pipe-stems.

In these instances *che* is not translated—the idiom not requiring it. So of *chang*, *pa*, &c., above.

8. *Teaou*, like *che*, denotes a branch, or what is drawn out into a long and slender form; hence it is used for a string or a line.

1. 三條魚 three fish;
2. 一條街 a street;
3. 二條河 two rivers.

9. *Keën*, used as a noun, means a space, a crevice; as a verb it signifies to separate, to make a space between; it is also used in the simple sense of between; in numerous cases it precedes other words, as in the following examples.

1. 三間屋 three houses;
2. 四間廟 four temples.

10. *Tso* is a seat, or that on which one sits, or on which anything is built, a block, a foundation, and is joined to the words house, room, terrace, city, hill, &c.

1. 二座山 two hills, or mountains;
2. 一座城 two cities, or walled towns.

11. *Too* denotes a passage, a pass, that by or upon which one passes, and is joined to such words as door, bridge, stairs, &c.

1. 四度城門 four gates of a city.
2. 二度關口 two custom-houses.

12. *Fŭh* is defined to be a piece or roll of cloth, and is joined to such words as picture, cloth, walls, and so forth; thus,

1. 四幅畫 four pictures.
2. 三幅墻 three walls.

13. *Keën*, used as a verb, means to divide, to separate, to distinguish things, and when joined to certain classes of things, its force is like that of *ko*, in No. 1. It is joined with names of articles of dress, merchandise, and such like.

1. 十件衫 ten garments.
2. 二件事 two affairs.
3. 七件物 seven articles.

14. *Taou* is that which is put outside or over something else, and is used to denote what is complete, and occurs in such phrases as the following, denoting that the works are complete.

1. 二套書 two books—complete works.
2. 六套小說 six novels.

So applied, apparently, because all the volumes of a work are supposed to be inclosed in a *taou* or wrapper of paper.

15. *Foo* often denotes a secondary; an assistant; in the sense of complete, entire, set or case, it is joined to such phrases as these.

1. 五副器具 five cases of instruments.
2. 四副碗碟 four sets of plates.
3. 二副朝珠 two strings of court-beads.

16. *Leih* is a small object, complete in itself, and yet usually seen in company with many of the same kind; it is applied to all manner of grains, seeds, sand, stars, &c.; thus,

1. 一粒米 a grain of rice.
2. 七粒星 seven stars.
3. 八粒珍珠 eight pearls.

17. *Kwae* a fragment, a portion; a piece, is employed for the most part with the names of things of a laminar form.

1. 一塊板 a board.
2. 九塊瓦 nine tiles.

It is here unnecessary—and our limits render it inconvenient—to multiply instances of all the words of the kind under consideration: one of each must suffice for the remainder of them.

18. 帽一頂 a cap, or hat—a single hat.
19. 書二本 books two volumes.
20. 紙三篇 three leaves (of a bound book).
21. 書四頁 four sheets of writing (unbound).
22. 信三封 three letters.
23. 紙七刀 paper seven quires (or parcels).
24. 墨二方 ink two cakes, or pieces.
25. 麵一團 bread one roll, or loaf.
26. 花十朵 flowers ten bunches.
27. 風一陣 a gust of wind.
28. 雨三場 three rain-storms.
29. 羊二羣 two flocks of sheep.
30. 車四乘 four carriages.
31. 布五疋 five pieces of cloth.
32. 棉花六包 six bales of cotton.
33. 天秤一架 a pair of scales, or balances.

34. 行李九担 baggage nine parcels.
35. 洋酒一罈 a bottle of foreign wine.
36. 字十二行 ten lines of characters.
37. 鐘二點 two hours.
38. 田七畝 land seven acres—seven fields.
39. 新聞一段 a piece (or item) of news.
40. 一連幾日 seven successive days.
41. 一管横笛 a flute.
42. 一欵事 one kind of business.
43. 三股生意 three shares in trade.
44. 二札繩 two bundles of twine.
45. 一句話 a sentence, or a clause.
46. 四卷書 four sections of a book.
47. 八盤魚 eight vases of fish.
48. 五根樹 five trees.
49. 十員武將 ten military officers.
50. 六圓銀錢 six dollars in money.
51. 一位先生 a teacher—a gentleman.
52. 三串珠 three strings of pearls.
53. 五層樓 five stories, or lofts.
54. 一節書 a paragraph.
55. 四餐飯 four meals.
56. 二碗粥 two bowls of congee.
57. 三片姜 three slices of ginger.
58. 一面鏡 a mirror, or looking-glass.
59. 四貼胭脂 four papers of rouge.
60. 九席酒 nine feasts, or 9 tables at an entertainment.
61. 一版字 a page of a book.
62. 二道上諭 two imperial edicts.
63. 九重天 the nine heavens.
64. 四束禾 four sheaves of grain.
65. 六檯戲 six theatrical exhibitions.

66. 八排杉 eight rafts (or floats) of pine timber.
67. 十錠金 ten wedges (or ingots) of gold.
68. 一邊魚 one side of (or half) a fish.
69. 一的都好 the whole altogether good.
70. 七章書 seven sections of a book.
71. 三樣意思 three various meanings.
72. 四匹馬 four horses.
73. 一局棋 one game of chess.
74. 一炷香 a set of incense sticks.
75. 四竿竹 four bamboo sticks, or poles.
76. 八輛車 eight carriages.
77. 十門炮 ten pieces of artillery.
78. 四進屋 four suites of apartments.
79. 三便過屋 three houses joined side by side.
80. 一夥賊人 a band of robbers.
81. 一尾魚 a single fish.
82. 六瓣花 six petals, or leaves of a flower.
83. 九文錢 nine pieces of money.
84. 三度窓門 three windows.
85. 一顆珠 a pearl.

This collection, long as it is, does not include all the varieties, which belong to the division in question; these will suffice for the general reader; and the student of the language can easily multiply the examples under each, and add to the number of varieties.

ART. X. *Journal of Occurrences: truce at Chusan; arrival of H. B. M.'s plenipotentiaries off Canton, with the squadron; Keshen's arrival at Canton; correspondence with admiral Elliot; his illness and resignation; the Nemesis; memorials to the emperor; general state of public affairs; H. B. M.'s squadron; Qualpaert; nautical surveys; the French and U. S. A. squadrons; admiral Elliot's return to England; admiral Kwan.*

FROM Chusan the most recent accounts—to the 24th instant by the Madagascar—are more favorabe than those received here during the last month. Intercourse has become more pacific, and the Chinese

are returning in larger numbers to the city of Tinghae. The English prisoners have not been given up by the Chinese; it is understood, however, that they are to be treated as prisoners of war usually are in other countries. A truce was signed on the 6th instant, of which the following is the admiral's official notice.

"*General Memorandum. H. M. S. Melville, Chusan, 6th Nov.*, 1840.

"The commander-in-chief has now to give notice to the expedition, that a truce has been agreed to between the imperial high commissioner and himself, pending the negotiations between the two countries. The terms of which are, generally, that neither party shall advance beyond the boundary assigned to him, and that native intercourse is not to be interrupted. The English boundary has been defined as taking in the island of Chusan and the s[illegible]s immediately adjacent, including all within a line run round the El[illegible]er Hill, Blackwall, Fisher's island, Pooto, Taouying shan, forming [illegible] of the southeast passage of Dalrymple's chart, and Deer island.

"T[illegible]mmander-in-chief has therefore to call upon all persons connected with t[illegible] expedition, on visiting these islands, not to go beyond these boundaries, or in any way to interfere with the Chinese, so as to give just cause of complaint that the truce is not strictly maintained on our part. The commander-in-chief is also glad to avail himself of this opportunity of recording the satisfaction he has felt at finding that a nearer friendly intercourse is springing up with the Chinese, and considering how very much the comforts and conveniencies of the expedition depend on the extension of such intercourse, he calls with confidence on every officer and gentleman in the expedition to aid him in cultivating a good understanding with the people.

(Signed) "GEORGE ELLIOT, Rear admiral, and commander-in-chief."

The force remaing at Chusan consists of the healthy portions of the 18th, 26th, and 49th, regiments, chief part of the Bengal volunteer regiment, and the Madras detatchment, consisting of artillery and of sappers and miners, with H. M. S. Blonde, Conway, Alligator, Nimrod, Algerine, & Young Hebe, Atalanta steamer, Rattlesnake (troop ship), and a number of transports. A few of the convalescent troops have, we understand, been sent to England and India; and some have gone to Manila.

2. H. B. M.'s plenipotentiaries left the Chusan islands o[illegible] and arrived off Macao on the morning of the 20th. Hav[illegible] a dispatch from the imperial commissioner Elepoo at Nin[illegible] imperial commissioner Keshen at Canton, the Queen stea[illegible] ceeded to the Bogue, to announce the admiral's arrival and to deliver the dispatch. The steamer carried a flag of truce; but on approaching the first fort—a new one around the Chuenpe watch-tower, overlooking Shakŏ on the east side of the channel—while a boat, also having a white flag, was proceeding towards the fort—the Chinese opene[illegible] a fire: it was more than usually well directed; but of some twenty or more shot—most of them falling short—only one took effect, striking the iron of one of the paddles and glancing off from the hull of the vessel. The boat was recalled; and the steamer, having first thrown into the fort some 68 pound shot and a few shells, returned to the squadron at Tungkoo. The same evening (that of the 21st), captain Elliot landed at Macao, and the dispatch from Elepoo to Keshen was forwarded to Canton through the subprefect. The next day some of

the heavy shot, discharged at the fort from the Queen, were presented to the authorities in Canton.

3. After the lapse of a whole week, on the morning of the 29th, Keshen made his entry into Canton, having however sent before him two military officers (of whom one was 'captain White'), to announce his arrival to the plenipotentiaries; they had reached the flag-ship, and were communicating with the admiral on the same day, and at or near the same hour (10 A. M. Sunday) that Keshen entered the provincial city.

4. The following correspondence we copy from the papers of the day. We have no space for comment upon it.

"*Macao, 20th Novem*[illegible]

"*To his excellency the hon.* GEORGE ELLIOT, C. B. &c., &[illegible]

"Sir,—We, the undersigned British subjects, beg leave to a[illegible] our excellency on your arrival in this neighborhood, and though mos[illegible] impressed with the variety and importance of the interests dependent [illegible] your excellency's measures, at this the most momentous crisis in the history of our relations with China, would still venture to draw your excellency's attention to a case of great cruelty and most wanton outrage on the part of the local government of Canton, which we have no doubt will excite in your excellency's mind feelings of mingled indignation and compassion.

"Mr. Vincent Stanton (lately officiating British chaplain here), when residing in fancied security in this neutral settlement, was, on the 6th of Aug., seized, wounded (though quite unarmed), and carried off by the Chinese authorities, and for nearly four months has been confined in a Chinese jail, we fear under other sufferings then those of mere personal restraint, and without any communication being permitted with his countrymen. Captain Smith will have officially communicated to your excellency the steps taken by him to obtain Mr. Stanton's release, but which, we regret to say, proved unsuccessful. We earnestly hope your excellency will concur in viewing the prompt redress of this outrage as an object deserving immediate attention, more especially when we consider Mr. Stanton's sacred calling, which should have secured him from protracted imprisonment and suffering.

[illegible]ake this, the first opportunity that has been afforded us, of tendering [illegible]ellency the expression of our sentiments of respect, and have the [illegible]ir, your excellency's most obedient humble servants."

(Signed by more than fifty British subjects.)

[illegible]*cellency's reply.* "*Melville Tongkoo Bay, Nov. 27th,* 1840.

Gentlemen,—In answer to your letter of the 20th instant, which has this evening been put into my hands, I beg to say that I am fully aware of the unfortunate situation of Mr. Stanton, and join with you in the sympathy you express for him; as well as in the hope that such outrages may in future be prevented. I beg also to express my thanks for the sentiments expressed [illegible] the last paragraph of your letter, and remain gentlemen, Your's, &c.

(Signed) "GEORGE ELLIOT, &c., &c."

To L. Dent, Esq., and others,—Macao.

"*To his excellency the hon.* GEORGE ELLIOT, Commander-in-chief, &c.

"SIR,—We, the undersigned British merchants residing at Macao, beg leave to address your excellency on the subject of the present state of our relations with the Chinese. Convinced as we are that the welfare of the British trade with China must have your excellency's most anxious attention, and that the interests of those concerned in that trade both on the spot, and

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